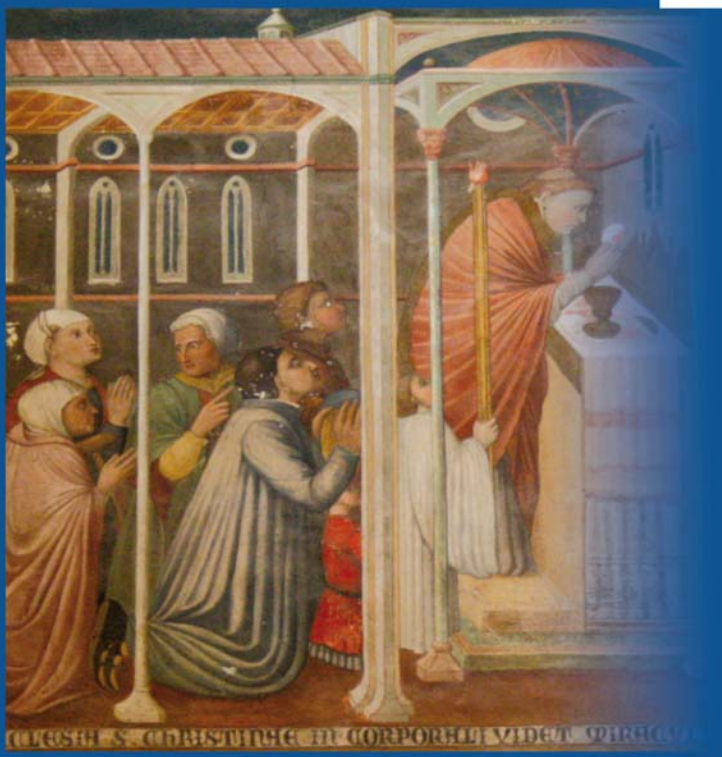
BRILL'S COMPANIONS TO THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

A COMPANION TO THE EUCHARIST IN THE MIDDLE AGES



Edited by IAN CHRISTOPHER LEVY,
GARY MACY & KRISTEN VAN AUSDALL

BRILL

A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages

Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition

A series of handbooks and reference works on the intellectual and religious life of Europe, 500–1800

Editor-in-chief
Christopher M. Bellitto
(Kean University)

VOLUME 26

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.nl/bcct

A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages

Edited by

Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy
and Kristen Van Ausdall

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2012

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages / edited by Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall.
p. cm. — (Brill's companions to the Christian tradition, ISSN 1871-6377 ; v. 26)
Includes index.
ISBN 978-90-04-20141-5 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Lord's Supper—History—Middle Ages, 600–1500. 2. Christianity and culture—History—Middle Ages, 600–1500. 3. Europe—Church history—600–1500. I. Levy, Ian Christopher. II. Macy, Gary. III. Van Ausdall, Kristen. IV. Title. V. Series.

BV823.C62 2012
264'.360940902--dc23

2011029854

ISSN 1871-6377
ISBN 978 90 04 20141 5

Copyright 2012 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

CONTENTS

List of Figures vii
List of Contributors xv

Introduction 1
Gary Macy

PART ONE

THE HERITAGE OF THE LATE EMPIRE

The Liturgical Inheritance of the Late Empire in the Middle Ages 13
Lizette Larson-Miller

The Heritage of the Late Empire: Influential Theology 59
Joseph Wawrykow

Art and the Eucharist: Early Christian to ca. 800 93
Elizabeth Saxon

PART TWO

THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Church Architecture and Liturgy in the Carolingian Era 163
Michael S. Driscoll

The Eucharist in Early Medieval Europe 205
Celia Chazelle

Carolingian, Ottonian and Romanesque Art and the Eucharist 251
Elizabeth Saxon

PART THREE

THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

A Tale of Two Sanctuaries: Late Medieval Eucharist and the Analogous 327
Edward Foley

Theology of the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages 365
Gary Macy

The Eucharist and Canon Law in the High Middle Ages 399
Ian Christopher Levy

Popular Attitudes to the Eucharist 447
Miri Rubin

PART FOUR

THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Late Medieval Sacred Spaces and the Eucharist 471
Gerhard Lutz

Late Medieval Eucharistic Theology 499
Stephen E. Lahey

Art and Eucharist in the Late Middle Ages 541
Kristen Van Ausdall

Late Medieval Eucharistic Theology: A Helpful Glossary 619
Index 629

LIST OF FIGURES

Part One

Elizabeth Saxon, Art and the Eucharist: Early Christian to ca. 800

1. *Good Shepherd*, Early Christian sarcophagus, Vatican Museum, mid 3rd century (photo: K. Van Ausdall) 97
2. *The Good Shepherd, Story of Jonah, an Orant, and Baptism*; Early Christian sarcophagus in Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, Italy, ca. 270. Marble, 1' 11 1/4" × 7' 2" (photo: K. Van Ausdall) 98
3. *The Good Shepherd, the Story of Jonah, and Orants*, painted ceiling of a cubiculum in the Catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, Rome, Italy, early fourth century (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank) 102
4. Feast (agape?), Early Christian catacomb of San Callisto (Saint Calixte Catacomb), 3rd century CE, Rome (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank) 104
5. *Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus*, ca. 359. Marble, 3' 10 1/2" × 8'. Museo Storico del Tesoro della Basilica di San Pietro, Rome (photo: K. Van Ausdall) 112
6. *Christ Enthroned*, Apse mosaic, Santa Pudenziana, Rome (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank) 113
7. *Crucifixion and Suicide of Judas*, Ivory Pyx, British Museum, London (photo: Courtesy of British Museum) 116
8. *Crucifixion*, detail from wood door, Santa Sabina, Rome (photo: K. Van Ausdall) 117
9. *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes*, mosaic, early 6th century, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (photo: author) 121
10. *Christ Surrounded by Saints*, apse mosaic, early 6th century, SS. Cosmas and Damian, Rome (photo: K. Van Ausdall) 122

11. *Abraham and Sarah, Abraham at Mamre, Sacrifice of Isaac*, mosaic, 548, San Vitale, Ravenna (photo: author) 128
12. *Sacrifice of Abel and Melchizedek*, mosaic, ca. 548, chancel lunette, San Vitale, Ravenna (photo: K. Van Ausdall) 130
13. *Procession with Emperor Justinian and Bishop Maximianus*, mosaic, 547 CE, San Vitale, Ravenna (photo: author) 131
14. *Procession with Empress Theodora*, mosaic, 547 CE, San Vitale, Ravenna (photo: author) 132
15. *Last Supper*, mosaic, 6th century, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (photo: author) 134
16. Ivory diptych (book cover), treasury of Milan Cathedral, second half of the fifth century (photo: K. Van Ausdall) 135
17. *Crucifixion*, Rabbula Gospels, fol. 13r, 586, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (photo: Guido Sansoni, Florence) 143
18. Apse Mosaic, detail with the *Agnes Dei*, SS Cosmas and Damian (photo: author) 148
19. Ruthwell Cross, stone, ca. 730–60, Ruthwell, Scotland (photo: Courtesy of E. John) 153

Part Two

Michael S. Driscoll, Church Architecture and Liturgy in the Carolingian Era

20. Palatine Chapel, Interior, Aachen Cathedral, Aachen, Germany (photo: Asa Mittman, *Peregrinations* Photo Bank) 167
21. *Throne of Charlemagne*, located in the Palatine Chapel gallery, Aachen Cathedral, Aachen, Germany (photo: Asa Mittman, *Peregrinations* Photo Bank) 170
22. Oratory, Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret, Orléanais), Carolingian, c. 800, France (photo: S. Blick, *Peregrinations* Photo Bank) 179

23. Apse mosaic of the Ark of the Covenant, c. 806, from the oratory at Germigny-des-Prés built by Bishop Theodulf of Orléans (photo: William J. Smithers, *Peregrinations* Photo Bank) 180
24. Abbey Church of Saint-Riquier, monastery of Centula, France, dedicated ca. 790; 1612 engraving by Paul Petau for *De Nithardo*, from an 11th-century manuscript illumination (photo: Bibliotheque nationale de France, Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library International) 183
25. Plan of the abbey church of Saint-Riquier, ca. 880. Former Benedictine Abbey near Abbeville, France (photo: public domain) 186
26. Plan of the Monastery of St. Gall (photo: public domain) 198
27. Plan of the Church at St. Gall. Each cross represents a side altar that would have been a part of the stational processions within this building (photo: public domain) 199

Elizabeth Saxon, Carolingian, Ottonian and Romanesque Art and the Eucharist

28. Golden Altar of S. Ambrogio, Milan, ca. 824–59, front view, scenes from the Gospels (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank) 252
29. *Crucifixion*, *Te igitur* illuminated initial, Drogo Sacramentary (Paris, BN, lat. 9428 folio 43 verso), ca. 850 (photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France) 256
30. *Triumphant Christ*, illuminated initial, Gellone Sacramentary (Paris BN MS lat. 12048, folio 143v), dated 790–804 (photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France) 260
31. *Crucifixion*, ivory plaque, ca. 820–830, incorporated into cover for the early 11th-century Book of Pericopes (Lectionary) of Henry II, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich) 269

32. Ivory plaque with Scenes at Emmaus, ca. 850–900, 11.5 × 23.5 × 0.6 cm, Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters Collection, New York (photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) 271
33. Gero Cross, carved and painted wood, 1.87 m. high, ca. 970, Cologne Cathedral (photo: public domain) 275
34. Volto Santo, 11th century, carved wood, Cathedral of San Martino, Lucca (photo: Courtesy of E. Ayer) 277
35. Porte Mièvegille, Saint-Sernin, Toulouse (photo: author) 285
36. *Last Supper*, choir capital, Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme) (photo: author) 286
37. *The purification of Isaiah's lips*, Portal at Besse, Dordogne (photo: author) 287
38. *Christ as Judge*, west tympanum, Ste. Foy, Conques (photo: author) 291
39. *Christ as Judge*, tympanum, Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (photo: author) 292
40. *Christ the Judge and Last Supper*, tympanum and lintel, St-Julien-de Jonzy (photo: author) 293
41. *Transfiguration, Adoration of the Magi, and Presentation in the Temple*, tympanum, La Charité-sur-Loire (photo: author) 296
42. *Adoration of the Magi, Annunciation, and Visitation*, east porch, St Pierre, Moissac (photo: author) 298
43. *Virgin Enthroned*, tympanum, Neuilly-en-Donjon, Allier (photo: author) 299
44. *Presentation*, *Nativity and Virgin and Child Enthroned*, Chartres, right portal of the west façade (photo: author) 302
45. Stavelot portable altar, top view with *Last Supper*, ca. 1150–60 (photo: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels) 306
46. North Portal, Vézelay narthex, tympanum with Ascension and lintel with Emmaus scenes (photo: author) 307
47. South Portal, Vézelay narthex, tympanum with *Adoration of the Magi*, and lintel with *Annunciation* (photo: author) 308

48. *Christ and the Doubting Thomas*, Cloister relief, Abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, Spain (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank) 309
49. *Christ with Saints Peter and Mary Magdalene*, column capital, parish church at Thiviers (Dordogne), ca. 1100 (photo: Zodiaque La Pierre-qui-Vire) 311
50. *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, Cloister capital at St Pierre, Moissac (photo: author) 313
51. *Marriage at Cana*, north narthex tympanum at Cluniac priory of St-Fortunat, Charlieu (Loire), ca. 1150 (photo: Courtesy of Christopher Wilson) 317
52. *Crucifixion*, tympanum, south portal of west façade, Benedictine abbey of St-Gilles (photo: author) 322

Part Three

Miri Rubin, Popular Attitudes to the Eucharist

53. *Mass of St. Gregory*, Spanish Painter, ca. 1490–1500, Oil and gold on wood, 28 3/8 × 21 7/8 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (photo: Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) 451
54. Paten and Chalice, ca. 1230–1250, Silver, partly gilt, niello, jewels. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection (photo: Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) 452
55. *Elevation of the Host at Mass*, ca. 1475, from a "Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin," Flemish (Bruges or Ghent, attr. Master of James IV of Scotland), Add. 35313. Folio No: 40 (detail). (Photo: HIP/Art Resource, NY) 454
56. Piscina from a church in Dorset (photo: E&E Image Library/HIP/TopFoto) 457
57. Rood Screen, 15th century, St Eilian Church, Anglesey, Wales (photo: open source) 466

Part Four

Gerhard Lutz, Late Medieval Sacred Spaces and the Eucharist

58. Holy Sepulchre, ca. 1265, Constance Cathedral, Chapel of St. Mauritius (photo: artwork in the public domain) 472
59. *Man of Sorrows*, third quarter of 14th century, Church of St. Sebald, Nuremberg (photo: Weilandt, Sebalduskirche, 2007) 477
60. Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, west façade (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim) 482
61. Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, groundplan (photo: Cremer 1996) 484
62. Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, Holy Blood Chapel, chest with *Gnadenstuhl* (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim) 485
63. Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, Holy Blood Chapel, detail of the chest (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim) 486
64. Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, figure of a bishop (St. Nicholas?), first quarter of 15th century (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim) 489
65. Last Supper, detail, Eucharistic altarpiece in the ambulatory, ca. 1320, Bad Doberan, former Cistercian abbey church (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim) 493

Kristen Van Ausdall, Art and Eucharist in the Late Middle Ages

66. Rogier van der Weyden, *Seven Sacraments Altarpiece*, oil on oak panel, 1440s. Center panel: the Eucharist; Left wing: baptism, confirmation and confession; Right wing: ordination, marriage and extreme unction. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, Belgium (photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY) 543
67. *Vesperbild (Pietà)*, Bohemian artist, ca. 1400, limestone with polychrome highlight, 38.1 × 39.1 × 14.0 cm, The Cloisters, New York (photo: Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters Collection) 546
68. *Cross of San Damiano*, tempera on panel, now in Santa Chiara, Assisi (photo: author) 550

69. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna del'latte*, 1330s, tempera on panel (photo: Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena) 554
70. *Vierge Ouvrant*, ca. 1300, closed, The Cloisters, New York (photo: Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters Collection) 558
71. *Vierge Ouvrant*, ca. 1300, open, The Cloisters, New York (photo: Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters Collection) 559
72. Diptych of the *Virgin and Child with St John the Evangelist and St John the Baptist* and the *Crucifixion*, Parisian ivory relief, ca. 1350, now in Dijon (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon) 561
73. Piero della Francesca, *Montefeltro Altarpiece*, ca. 1472–74, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (photo: Scala) 562
74. Hugo van der Goes, *Portinari Altarpiece*, ca. 1476–79, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (photo: Alinari, Florence) 565
75. Master of St. Francis Cycle, *The Christmas Crib at Greccio*, early 14th century, fresco, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi (photo: author) 569
76. Master of the St. Francis Cycle, *Verification of the Stigmata*, early 14th century, fresco, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi (photo: author) 571
77. Pietro Lorenzetti, *Deposition of Christ*, 1320s, fresco, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi (photo: author) 574
78. Pietro Lorenzetti Workshop, *Last Supper*, ca. 1320, fresco, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi (photo: author) 576
79. Dieric Bouts, *Last Supper Altarpiece*, 1464, oil on panel, St. Peter's Church, Leuven (photo: author) 577
80. Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author) 583
81. Ugolino di Vieri, Reliquary of the Holy Corporal, 1337–38, silver gilt and enamel, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral, Italy (photo: author) 586
82. Ugolino di Prete di Ilario, *Miraculous Mass of St. Gregory the Great*, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author) 589

83. Ugolino di Prete di Ilario, Host Miracle, Conversion of the Saracens, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author) 592
84. Ugolino di Prete di Ilario and workshop, *Miraculous Mass of Bolsena*, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: Jessica L. Smith) 594
85. Ugolino di Prete di Ilario, *Miracle of Bolsena: Meeting at the Bridge on the River Chiaro*, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author) 595
86. Ugolino di Prete di Ilario, *Miracle of Bolsena: Pope Urban IV and Thomas Aquinas*, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author) 597
87. Masaccio, *Trinity*, ca. 1426–28, fresco, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (photo: Scala, Firenze/Fondo Edifici di Culto—Ministero dell'Interno) 599
88. Giovanni da Milano, *Pietà*, 1365, Galleria degli Accademia, Florence (photo: author) 603
89. Sacrament House, Heilsbronn Münster (Landkreis Ansbach), ca. 1515 (photo: Courtesy of A.M. Brown) 609
90. Luca della Robbia, Sacrament Tabernacle, 1442, from Sant'Egidio, Florence, now in S. Maria in Peretola (photo: author) 614

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Celia Chazelle is Professor of History and Department Chair at The College of New Jersey (TCNJ). She is the author of *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and the Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), and the editor and co-editor of multiple volumes of essays. She is also co-director of TCNJ's Center for Prison Outreach and Education and, in this capacity, a lead organizer of new college degree programs at two New Jersey penitentiaries.

Michael S. Driscoll is an Associate Professor of Theology at the University of Notre Dame (Indiana, USA). He specializes in sacramental theology and liturgical studies. He has written much about the Carolingian period, particularly *Alcuin et la pénitence à l'époque carolingienne* (Liturgiewisssenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 81, Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1999).

Edward Foley is the Duns Scotus Professor of Spirituality and Ordinary Professor of Liturgy and Music at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, where he was the founding Director of the Ecumenical Doctor of Ministry Program. A specialist in worship and the arts, Foley identifies himself as a practical theologian. He currently has 19 books to his credit, including *A Commentary on the General Instruction of the Roman Missal* (2007), and the well known *From Age to Age* (2008). Foley has also authored over 300 chapters in books, scholarly and pastoral articles, and reviews.

Stephen E. Lahey is Associate Professor of Classics and Religious Studies at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln. He has written *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif* (Cambridge, 2003) and *John Wyclif* (Great Medieval Thinkers, Oxford, 2009), as well as several articles on Wyclif's thought. He has completed a translation of Wyclif's *Trialogus*, and has begun to edit *Trialogus* and *Dyalogus* from all extant manuscripts. He is also a priest in the Episcopal Church of the United States of America active in the diocese of Nebraska.

Lizette Larson-Miller is Professor of Liturgy at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California. Her teaching encompasses general graduate level courses in liturgical history and theology as well as specializations in liturgy and architecture and rites for the sick, dying and dead. She is the author of *The Sacrament of the Anointing of the Sick* (2005) and editor of *A Book of Medieval Essays* (1997). She is presently completing a book on funerals and theology of Christian death and editing a book of essays on baptismal theology. She is also the author of numerous articles and book chapters on a range of liturgical topics and continues to give presentations internationally on topics academic and pastoral in her related fields.

Ian Christopher Levy teaches in the Theology Department at Providence College in Rhode Island. His work concentrates on sacramental theology and biblical exegesis in the Middle Ages. His most recent book, *The Bible in Medieval Tradition: The Letter to the Galatians* (Eerdmans, 2011) is a study and translation of medieval commentaries on the Pauline Epistles.

Gerhard Lutz is curator at the Dom-Museum Hildesheim. His research is focused on medieval sculpture, the history of crucifixes, and the relations of theology and piety to medieval art. Recent studies include "Repräsentation und Affekt," in *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Deutschland* [*History of Art in Germany*), vol. 3: Gotik [Gothic Art] (1250–1430), ed. Bruno Klein (Munich: Prestel 2007). He also served as an associate member of the board of the directors of the International Center of Medieval Art ICMA from 2007–09.

Gary Macy, John Nobili, S.J. Professor of Theology at Santa Clara University, received both his B.A. and his M.A. degrees from Marquette University where he specialized in historical and sacramental theology. He earned his doctoral degree in Divinity from Cambridge University in 1978. He has published several books and over thirty articles on the history of the Eucharist, ordination and popular devotion. In 1991–92, Dr. Macy was Heroditus Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and during the 2005–2006 academic year the Senior Luce Fellowship at the National Humanities Center in North Carolina.

Miri Rubin is Professor of Medieval and Early Modern History at Queen Mary University of London. She was educated at the Hebrew

University of Jerusalem and at the University of Cambridge where she gained her Ph.D. in 1984. Her interests range widely in the fields of social and cultural history. She is the author and editor of several books, including *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991); *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, 1999); and *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London, 2009).

Elizabeth Saxon received a Ph.D. in the History of Art from University College, London (2001). From 1981to 1998 she was an Open University lecturer for the multi-disciplinary Arts Foundation course and for higher level courses on the Renaissance. The expanded version of her thesis was published as *The Eucharist in Romanesque France: Iconography and Theology* (Woodstock: Boydell, 2006).

Joseph Wawrykow teaches medieval theology at the University of Notre Dame. He is the co-editor of *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans* (1999) and *The Theology of Thomas Aquinas* (2005). He is the author of *God's Grace and Human Action: 'Merit' in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas* (1995) and of *The Westminster Handbook to Thomas Aquinas* (2005). He is currently at work on a book on the Christology of Aquinas, with a focus on the moral qualities of Christ.

Kristen Van Ausdall is an Associate Professor of Art History and Department Chair at Kenyon College in Ohio. She received her Ph.D. in the History of Art from Rutgers University in 1994. Concentrating on late medieval and early Renaissance painting, sculpture, and micro-architecture, her most recent studies have focused on the role of visual images in spiritual reception, the art of Eucharistic-miracle shrines, and the connections between Northern and Italian sacramental art. She is currently working on a book-length study of Sacrament tabernacles in Italy.

INTRODUCTION

Gary Macy

The Eucharist in the European Middle Ages was a multimedia event. First and foremost it was a drama, a pageant, a liturgy. Leaders of the community dressed in lavish costumes performed a sacred and solemn ritual believed to be essential for the salvation of the community. Music accompanied the mystical words unknown to most of the participants. Especially if the liturgy were held in a cathedral, the setting itself was impressive and perhaps even overwhelming for visitors from the villages and hamlets that dotted the agricultural landscape. Stunning statues, paintings, carvings and stonework furnished massive buildings sparkling with stained glass. Underlying and supporting the liturgy, the art and the architecture was a carefully constructed world of thought and belief. Central to that belief was that the savior of the world, God's own son was somehow really present in the bread and wine consumed in the ritual. Theologians in Paris and other centers of learning might debate how exactly that might be possible, but for the ordinary believer, it was the presence that mattered. Popular beliefs, spilling over into the magical, celebrated that presence in feasts, processions, visions, and venerated the miracles that resulted from the presence of Christ on earth. Church law regulated how far such practice might go as well as who was allowed to perform the liturgy and how and when it might be performed. Immense wealth was donated to honor and ornament this most central of Christian acts.

A person who attended the Eucharist then (and for that matter now) would not separate out the different elements of ritual, art, architecture, theology and social practice that were intimately and inextricably interconnected and simultaneously present in this one experience. Medievalists, alas, too often do and indeed must. Those who study the liturgy, the art, the theology, the law, the architecture and the social practices attached to the liturgy have all they can do to keep up in their own fields, and so these fields have drifted into their own worlds of journals and conferences and language. Scholars are well aware of this regrettable turn of events, but few have the time and training to bridge more than one of these gaps.

When Brill approached us several years ago to produce an introduction to the Eucharist in the European Middle Ages, we agreed only if we could produce a volume that would enlist the talents of scholars in these many areas to create a volume that would provide at least a taste of the richness of the medieval Eucharist in all its complexities. We recruited top scholars in liturgy, in sacred space, in art history, in canon law, in theology and in popular devotion to offer essays introducing the reader to what each of their fields offered to the understanding of the Eucharist.

The result, we hope, presents the reader with an entrée into the entirety of the lush and often surprising culture of the medieval Eucharist. The essays each stand on their own, and while there is, unsurprisingly, a good deal of overlap, the editors decided not to homogenize the texts. The fields are distinct in approach and language, even in the way in which they divide up the vast period designated as medieval. We have kept these differences since they are intrinsic to the fields and to the scholars involved in this endeavor. We have found that this disjunction itself is instructive. To experience the disparities in scholarship is itself part of the introduction to this topic.

Finding a structure for this multiplicity was solved with an awkward simplicity. The volume is laid out chronologically into four parts: The Heritage of the Late Empire; The Early Middle Ages; The High Middle Ages; and The Late Middle Ages. Essays necessarily sometimes ignore this arbitrary and contentious division and one could, and probably should, contest the categories we have chosen. Some demarcation was necessary and however unsatisfactory this one might be, it at least has the utility of the usual narrative structure of historical studies.

The first part is meant to be introductory. The Eucharist as practiced and understood in the Middle Ages did not spring into existence *ex nihilo*. For hundreds of years, Christians had been celebrating this ritual and the practices of those earlier periods as well as the explanations of those practices were held in very high regard by medieval writers. The great literary monuments of these earlier centuries were the *auctoritates* upon which the medievals depended. The medieval writers were often unintentional innovators, but what they most often wanted to do was restore a treasured past. Therefore to understand the Middle Ages, one must understand what they inherited from the past.

Lizette Larson-Miller sets the stage by carefully explaining the difficulties in reconstructing what medieval liturgies inherited from the ceremonies of the early church. Most importantly, she explains that full liturgies simply do not survive before the early Middle Ages. The

rituals of the early church must be reconstructed from church orders, literary sources and architectural remains. Dr. Larson-Miller surveys the surviving evidence from theses sources in the Latin West and then summarizes what can be known about early Christian liturgies from the different regions of the Western Church. Finally, she provides very useful outlines of both Merovingian and Roman Masses, inviting the reader to imagine how the early Western Middle Ages would have celebrated the central ritual of everyday Christian life.

As Joseph Wawrykow explains in the second of the two essays in this part, "medieval thinkers were as a rule quite circumspect about their own achievements. Rather than trumpet innovation and distinctiveness, theologians were more concerned with proclaiming their continuity with those who had preceded them in the faith." Scripture held pride of place among the authorities upon which the medievals depended, but close behind the Bible came the great writers of the early church. The thoughts on the Eucharist voiced by certain of these writers framed the medieval discussion by means and because of the authority they wielded. Dr. Wawrykow offers a clear and concise overview of select early authors whom the medievals claimed to know and to use: Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Augustine of Hippo, Cassian, Gregory the Great, John Chrysostom, Pseudo-Dionysius, and John Damascene. While differing, sometimes greatly, in their approach to the Eucharist, they presented medieval theology with certain "core convictions." First, all affirmed a belief in the real presence. Second, the Eucharist proclaimed the incarnation in its insistence on the presence of human, but Risen Christ. Third, the Eucharist was salvific; participation in this ritual joined one to Christ in order to share in His resurrection. Fourth, the ritual was effective only in so far as one lived a life of charity, and so, finally, the Eucharist both celebrated and formed the community of charity, the Church. It is within these constraints that the medieval theologians and preachers worked out their own understandings of the ritual.

Elizabeth Saxon's essay bridges the early Christian and the medieval visions of Eucharistic art. She argues convincingly, "Knowledge of the earliest Christian art is necessary for a full understanding of medieval art." Throughout her essay, Dr. Saxon consistently sets the art she discusses within the framework of important theological discussions as she treats of several important moments in early Christian and medieval art. A discussion of the eucharistic funeral art of the second century is followed by an analysis of the fourth- and fifth-century triumphant imperial art of the post-Constantinian period. Mosaics, carvings, and

illuminations all attest to the divine nature of Christ challenged by the Arian controversy. References to the Eucharist examined in the great Ruthwell cross of the eighth century conclude the discussion of this early period as well as launch the reader into the complex world of medieval eucharistic art.

The stage having been set, the medieval pageant of the Eucharist can begin. Michael Driscoll opens up the doors to the wonderful architecture that emerged from the Carolingian renaissance in his essay on church architecture in the early Middle Ages. Using contemporary descriptions and striking images, Dr. Driscoll guides us through representative churches of the period. First we are introduced to the palace church at Aachen, the royal court, then to the episcopal church at Germigny-de-Prés and on to the magnificent monastic churches of St. Riquier and the small and intimate monastic church of Aniane. Finally, the reader examines the model monastery envisioned in the plan of St. Gall. At each of these stations along this Carolingian pilgrimage, we are asked to listen to and to watch how the liturgy might have played out in each of these different and carefully described liturgical and historical settings.

Celia Chazelle's essay does double duty in presenting both the complex theology of the Carolingian debates about the real presence, indeed the first such debates in Christian history, as well as the non-elite understanding of the Eucharist that may well have occasioned, at least in part, the treatises of the controversy. In an original work of scholarship, Dr. Chazelle suggests that the Mass was quite probably not a fixed ceremony in the mind of most Christians of the early Middle Ages. Even what constituted a Mass was not always clear. Dr. Chazelle gives numerous examples of how, "especially in places removed from centers of power and learning, there must have been numerous situations in which ceremonies blended together, definitions were fuzzy, and opinions differed over which ritual signified what, how to distinguish them, and who could perform them."

Preaching emphasized the essentials. Christ was really present through a powerful act of God that reenacted the sacrifice of Christ and strengthened and signified Christian unity. It is against this cultural background that the works of Pascasius, Ratramnus and the other participants are then summarized and contextualized. The authors certainly differed, even strongly, over how it was the Risen Christ was present in the ritual, thus setting the stage for the further discussions of later centuries. In opposition to much popular practice and thought,

there was "one point, though, on which all four theologians agreed with one another, Pascasius, and other Carolingian clergy: No one can be saved who does not consume the bread and wine consecrated in Masses conducted by priests like themselves—the sole means, in their belief, of creating the sacramental presence of Christ's body and blood."

Elizabeth Saxon returns to continue her discussion of the close relationship between art, liturgy and theology. She offers a thorough and engaging discussion of the new forms of art that appear in the aftermath of the Carolingian reforms, dovetailing nicely with Michael Driscoll's introduction to Carolingian architecture. Illuminations in the Drogo and Gellone sacramentaries demonstrate a growing interest in the blood of Christ and in the relationship of passion and Church, an interest that will continue to grow and later flower in the later Middle Ages. Art during the Ottonian combined both a fascination with the human Jesus, as demonstrated in the Gero Cross, but the emphasis of early models on the triumph of the redemption continued to influence early eleventh century art. The Gregorian Reform produced its own images, stressing its major theological agenda. More striking, however, was late eleventh century witness to dramatic new art forms celebrating the real presence in the Eucharist, stressing both the penitence of the believer and the power of the priest. The Eucharist has become a major theme in ecclesial art.

The third part of the book treats, roughly, of the period from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, entitled here for the sake of simplicity, the High Middle Ages. The part opens with an essay on medieval liturgy by Edward Foley. In an extremely important methodological introduction, Fr. Foley warns the reader "there is no such thing as a generic Eucharist." Every celebration is unique, marked by the time, place and circumstances of that event. Further, Fr. Foley explains, "Given the enormous diversity in eucharistic practices across the so called High Middle Ages in Europe, it is not only virtually impossible to generalize about how Mass was celebrated during this ambiguously defined stretch of time, but also attempting to do so in any detail would produce questionable scholarship." Therefore, the essay describes in detail two representative liturgies in two different venues as analogous entries into the diversity of the liturgical practices of this period. The essay also provides a very useful introduction to the form and structure of the eucharistic liturgy for those unfamiliar with this ritual. Having laid the necessary groundwork, the essay proceeds

to describe in useful detail the setting, structure, purpose, personnel and clientele involved in the eucharistic liturgies at the royal abbey of St. Denis and at Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the second contribution in this part, Gary Macy summarizes the important discussions that shaped the theology of the Eucharist during the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Four areas receive particular emphasis. First, the central shift to a clerical church in which ordination became defined as the power to transform the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ is traced through the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Next, the heated and complex discussions surrounding the understanding of the real presence is tracked from the Berengarian controversy through the use of Aristotle's metaphysics in the different theories of transubstantiation. A careful analysis of the salvific function of the Eucharist follows stressing the importance of the purpose the sacrament in effecting and celebrating a life of faith and love. Finally, the popular belief in miracles and the new devotions to the Eucharist are related to the theological discussions of the period.

In what well might be the most thorough scholarly essay to date on medieval canon law concerning the Eucharist, Ian Christopher Levy summarizes the treatment the sacrament received by the important jurists of the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries. The journey begins with the seminal work of Regino of Prüm in the tenth century who collected laws from many different sources to provide a practical handbook for bishops on several topics including the proper administration of the Eucharist. Adding new material to Regino's work, Burchard of Worms passed on to the eleventh century canonical requirements for the Eucharist in his collection of laws. Anselm of Lucca stressed the centrality of the priest in performing a valid Eucharist in the collection he wrote to support the Gregorian Reforms. Using not only the canonical sources of earlier collections, but also more recent theological opinion, Ivo of Chartres produced two massive compendiums of legislation providing the basis for the even more important collection of Gratian of Bologna, popularly known at the *Decretum*. The *Decretum* formed the definitive collection of earlier laws throughout the rest of the Middle Ages and Dr. Levy provides a insightful analysis not only of Gratian's collection but of the important university commentaries upon his work by Rufinus of Bologna, Stephen of Tournai, Huguccio of Pisa, and Johannes Teutonicus. New laws were collected

and compiled in a growing addendum to the *Decretum* in what came to be known as the *Decretales*. Again, the important legislation on the Eucharist found in the *Decretales* is carefully analyzed as are the significant commentaries on the *Decretales* by Hostiensis, Bernard of Parma, and Johannes Andreae. Dr. Levy's essay does more than present this material, however. He also makes the convincing argument that these writers saw themselves not only as compilers of laws but as theologians in their own right and, as such, made major contributions to the theological discussions on the Eucharist.

In the final essay in this part, Miri Rubin offers an original survey of the lively and colorful celebration and reception of the ritual by the Christian people. More than just a summary of current scholarship, however, Dr. Rubin presents some intriguing new approaches to this topic. She suggests a comparison, for instance, between the everyday cooking, baking and sharing meals with the "making" of the Body of Christ by the priest and the banquet of the eucharistic communion. Further, this tasting of the banquet that is the Body and Blood of Christ was described in lush and sensuous terms by those who experienced the delicious sweetness of communion. Finally, Dr. Rubin weaves the role of the Eucharist into the larger "forest of symbols" in which medievals dwelt, particularly connecting the Eucharist with one of the most powerful of medieval figures, that of Mary, the Mother of Jesus.

The final part of the book introduces the flourishing devotion to and theology of the Eucharist in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first of the essays examines how church architecture was shaped by the new devotions to the Eucharist. Gerhard Lutz first points out quite correctly that "every church turned into a Eucharistic setting during Mass while the priest elevated the host." Given that daily occurrence, however, Dr. Lutz limits his study to two areas in which liturgical space was reformed by eucharistic devotion. First the introduction of the feast of Corpus Christi provided an opportunity to display and honor the host. Using the city of Nuremberg as a case study, Dr. Lutz explains how the city accommodated Corpus Christi by setting up Corpus Christi altars as well as numerous sculptures of the Man of Sorrows and a new depository for the host. Second, the occurrence of miracle hosts and their preservation as relics shaped the churches to which pilgrimages flocked. The spaces were designed to guard and to limit the display of the host relics as demonstrated in the case of Wilsnack. Again, processions offered an important venue for the display of the relics. As Dr. Lutz concludes, "The evidence brought together so

far shows a close relation between the establishment of public processions with the deepening of Eucharistic piety beyond the clergy in a broader public, and the subsequent refurbishing of the churches."

Stephen Lahey's essay offers a very clear and readable explanation of the difficult and even convoluted late medieval theology of the Eucharist. As Dr. Lahey explains, this theology centered on three questions: where is Christ when He is in the Eucharist (Where is He?); how can Christ become present (What just happened?) and how can the appearance of bread and wine remain (Why do I still see bread and wine?). In answer to each question, Dr. Lahey takes over from where Dr. Macy left off. First, the position of Thomas Aquinas is summarized and then the intricate dance of opposition, clarification and complete reformulation is skillfully choreographed. The issues move quickly to questions of existence itself. Can a being exist apart from its external attributes? Can those attributes exist on their own? What makes up a being: is it just soul and body or more? What is a soul? What is a body? Franciscans and Dominicans; Thomists and Scotists each take up positions but then often disagree among themselves. With clever examples and lively language, Dr. Lahey make the dense discussions lucid. The essay ends by connecting the controversial theology of Wyclif with its theological predecessors and then tracing the impact of Wyclif's theology on the Bohemian theology that gave rise to the Utraquist uprising. From there, it is a short step to the Reformation and our tale ends.

This part ends with in a sweeping overview of the rich and varied art dedicated to explicating and honoring the Eucharist in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Kristen Van Ausdall seamlessly weaves the theology, popular devotion and liturgy of the period into her presentation allowing the reader an insight into the holistic experience of the medieval ritual. The essay first introduces the reader to the monumental crosses that stood behind many medieval altars focusing the participants on the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist. As mentioned in Miri Rubin's essay, Mary was intimately connected with the Eucharist and Dr. Van Ausdall explicates the art that emphasized Mary as priest-intercessor as bearer of Christ. The medicants brought a new more emotive approach to the sacrament as revealed, for instance, in the frescoes in Assisi. The nativity, the infancy of Jesus and crucifixion scenes became foci for meditation on the Eucharist. Not only the shape of churches, but their decoration was affected by the interest in miracle hosts. Dr. Van Ausdall walks us through the lavishly painted Chapel dedicated to eucharistic miracles in Orvieto, pointing out the

underlying theology of the art. Stress on Christ's humanity contained in the bread and wine of the Mass produced images of the Man of Sorrows and of St. Gregory's Mass. Finally, Dr. Van Ausdall displays the importance of the sacrament houses and tabernacles in the late Middle Ages as works that both contained and revealed the Body of Christ.

The Eucharist is first and foremost a ritual; the central ritual of medieval Christianity. Yet to say that is to say much too little for a ritual has an explanation and this ritual has a controversial and convoluted theological explanation. Rituals take place in space and time and this ritual produced the marvelous architectural wonders of medieval cathedral and socially constructed communal processions. Deep devotion to the Eucharist produced astonishing art to furnish both the cathedrals, the books used in the ritual and private devotionals of all kinds. Spinning out from the liturgy and the theology of the Eucharist came a rich devotional life; part deeply mystical and moving, partly magical and manipulative. All these together form the rich pageant of the medieval Eucharist. It is hoped that this book will offer an immersion into the wonder and whirl of this extraordinary symbol and awaken a desire to know even more.

PART ONE

THE HERITAGE OF THE LATE EMPIRE

THE LITURGICAL INHERITANCE OF THE LATE EMPIRE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Lizette Larson-Miller

The development of the Eucharist in the Middle Ages reflected and incorporated the inheritance of the liturgy of the Late Empire. Having made that claim, however, it is important to recognize that the fifth through ninth centuries were themselves a fruitful and organic context in which eucharistic liturgy was translated, inculturated, adapted, and created, changing significantly in look, sound, and theological interpretation from the shape of the liturgy in the late fourth century. Rather than a single transference of a fixed liturgy at the dawn of the Middle Ages, the dynamic nature of living liturgy cyclically drove its authors and editors back to the earlier centuries, or at least to what was perceived to be a 'purer' form of the Eucharist closer to the 'source' in the early church.[1] While adjustments to the liturgy occur in every generation, the primary turning points of eucharistic celebration that most affect our understanding of liturgy in the Middle Ages are the latter half of the fourth century, the late eighth/early ninth century Carolingian liturgical synthesis, as well as eucharistic controversies which affect some dimensions of liturgical practice in the ninth century, and the acceptance of the scholastic interpretations regarding the Mass in the High Middle Ages.[2] Between these, many other factors, including changes in geography and culture, the gain and loss of vernacular

[1] The use of the past and the longing for 'being there' cycles through church history, and particularly manifests itself in liturgical history. The literature on this topic is huge, and can often be grouped by ecclesial politics and cultural approaches. A few classic overviews within the field of liturgy: Ronald Jasper, *The Search for an Apostolic Liturgy* (London, 1963); Pierre Lebrun (1661–1729), *Explication littérale historique et dogmatique des prières et cérémonies de la messe* (Paris, 1949); Ferdinand Probst (1816–1899), *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren Reform* (Münster, 1893). One could argue that the beginnings of the liturgical movements of the late 18th and early 19th centuries were based on the search for the "original Eucharist."

[2] Broad, general overviews of liturgical history will often focus on these historical and ritual turning points; three seminal works are: Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (New York, 1959); Marcel Metzger, *History of the Liturgy: The Major Stages* (Collegeville, MN, 1997); Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy* (Oxford, 1979).

languages, different political and societal constructions and assumptions, the development of the rites of ordination and concurrent shifts in the theology of priesthood, the radical changes in the sacraments of penance and anointing of the sick during these centuries, as well as the many theological changes described in the chapters following this, are reflected in the eucharistic liturgies of the Middle Ages.

This chapter will not be concerned with the whole sweep of eucharistic liturgical evolution throughout the Middle Ages, but rather in the continuity (or discontinuity) between the liturgies of the Late Empire and the early Middle Ages, with particular attention paid to the shape and setting of the Eucharist as it moved from an urban Mediterranean world to the geographical and cultural diversity in which the Latin-speaking Church grew and developed between the fifth and ninth centuries.

A few clarifications before beginning these observations will prove helpful. The first is a change in contemporary scholarship regarding liturgical history, specifically away from the assumption of a general uniformity in early church liturgy which is later undone by additions of diversity and division, to a broad recognition of diversity in liturgy from the very beginning. Recent scholarship has shown extensive plurality existed in eucharistic celebrations in the earliest centuries, with some common characteristics and broad similarities appearing by the third century.[3] By the late fourth century and particularly in the fifth century, local uniformity can be seen emerging and greater differences between the liturgical centers developing because of linguistic, cultural, political and theological differences. The emergence of these 'liturgical families'[4] by the fifth century does not, however, herald the cessation of liturgical change or exchange, both of which will continue for centuries.

The second prenotanda is the recognition of the social "mainstreaming" of the church and its liturgy in many cities between the fifth and the ninth centuries. In the fifth century, there are still many non-Christian centers in what will later be called Europe, as well as

[3] See Paul Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (Oxford, 2002), especially chapter 1.

[4] See Robert Taft, "The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology" in *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, (Washington, DC, 1984), pp. 160–161, as well as Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, chapters 6 and 10.

cycles of re-missionizing, but there are also places where the majority of Christians were those baptized as infants or children and for whom the earlier ecclesial assumptions of catechesis prior to initiation no longer exist. The results of this shift in the liturgical participation of Christians themselves affects eucharistic liturgy directly. A church with many "semi-catechized" Christians means that the liturgy will need to work harder to edify and instruct, including both encouragement to participation (particularly in communion) at the same time as "fencing off" communion by stressing the awesome nature of the sacrament and the ethical demands of participation.[5] The late fourth century writings from hand-wringing bishops about the altered state of the Christian populace and their different sense of believing have also led to recent changes in perspective on the importance of this crucial century for liturgical development. Rather than simply the summation of logical development from simplicity to complexity,[6] or the "golden age" of liturgical achievement to be mined for contemporary liturgical renewal,[7] the late fourth century liturgical developments may have been the ritual and catechetical antidote to decline in informed and enthusiastic participation.[8]

Third, while the majority of the liturgical families were established in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian and other Eastern languages, the Latin-speaking liturgical tradition, born in North Africa and spreading northward from there, was quite varied in and of itself. The liturgy of the city of Rome was, at times, very influential for other Latin-speaking churches, but at other times it was itself influenced and changed by churches north of the Alps and elsewhere.[9] This is not to underplay the importance of the Roman Rite in the High Middle Ages and beyond,

---

[5] See Paul F. Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 139–146.

[6] See the classic works of Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Oxford, 1945) and Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (London, 1958).

[7] John Baldovin, "The Uses of Liturgical History" *Worship* 82 (2008), 2–18.

[8] Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, p. 213.

[9] Two well-known examples would be the addition of the *Agnus Dei* ("Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy on us…grant us peace) under the Eastern (Syrian) Christian influence of Pope Sergius (pope from 687–701). Sergius may have been both responding to a narrow spectrum of symbolic depictions of Christ as well as accommodating the influx of Eastern Christians to Rome in the face of growing Islamic presence in formally Christian-dominated regions. A second example would be the introduction of the Nicene Creed into the Mass on a regular basis at the urging of Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor (962–973) who brought to Rome the *Romano-Germanic Pontifical* and imposed elements of the Mass common north of the Alps to the Roman liturgy.

but simply a reminder that there were many liturgical influences in the Western Church as we move from the Late Empire to the Early Middle Ages.

Finally, as the Latin-speaking church moved from the fifth century into the early Middle Ages and beyond, the impact and influence of monasticism becomes increasingly important for eucharistic liturgy in a number of ways. First in preserving and re-shaping earlier liturgical practices (not just with regard to the Eucharist, but in connection with many liturgical rites), second, in providing the physical setting for liturgical development in monastic churches and centers of learning, and third, in providing much of the leadership in liturgy with regard to the architectural, musical, and textual elements, as well as theological reflection on the Eucharist.[10]

This essay will approach the liturgical continuity of the earliest Christian centuries into the Middle Ages by first setting a general cultural, historical and political context for liturgical development, then by reviewing the sources of time, place and text for understanding eucharistic liturgy in this span of roughly five centuries. After these two sections, the chapter turns to a reconstruction of the general shape of the liturgy and the diversity of practices represented by the growing centrality of the Roman and Frankish churches, and the hybrid eucharistic liturgy that emerges from their sense of the past and mutual borrowing one from another.

The Context for Latin Liturgical Development in Late Antiquity

The expansion of Christianity outward from lands immediately surrounding the Mediterranean Sea took place at different rates into different geographical areas. Christian liturgy celebrated in Latin, itself an inculturation from Greek and other Eastern language groups, appears

[10] See Angelus Albert Häussling, *Möchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier* (Münster, 1973); Michaela Puzicha, OSB "Monastische Idealvorstellungen und Terminologie im Sechsten Jahrhundert" in *Itinera Domini*, eds. Emmanuel von Severus and Anselm Rosenthal (Münster, 1988); James K.A. Smith, *Desiring the Kingdom: Worship, Worldview and Cultural Formation* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2009). Some early liturgical practice is filtered through monastic ritual and preserved in the monastic *customaries* or ritual books. See the section on *customaries* (pp. 213–220) in Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, 1998).

to have first emerged in late second century North Africa[11] and spread through Rome to many other areas within the Western part of the Roman Empire. By the fifth century, the "political life and administrative arrangements of the western (Latin) empire and eastern (Greek) empire were increasingly divided,"[12] and while imperial attention was primarily focused on the eastern empire, both the governing of states and Christian church practices in the West developed their own strategies to deal with diverse challenges. The scholarly methodology that sought uniformity in the Latin-speaking church by advocating for a sequential progression of all western liturgy flowing from an original Roman Rite[13] has been challenged by more recent writings. But, as each successive cycle of scholarship in the liturgy of late antiquity has revealed great diversity and creativity in using elements from various sources adapted to local needs, the similarities in overall liturgical structure and practices have also been noted, as well as the theological and political concerns about ecclesial unity. Throughout the early development of Latin eucharistic liturgy the two unifying forces were the concern for being rooted in the past as a method of establishing authenticity and self-identification, and, secondly, the use of the Latin language, "the primary language of liturgy, learning, and law" that created coherence and ease of communication in and among various Christian communities.[14] These two factors, in turn, helped form Latin Christianity which became the 'glue' that held successive (and sometimes non-familial) states together, creating an extended unity in the building of political states and nations.

The first trajectory, the use of the past to shape the identity of a particular people, has been succinctly coined as "ethnogenesis, the

---

[11] Tertullian's Latin-language writing on Christianity in North Africa is not primarily focused on Eucharist (or liturgy in general), but contains references to baptism, Eucharist and reconciling. Whether he is recording what "is" or what he thinks "should be" is more difficult to discern. See the discussion in Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, pp. 100–102.

[12] Rosamond McKitterick, "Introduction" in *The Early Middle Ages: Europe 400–1000*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Oxford, 2001) p. 11.

[13] "The new Christian realms might invoke Roman authority, but these polities primarily defined themselves by drawing strict liturgical boundaries coinciding with their respective 'peoples' (*gentes*). The quest for a truly uniform Christian cult was a crucial element that defined the identity of a King and the leading men of his *gens* who were accountable to God for their 'people'." Mayke de Jong, "Religion" in *The Early Middle Ages*, p. 137. The need for unity and uniformity, was therefore, an internal concern among a particular people in the early centuries of this time period.

[14] McKitterick, "Introduction," p. 9.

construction and metamorphosis of political or professional groups into ethnic groups and the birth of a 'people'."[15] This 'construction' is both created from and expressed in the liturgy, but not as a separate aspect from the larger cultural identity. Even in light of an interesting reversal in the relationship between state and church over the course of the centuries in question, the western Christian church is inextricably woven together with the larger political and cultural worlds:

> Whereas the church of late antiquity had been a part of the Roman empire, without being entirely identical with the structures of political power, in Carolingian ideology this relation was reserved. The empire itself derived its coherence from the fact that it was an *ecclesia gentium*, a world defined by correct Christianity, as opposed to false versions thereof.[16]

And within this evolving relationship of political power and church, the liturgy was a primary means by which the "ethnogenesis" of a people was given shape and, in turn, was used to define a particular group of people over and against other 'peoples'. This articulation of a particular people with roots in the biblical and ecclesial past was important in authenticating Christian communities without the tangible local links to the apostles. Because liturgical celebration was a constituent part of "correct Christianity", the concern for its shape, its words, its ministers, and its rituals grew, reaching a watershed with the Carolingian use and shaping of liturgy in the hands of Benedict of Aniane and Alcuin of York.[17]

The imaginative role that the city of Rome played in the construction of eucharistic liturgies of late antiquity shifted from place to place and from century to century. In the fourth and fifth centuries, during the first wave of the expansion of Latin-speaking liturgy, those areas with the closest cultural and political links to the city of Rome, such as south-east Gaul and parts of Italy, saw Rome as both the inspiration for classical learning and the city of apostolic ecclesial foundation through

---

[15] McKitterick, "Introduction," p. 7.

[16] Mayke de Jong, "Religion," p. 139.

[17] This assumes the common understanding that Benedict of Aniane is primarily responsible for the editing and supplementation of the *Hadrianum*, while Alcuin of York oversaw many aspects of using Christian theology and liturgy for the good of the Carolingian imperial progress as well as rituals for initiation in newly 'conquered' areas. See my introduction to *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays* (New York, 1995) p. xiv; Frederick Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1990), especially chapter 4.

the link of Sts Peter and Paul with Rome.[18] For other new churches or geographically scattered churches, Rome was at best irrelevant and passé, the place of persecution of saints and a symbol of decadence.[19] For yet others, especially non-Greek (and non-Latin) speakers, Rome was known politically and economically as the employer of mercenaries, but theologically foreign.[20]

But the use of the past and, within that, the adoption of Roman heritage, shifted as it was discerned to be politically and theologically necessary. The most common self-authentication was to insert one's own history into the whole of salvation history. Hence, "all but two of the thirty-two major 'world chronicles' written between the third and the tenth centuries within a Christian milieu…start with the creation."[21] This provided a way to sociologically graft a separate group of people onto the tree of life, explain how God continued to act in history by reference to past events, and particularly, for emerging royal families in Gaul, the British Isles and elsewhere, draw on the biblical accounts of interactions between God and the leaders of ancient Israel as model and verification. While the use and understanding of biblical typology varies in time and theology, for the Franks it seemed to be used in all three of its general interpretations: "like all comparisons, it can function as either simile or metaphor; it can express a wish or a hope; it can purport to describe things as they are, or imply a prescription about the way they ought to be."[22] But as Garrison and other scholars caution, an over-emphasis on the self-identity of the Franks, or the English

---

[18] See Ralph Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy in Fifth Century Gaul* (Washington, DC, 1989); Raymond van Dam, "The Transformation of the Aristocracy in the Fifth Century" in *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, ed. Raymond van Dam (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 141–176; and Chris Wickham, "Society" in *The Early Middle Ages*.

[19] See the image of Rome in Eusebius and Jerome, where Rome is seen "as the locus of old imperial power" and "Roman" generally refers to "Roman soldiers…" Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN, 2006), pp. 35–6.

[20] This was particularly so in the strongholds of Western Arian Christianity and elsewhere where tribal interaction with Rome was ongoing but ecclesially and theologically they were worlds apart. See John Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993) and Kim Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008), especially chapters 3 & 4.

[21] McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 4.

[22] Mary Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne" in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge, 2000), p. 118.

or the Irish as being solely based on their perception of themselves as the "new Israel" or the "chosen people" can be misleading.[23] The ritual action where this analogy was most evident was in the royal anointing at the making of a new king, which only took place every decade or so,[24] while the developing eucharistic liturgy was a weekly or daily event for many people, and contained words and actions linking these emerging Christian churches not only to the Old Testament, but to the Jesus of the Gospels, to Rome, to the saints and local revelation, and to citizenship in heaven. It was this more accessible and familiar pattern of eucharistic liturgy that both received and expressed the shaping of a people's identity, the "ethnogenesis", through the articulations of their rich and rooted past as well as their eternal future.

The articulation of a theological connection with Rome became a matter of greater importance through the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries as political and ecclesial matters ebbed and flowed. In the struggle between re-establishing Roman Christian perspectives and practices and the strong Celtic Christian milieu in Britain, the Venerable Bede (672/3–735) turns to Rome, its importance in Christianity, its authentic liturgical practices, and the intertwining of the English people with Rome to establish the precedence that Roman Christianity should take.[25] The early Carolingian application of Old Testament images to themselves was augmented by papal political needs, resulting in a mid-eighth century description of the Carolingians as "sons of the 'mother church' and "special people of the pope, and through him, of St. Peter."[26] By the time of Ado of Vienne (9th century) and Regino of Prüm (early 10th century), "Rome and Roman imperial and sacred history assume enormous prominence" and even form the basis for the chronology of martyrs in Gaul "according to political events in Rome."[27]

These uses of the past, particularly other peoples' cultural and religious pasts, will be factors in shaping the self-identity of emerging Christian churches and impact liturgical development for the Latin-

---

[23] Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel?" pp. 114–115.

[24] See Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel?" pp. 136–138.

[25] See Patrick Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence* (Jarrow on Tyne, 1984); and Eamonn Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of BedeI* (Jarrow on Tyne, 1994).

[26] Mary Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel?" p. 124.

[27] McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 33, 41.

speaking church as it grows in what is present day France, Germany, Spain and the British Isles. But any suggestion that liturgical development somehow remained free and 'untainted' from the sociological and political shaping of these various constituencies must be set aside. As the Franks, Vandals, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Romans and others gradually assimilated and transformed each other,[28] liturgy continued to be both a tool and a vehicle for exchange and control in ways common and specific to each cultural group.

The evidence of Latin as the tie that increasingly helped the common ecclesial endeavor is found in several arenas. First, wherever Roman rule extended and was either a carrier of Christianity or simply created a structure for the church to establish itself, Latin was the language of the educated elite who often made up the founding episcopal rank, as well as the language of the legal system which was often employed as assistance in the establishment of churches. Second, Latin was, with a few exceptions,[29] the language of the liturgical texts borrowed, adapted and created in the various outposts of Western Christianity. Third, the need for communication in transmitting scripture, scripture commentaries, hagiography, liturgical texts, and later monastic customaries and information from place to place was facilitated by the primary use of Latin, especially in a world where the vernacular may have only been known to a particular tribe in a limited geographical area. The cultural shaping of Latin as the language by which to express the theoretical and abstract ('things unseen'), the various biblical translations in Latin, and the stylistic characteristics of Latin legal language will all contribute to the shaping of Latin liturgical language, which will, in turn, shape Western church theology. This mutual influence would be joined by two additional factors, first cyclical influences from the Eastern churches, and second, enduring and evolving local inculturation, all of which contribute to the unique and organic nature of late antique liturgical composition.

This brief and incomplete view of the cultural and political basis of key factors in developing eucharistic liturgy in late antiquity gives us

---

[28] McKitterick, "Introduction", p. 13.

[29] The retention and/or introduction of Greek language elements in the Latin liturgy is the most widespread example of early bilingual liturgies, but the Mozarabic use of Arabic after the seventh century, as well as some early Celtic Christian uses of local language come to mind. See Raymond van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, pp. 15–16.

some context in which to look at the sources and shaping of eucharistic liturgy as it moves from the time of the Late Empire into the Middle Ages.

Settings for the Development of Early Latin Eucharistic Liturgies

What we know of eucharistic liturgy in the Latin-speaking ecclesial centers by the end of the fourth century and into the fifth century is uneven. If we briefly survey six geographical/political areas for which extant sources exist (or where later Latin-speaking churches flourished in late antiquity), we can see both the limitations of those sources as well as the breadth of vitality as the early ecclesial roots give rise to creative and synthetic eucharistic traditions.

A. *Rome*

One of the great ironies in early liturgical history is the paucity of information originating in and describing the actual liturgy of the city of Rome between the second and the fifth centuries. The primary early source (ca. 150) on the Eucharist in Rome is found in Justin the Martyr, *First Apology*, Chapters 61–67, where the Eucharist is described first in connection to baptism and second in the context of Sunday.[30] While the famous 'Sunday description' has been heralded as the ancient roots of contemporary eucharistic liturgy, the format of:

> gathering
> scripture readings
> eucharistic prayer over bread and wine
> communion
> collections for the poor and communion taken to the sick and imprisoned

is deceptively spare in its description.[31] With no other parallel descriptions, we do not know if Justin was describing *the* rite of Rome or *a* rite of Rome, but the plethora of language and cultural groups among

[30] See English translation and brief commentary for eucharistic texts in R.C.D. Jasper & G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (New York, 1987), pp. 25–30. Justin also discusses theological interpretations of the Eucharist as distinct from Judaism in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (See *Dialogus cum Tryphone/Iustini Martyris*, trans. Miroslav Marcovich [Berlin, 1997]).

[31] See Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, pp. 98–100.

Christians in the city of Rome (Justin writing in Greek) points to the likelihood of the latter.

The next important eucharistic text from the city of Rome, the so-called *Apostolic Tradition*,[32] is a church order, and the different genre and era (the document appears to be a composite edited text ranging from the mid-second century through the fourth century), makes drawing certain links from Justin to the *Apostolic Tradition* difficult. A similar overall structure of introduction, scripture, intercessory prayer, eucharist proper, and dismissal, discerned through layers of edited and augmented text, will, however, begin to appear in many church orders throughout the Mediterranean Christian texts.

The *Apostolic Tradition*'s eucharistic description is part of the ordination of a bishop and includes a eucharistic prayer text, but again discerning what community knew a eucharistic prayer like this (and when they knew it) is difficult to ascertain. The fact that this eucharistic prayer bears little resemblance to what will later be known as the 'Roman Canon' is further complicated by the reality that the next verifiably dated descriptions (although partial) of Eucharist in the city of Rome come from the fifth century.[33] After these resources it is a jump to the seventh and eighth centuries before lectionaries and sacramentaries are available to give us information, in addition to the earliest ritual instructions in the *ordines romani*, most of which are already combining liturgical texts and practices from other cities and regions.[34] The one exception is possibly the *libelli missarum* gathered together in what is now known as the "Verona Collection." While the single extant manuscript is a seventh century copy, many scholars suggest that the individual prayer sets date mostly from the fifth

[32] The difficulty of an edited text from several centuries and reconstructed from a plethora of extant and diverse manuscripts (minus the Greek original) is carefully traced in what is at present the most cautious edition and commentary by Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, 2002).

[33] For related calendar issues, the earlier Philocalian Calendar (Chronograph) of 354 is helpful (see John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*. (Rome, 1987, pp. 119–120); and also the letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio in 416; the sermons of Leo the Great (440–461), and the various references in the *Liber Pontificalis* (not reliable until contemporary, ca. 496), see *The Book of Pontiffs (liber pontificalis)*, trans. Raymond Davis (Liverpool, 1989).

[34] See the collection of essays in Julia M.H. Smith, ed., *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000).

and sixth centuries and reveal the "earliest prayer forms of the Roman liturgy: *preces* (consecratory formulae), *oratio fidelium* (intercessory prayer) and *orationes* (brief prayers after the chants, the readings and at the conclusion of morning and evening prayer)"[35] loosely arranged according to the year and other liturgical rites.

The archeological evidence of early church in Rome is both extensive and often supported by written references to the places, often providing more information than the textual remains from the 'missing' centuries. The important places of martyr shrines and churches ringing the city of Rome,[36] the graffiti in those places,[37] and the tradition of building newer churches on top of older Christian places have preserved in stone and memory a grid of Christian practice around the city.[38] These precede and parallel the Constantinian contribution of the Lateran Basilica of 313, in which the public style building of the Roman market, law court, and general public space, the basilica, was adapted for liturgical use. Although occidented, rather than oriented, the large rectangular space had a nave and four aisles ending in transepts ("an innovation in the basilican style which may have been added to provide better visual access to the sanctuary as well as a space for the reception of offerings.")[39] which allowed more light into the interior and reflected the processional nature of the Roman liturgy. Constantine also directed the building of the shrine church over the tomb of St. Peter (begun after 329). Larger, but with a similar floor plan to the Lateran basilica, St. Peter's was centered over the *tropaion*, or grave site, which was at the crossing of transept, nave and apse, crowned with a large arch.[40] Because St. Peter's was fundamentally a

---

[35] Cyril Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William Storey and Neils Rasmussen. (Washington, DC, 1986), p. 43.

[36] Richard Krautheimer, "The Constantinian Basilica of the Lateran" *Antiquity* 34 (1960), 201–206; Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980); Eamonn O Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar, eds., *Roma Felix: formation and reflections of Medieval Rome* (Aldershot, UK, 2007).

[37] Graydon Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archeological evidence of church life before Constantine* (Macon, GA, 1985).

[38] See Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, pp. 105–122.

[39] Baldovin, *Urban Character*, p. 109.

[40] Baldovin, *Urban Character*, p. 110. The transepts (as at the Lateran), were the perpendicular arms extending from the longer rectangular nave, with the apse (here curved) at the 'head' of the building. From above one would see a Latin cross with the top of the cross shortened and curved, a clear example of ritual place as symbolic space. For an overview of sacred building 'morphology' see Lindsay Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture*, II, (Cambridge, MA, 2000), especially chapter 17.

covered cemetery arranged over and around the tomb of the apostle, there is no evidence of a fixed altar until the time of Gregory the Great at St. Peter's, but there is still evidence of regular eucharistic celebrations throughout the fifth century.[41] Constantine also had the imperial Sessorian hall converted to a liturgical space (*Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*) and the shrine of St. Lawrence expanded and a large basilica-shaped covered cemetery added to the complex.

B. *South and Southeast Gaul*

The geographical closeness of the southern coast of Gaul via the sea to major Mediterranean centers, and the antiquity of Roman oversight and wealthy aristocracy allowed the developing church in southern Gaul to extend its own sense of urban antiquity and learnedness beyond the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. Perhaps because of this established connection between leadership, wealth, and church in a limited number of Gallo-Roman families, there is evidence of extensive liturgical concern and creativity in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The establishment of Christian communities in some cities is evident by the second century, centered on Lyon. The persecution and martyrdoms of Christians in 177 under the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the elevation of Irenaeus as bishop of Ludunum after those events (ca. 177–ca. 202), while perhaps not representing a continuous Christian community through the fifth century, were important in establishing an authentic early Christian pedigree (and through Irenaeus, back to Polycarp and the disciple John). Irenaeus' writings include early eucharistic theology rooted in creation and the incarnation to counter local and eastern Gnostic teaching, but discernable impact on later Gallican theology is difficult to trace.[42] It is rather in the fifth century, with the erudite senator-become-bishop Sidonius Apollinaris (ca.431–ca. 485, bishop of Clermont in 469) as a prime example,[43] that the seeds of a later ascendant Gallican church seem clear. In writings about Sidonius, he is said to have written *contestatiunculae* ("prayers

---

[41] See Leo the Great, Sermon 27 for Christmas (*PL* 54:218).

[42] See David N. Power, *Irenaeus of Lyons on Baptism and Eucharist: Selected Texts.* Bramcote (Nottingham, 1991).

[43] "Sidonius, for all his confident traditionalism, was in the last generation of its splendor. By the sixth century, many things had changed." Chris Wickham, "Society", in Rosamond McKitterick, *The Early Middle Ages*, p. 64. Clermont is now Clermont-Ferrand, to the west of Lyons.

or prefaces for the Mass"),[44] and in his own letter, he left valuable descriptions of the vigils and Eucharists celebrating martyr feasts in his letters.[45] He is also credited with the composition of whole Mass settings for various feasts throughout the year by his later admirer Gregory of Tours.[46] One of Sidonius' friends, Mamertus, another aristocrat-become-bishop in the changed political climate under the Visigoths, oversaw a vibrant liturgical center in the church of Vienne in the mid-fifth century. Sidonius himself credits Mamertus with the invention of the Rogation Day processions[47] and martyr feasts. But Vienne also seemed to be part of a larger Rhône valley liturgical center in the fifth and sixth centuries, including versions of penitential litanies related to the Rogation processions, intercessory prayers for rulers and the Burgundian court ideal of the *rex pacificus*, the continuous liturgy of the monastery of Agaune (the *laus perennis*), and the letters and liturgical suggestions of Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne ca. 494–523, which link the region directly to the conversion and baptism of several important rulers, chief among them Clovis, the Merovingian King baptized ca. 496 in Reims as a Catholic. All of this has led to the speculation that Vienne and the Rhône Valley may be the origins of the editing of the liturgical compilation known as the Bobbio Missal, an important source of our knowledge of eucharistic liturgy in the late seventh/early eighth centuries in southeast Gaul.[48] Elsewhere, we hear of liturgical texts being written in Marseilles by Musaeus, which,

---

[44] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 35.

[45] *Sidonius, Poems and Letters*, ed. and trans. W.B. Anderson, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1936).

[46] Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Baltimore, Maryland, 1974), p. 134; MGH 2, 22.

[47] Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* V.14, cited in Ian N. Wood "Liturgy in the Rhône valley and the Bobbio Missal" in *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, eds. Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens (Cambridge, 2004), p. 207. The Rogation Days, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday prior to Ascension Thursday, were marked by acts of penance and a fixed (and lengthy) penitential litany that was sung while a city-wide procession marked out the boundaries of the city or stopped at notable places. For a recent and clear discussion on the relationship of the Rogation Days to the Major Litany of 25 April, see Joyce Hill, "The *Litaniae maiores* and *minors* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: terminology, texts and traditions" *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000), 211–246.

[48] This is the working hypothesis of the work cited directly above (note 47), a thorough and recent collection of essays on the Bobbio Missal, the result of a 2001 conference and subsequent publication *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture.* See especially Ian M. Wood's chapter, pp. 206–218.

while the texts themselves are no longer extant, is informative regarding elements of eucharistic liturgy in this fifth-century church:

> Musaeus, presbyter of the church at Marseilles, a man learned in divine scriptures and most accurate in their interpretation, as well as master of an excellent scholastic style, on the request of the holy Venerius the bishop, selected from holy scriptures passages suited to the various feast days of the year, also passages from the psalms for responses suited to the season, and the passages for reading. The readers in the church found this work of the greatest value, in that it saved them trouble and anxiety in the selection of passages, and was useful for the instruction of the people as well as for the dignity of the service. He also addressed to the holy Eustathius the bishop, successor to the above mentioned man of God, an excellent and sizable volume, an extraordinary and not so small sacramentary, divided into various sections, according to the various offices and seasons, readings and psalms, both for reading and chanting, but also filled throughout with petitions to the Lord, and thanksgiving for his benefits.[49]

In addition to a few eucharistic references in the writings of Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 300–368)[50] and Caesarius, bishop of Arles (ca. 470–542),[51] the southern part of what is now France apparently gave birth to other individual and ecclesial undertakings which shaped eucharistic texts and structure, although most are no longer extant. The dearth of extant texts today, however, does not change the impact that this work apparently had on the liturgical developments of the sixth through ninth centuries.

> The production of the Merovingian liturgical books did not emerge *ex nihilo*, and it was deeply rooted in traditional literary productivity which characterized fourth and fifth century Gaul. Mathisen demonstrates in his book how the bishops of Gaul, among them some of the most famous bishops of the period, such as Hilary of Arles, Honoratus of Arles, Rusticus of Narbonne, Sidonius Apollinaris, or Hilary of Poitiers, consolidated their influence through participation in an extensive literary circle.[52]

---

[49] Gennadius, *De viris illustibus* LXXX (the writing of Gennadius, who flourished ca. 470), is also known as *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis.* Translation adapted from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, III. Musaeus died before 461.

[50] From the hand of Jerome, *Liber de viris illustibus*, 100.

[51] Caesarius' references to the Eucharist are found scattered throughout his sermons and particularly in the rules he wrote for monks and nuns.

[52] Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, AD 481–751* (Leiden, 1995), p. 52. Hen references Ralph Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy in Fifth Century Gaul* (Washington, DC, 1989).

The archeological evidence from Gaul is far less extensive than for Rome, both because of the more scattered nature of the Christian establishments and because of the deliberate destruction in later French history. Some evidence from Lyon of early baptisteries and outlines of churches, the fourth century baptistery of Poitiers, the crypt remains of John Casssian's monastery (415) in Marseilles, the ruins of an early fourth century basilica and baptistery (reusing an earlier Roman bath) in Nice-Cimiez, a collection of early Christian sarcophagi in Arles, and above all, Constantine's basilica in Trier[53] provide some corollary to the textual evidence.

C. *North Africa*

The earliest Latin writings on liturgy come from North Africa and have already been noted above (Tertullianus Quintus Septimus Florens, ca. 160–ca. 230). It is particularly in his treatises on baptism (*De baptismo*) and on chastity (*De exhortatione castitatis*) that Tertullian discusses the Eucharist, but references are scattered throughout his many extant treatises and apologies, both in his 'catholic' and 'montanist' phases.[54] More direct references to eucharistic practice are to be found in the writings of the third century bishop of Carthage (Cyprian, 248–258) who wrote frequently about authentic ministers of the Eucharist, who may and may not be admitted to the table, as well as details such as the mixed chalice, choice of scripture readings and martyr feasts.[55] The third primary writer of the North African church is Augustine of Hippo (Bishop, 395–430) whose influence through his life and writings still marks him as one of the most important

---

[53] Heinz Heinen, *Frühchristliches Trier: von den Anfängen bis zur Völkerwanderung* (Trier, 1996).

[54] See François Decret, *Le Christianisme en Afrique du nord anciénne* (Paris, 1996); David Rankin, *Tertullian and the Church* (Cambridge, 1995). See also the interesting discussion on similarities in eucharistic theology between Tertullian (particularly in his *On Prayer*, 1.3, Irenaeus in several writings and Justin. All focus on "the prayer of God" as heavenly, and the whole praying as "invocation" or "prayer of God" (epiclesis), in which the bread and wine are "eucharistified". Justin and Irenaeus write in Greek, Tertullian in Latin, and yet the second century/early third century similarities are interesting. Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation* (Collegeville, 1999), pp. 111–115.

[55] Especially Cyprian's treatise "On the Lapsed" 15, 16 and Letter 63 to Cecil. See *Worship in the Early Church: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, ed. Lawrence Johnson (Collegeville, 2009). Also John D. Laurence, *'Priest' as Type of Christ: The Leader of the Eucharist in Salvation History According to Cyprian of Carthage* (New York, 1984).

theologians in Western Christianity. While details of the eucharistic celebration in Hippo emerge primarily in Augustine's letters[56] and sermons,[57] it is his wide-ranging impact on sacraments and theology that endures in Latin-speaking Christianity.[58] The ongoing North African contestation between different Christian groups for right belief reflected in right practice during the fourth and fifth centuries is found recorded in various North African synodical proceedings. In the Synod of Hippo (393) it was decreed that all prayers at the altar "must be addressed to the Father and that one must avoid using prayers compiled in other localities until they have been examined by some of the *fratres instructiores.*"[59] The theological content of prayers came under scrutiny at the Synod of Carthage in 397, and finally at the 407 Synod of Carthage, control of prayer texts was regulated by means of a collection of "*preces, praefationes, commendationes* and *impositiones manuum*, composed under the supervision of the hierarchy"[60] This evidence of *libelli missarum* from the late fourth and early fifth centuries would be invaluable for reconstructing Latin-language liturgy, but nothing remains of the church orders or texts of the North African church.[61]

The archeological remains in North Africa are far fewer than those in Rome, but a number of ruins remained into the twentieth century, undisturbed by later Christian building programs. Some groupings have been extensively studied, while others remain geographically or

---

[56] Especially Epistles 54 and 55 (the latter a letter on liturgical practice to Januarius), and 29 (a description of the feast day celebration of St. Leontius).

[57] Particularly Augustine's sermons around Easter, to the *infantes* (227, 229, 229A, and on the scripture readings at Eucharist (sermons 165, 176). See Water Knowles, *Numbering Liturgy: An Augustinian Aesthetics of Worship* (unpublished PhD Dissertation, GTU, Berkeley, CA 2009) for an analysis of the liturgical information mined from Augustine's preaching. Also Robin Jensen and J. Patout Burns, "The Eucharistic Liturgy in Hippo's Basilica Major at the Time of Augustine" in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999), pp. 335–338.

[58] Knowles, *Numbering Liturgy*; William Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate* (Collegeville, 1996); Frederik van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop*, trans. Brian Battershaw and G.R. Lamb (London, 1961).

[59] Canon 25, in G.D. Mansi *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection.* Cited in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 34. The *fratres instructiores* were apparently a review board whose individual members had the authority to approve eucharistic texts. This centralization of approved texts in Hippo and the outlying areas began a move away from spontaneous and individually composed prayers to a standardization of text.

[60] See Mansi, 4, 330. Cited in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 35.

[61] See the reconstructed elements in Victor Saxer, *Vie liturgique et quotidienne à Carthage vers le milieu du IIIe siècle. Le termoignage de S. Cyprien et de ses contemporains d'Afrique* (Rome, 1969).

politically difficult to access. Christianity and the spread of church order followed the Roman organization of provinces, and because of that "African urbanization was a key factor in Romanization as well as in the establishment of Christianity," particularly during the second and third centuries.[62] These urban ecclesial centers such as Carthage, and smaller cities such as Hippo and Cirta have yielded Christian complexes including baptisteries,[63] basilicae with evidence of the unique North African placement of the altar in the center of the nave, and the use of the apse as the *loca sanctorum* for martyr and other Christian burials,[64] and especially the archeological and textual evidence of the centrality of martyr cults to early North African Christianity.[65] Together with the secondary textual evidence above, we have a glimpse of the place and arrangement of early North African liturgy in a few urban centers.

D. *North Italy*

The northern and northeastern areas of what is now Italy do not have any extant liturgical texts prior to the fourth century. From Milan, there is the famous and oft-quoted *De Sacramentis* of Ambrose, bishop of that city from 374–397.[66] Although some scholarly dispute remains as to whether it is actually the work of Ambrose,[67] it is a rich and important description of the Eucharist, with quotes from a eucharistic prayer similar to what will emerge as the Roman Canon.[68] While direct

---

[62] François Decret, *Early Christianity in North Africa.* (Eugene, Oregon, 2009), p. 4.

[63] See Anita Stauffer, *On Baptismal Fonts: Ancient and Modern* (Nottingham, 1994).

[64] See Yvette Duval, *Chrétien d'Afrique â l'aube de la Paix Constantinienne* (Paris, 2000), and for Tebessa in particular Jürgen Christern, "Il complesso cristiano di Tebessa, architettura e decorazione" *Corsi di cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 17 (1970), pp. 103–117. Also Jensen and Burns, "Eucharistic Liturgy in Hippo's Basilica."

[65] See Victor Saxer, *Morts, Martyrs, Reliques* (Paris, 1980); Charles Saumagne, *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles: les témoignages de Tertullian, Cyprien, et Augustin à la lumière de archeology africaine* (Paris, 1980).

[66] Ambrose' *De Sacramentis* is often presented as the 'missing link' for the Roman Canon, because the quotes of a eucharistic prayer similar to what will emerge as the Roman Canon actually predate by several centuries an actual text of the canon. See, for example, Cesare Alzati, *Ambrosianum Mysterium: the Church of Milan and its litugical tradition*, II, trans. George Guiver (Cambridge, 2000).

[67] See comments in Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, p. 103.

[68] "Quoted by him [Ambrose] in *De Sacramentis* 4, it has obvious links with the Roman Canon and is the earliest extended quotation we have of this kind of prayer.

dependence of these quotes on a single, fixed Roman prayer seems out of proportion to extant evidence,[69] Ambrose' treatise, along with various hymns and antiphons attributed to him, reveal a eucharistic theology both conscious of the importance of Roman practice as well as beholden to aspects of Eastern Christian theology.

From the northeastern region of Italy, there are sermons and commentaries from various bishops, including Chromatius of Aquileia (ca. 388–407), Gaudentius of Brescia (ca. 397), Zeno of Verona (362–ca. 375), Maximus of Turin (ca. 380–ca. 465), and Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna (bishop 433–450). Most of the extant writing of these bishops relating to Eucharist is in the form of sermons preached according to the christological and sanctoral cycles and feast days, and they offer glimpses of eucharistic texts and details.[70] There is a reference to a complete set of liturgical texts from Ravenna, but the only extant section is the *Rotulus*, which dates to the fifth or sixth century.[71]

Several important archeological surveys have resulted in detailed information about the complex of buildings that supported the "Ambrosian Rite" of Milan,[72] as well as the double-cathedral and

---

However its differences are as remarkable as its similarities…" *The Origins of the Roman Rite*, trans. Gordon P. Jeanes (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1991), p. 30.

[69] Several scholars have acknowledged similarities of phrasing with known Eastern prayers, as well as similarities with Latin-language excerpts of eucharistic prayers, but without falling back on the unproven single source for which there is no extant third or fourth century text.

[70] Chromatius, whose see of Aquileia was a busy and cosmopolitan port, hosted both Jerome and Rufinus at points in their lives. Chromatius' writings tell us of his introduction of the Apostle's Creed into the liturgy, as well as variant readings on liturgical Easter texts. See Martin Connell, *Church and Worship in Fifth-Century Rome: The Letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 14. Chrysologus seems to suggest at several points that an epicletic phrase was part of his eucharistic prayer(s): "this [bread] is cooked in the fire of the Holy Spirit, this is what we eat when we solemnly sacrifice at our Pasch, the lamb of God, the lamb 'who takes away the sin of the world,'" which would indicate a different style of eucharistic praying than that found in the Roman Canon. *The Fathers of the Church: St. Peter Chrysologus*, trans. William B. Palardy (Washington, DC, 2005), p. 323.

[71] Agnellus of Pisa, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* 2, 6. Cited in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 34, 53. A *rotulus* is a liturgical scroll (as opposed to a book or *codex*), used for several liturgical texts (chanted), the best known of which is the Easter Exultet.

[72] The distinctive nature of some Milanese practices was closely linked to the ritual floor plan of the cathedral and ancillary buildings. For an overview of the perception of a separate liturgical tradition in Milan, see Alzati *Ambrosianum Mysterium*; and Craig Alan Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville, 2002).

baptistery of Aquileia, the cathedral complex in Grado, and the extensive sixth century churches, baptisteries and mausolea of Ravenna.[73]

E. *Spain*

There are scattered references to eucharistic elements in the synodical decisions[74] and isolated compositions[75] of fourth century Spain, but it is only with the work of the fifth through seventh centuries that extant elements of the Spanish eucharistic liturgy are preserved.

From 470 the Spanish church was shaped by Visigothic rulers, who "recognized" the inherited Gallican-type rite as official in 633.[76] This was reshaped as the Mozarabic rite during the Arab occupation (711–1085), and the variations known to us through the tenth century manuscripts *Liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum* and the *Liber ordinuum* (a ritual book plus liturgical texts) are the result of the unique blending of Eastern Christian, North African Christian, local Spanish, Roman practice as well as the Arabic and Muslim presence in music and architecture.[77] In spite of (or perhaps because of) this blending of cultures, languages, and theologies, Spain was also a center of internal Christian theological debate, from the first references of Christianity in Spain and for centuries to follow.[78] These arguments, particularly between Arian and Catholic Christians, are often the source of liturgical knowledge,[79] as they reveal the growing importance of correct, or orthodox, liturgical texts and structures, as well as the developing role of the bishop of Rome in settling theological and ritual affairs in

---

[73] See the study by Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (New York, 2010).

[74] The Synod of Elvira (ca. 306) seems to have an almost exclusive focus on a plethora of trespasses for which one would be excommunicated. The harshness of canon 1 which forbade even *viaticum* to the *lapsi* was undone with the more universal canons of Nicea some 20 years later. Canon 21 describes the obligation to be at church on Sundays: "If anyone who lives in the city does not attend church services for three Sundays, let that person be expelled for a brief time in order to make the reproach public." Lawrence Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church*, 1:119.

[75] Priscillian (d. 386) is cited as the author of several blessings or prayers over the people and Peter of Lerida (5th–6th century) is credited with the composition of *orationes et missae* by Isidore of Seville (*de viris illustribus liber, PL* 83, 1090).

[76] See Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, p. 151.

[77] For a general overview of the era, see Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Aldershot, UK, 2008).

[78] See Virginia Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy* (Berkeley, 1995).

[79] Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West.*

many different geographical locations.[80] Liturgical texts needed to be able to shape belief, and the caution of North African synods, Spanish episcopal gatherings and Gallican concerns link the development of the language of common prayer with theological orthodoxy.[81]

Archeological evidence from the earliest strata of Christianity in Spain is scattered with little remaining untouched by later waves of cultural conquests. The majority of evidence is in the outlying areas, particularly in the northern Gallegan region, where Celtic tribal settlements gave way to Roman conquest,[82] and in the Ballearic Islands, especially Mallorca. In the latter, the archeological remains from the fourth century and later show rectangular rooms, preceded by courtyards and often functioning as both church and covered necropolis.[83] The same centering of ecclesial complexes around martyr tombs as was seen in North Africa and elsewhere is evident in Spain, with the various buildings grouped around the *cella memoriae* as the heart and rationale for the building programs.[84]

F. *British Isles*

As with several of the geographical areas above, the bulk of evidence of insular eucharistic liturgy is later than the fifth century. In various regions of Roman Britain, Christians may have been present by the mid-second century, coming with the political and military structures of the Roman Empire,[85] but more solid evidence dates from the third century. Tertullian's passing comment regarding Christians in Britain by the third century is intriguing,[86] and the dispute regarding the dating of the martyrdom of St. Alban from the fourth century to either

---

[80] Innocent I, in particular, wrote to Spanish bishops about Arian heresies in Toledo. See Connell, *Church and Worship in Fifth-Century Rome*, p. 9.

[81] See Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2000).

[82] See Joyce Salisbury, *Iberian Popular Religion 600 BC to 700 AD: Celts, Romans and Visigoths* (New York, 1985).

[83] Pedro de Palol, *Arqueologia Cristiana de la España Romana, siglos IV–VI* (Madrid, 1967), especially Chapter 1 on the basilicas of Mallorca and Menorca. See also Stephanie Jerrigan, *Origins of the Early Christian Architecture of the Iberian Peninsula*, PhD Diss., 1974, University of Missouri-Columbia.

[84] Pedro de Palol, *Arqueologia Cristiania*, Chapter 4.

[85] See Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (Berkeley, 1981).

[86] "…all the limits of the Spains, and the diverse nations of the Gauls, and the haunts of the Britons, inaccessible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ…" Tertullian, *Adversus Judaeos*, 7.

208–211 under Septimus Severus, or 251–259 under Decius or Valerian pushes forward the presence of public Christianity by fifty to a hundred years.[87] The majority of information about Christian presence and activity, however, dates from the fourth and fifth centuries. There was British representation (York, London and Lincoln) at the Council of Arles in 314, and again at the Council of Rimini in 359,[88] but because of theological and territorial disputes from within the British church, or because the region was seen as having great potential to be joined to the church in Rome, the older strands of Romano-British and Irish Christianity were met with a third, the papal Roman tradition coming in the form of Augustine of Canterbury, sent by Pope Gregory in 595 to establish (or re-establish) that form of Christianity in Britain. Aside from Bede's recording of interesting comments regarding liturgical inculturation,[89] not much is known of the liturgy except in the struggles between south and north regarding methods of singing, the date of Easter and other liturgical year issues, and monastic forms.[90] Bede's treatment of Augustine's questions to Gregory regarding the Eucharist are primarily about what sins or situations would prevent someone from receiving communion, and in most cases charity was counseled,[91] but the comments reveal a regular pattern of receiving communion to be the norm.

In the northern tribal areas, Irish natives were already the subject of Gallican and British missionary activity in the fourth century.[92]

---

[87] Steve Boardman, John Reuben Davies and Eila Williamson, eds., *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2009). See also Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain.*

[88] Mark Edwards, "Synods and Councils" in *Constantine to c. 600*, eds. Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (Cambridge, 2007).

[89] The Venerable Bede (ca. 676–735) is the primary source for British Christianity in the early centuries, through his several writings, most importantly his *Historia ecclesiastica.* "Things are not to be loved for the sake of a place, but places are to be loved for the sake of their good things. Choose, therefore, from every individual Church those things that are devout, religious and right. And when you have collected these as it were into one bundle, see that the minds of the English grow accustomed to it." Book I, 27, Part II. Judith McCline and Rober Colums, eds., *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1994), p. 43.

[90] See Bede, *The Greater Chronicle* 4592 and Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, 4, 19; Book III, 25; Book IV, 16; Book V, 15, 22. With regard to the importing of Roman Chant, see Egbert of York (732), *De institutione catholica quast.* 16 (*PL* 89, 441).

[91] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Book I, 26, Part VIII & IX.

[92] For the growing scholarly concern over a too-facile use of "celtic spirituality" see the comments by Bernard McGinn: "Extravagant claims for healthy and hearty

Vitricius, bishop of Rouen was one of few continental advocates for active conversion of pagans and is reported to have made a trip to Ireland in 396. The conflation of Palladius and Patrick aside,[93] the presence of Roman-Britain Christians in the fourth and fifth centuries points to a growing Christian community which would, in turn, send missionaries back to the continent by the sixth century, most notably through Columbanus (ca. 540–615), the founder of Luxeuil and Bobbio monasteries. The interaction of Irish missionaries and Gallican church contributed to the mixed eucharistic rites which emerge in the seventh and eighth centuries, but aside from occasional comments about eucharistic restrictions and popular piety, not much remains of this church's eucharistic practice prior to those later composite rites.[94]

Archeological evidence from Roman Britain is found in both northern and southern limits of Roman rule and is generally mixed with archeological remains of Roman forts and urban settlements. In the southern regions of Kent and Sussex, several Roman villas have been excavated which reveal evidence of Christian presence and activity, most notably Lullingstone Villa, where a Christian worship space was added above a pagan cultic room early in the 4th century, making it one of the earliest Christian churches in Roman Britain to date.[95] It is from the late sixth/early seventh centuries, however, that an archeological richness contributes to a greater knowledge of the early church in the area. From the monastery of Augustine of Canterbury in the far southeast,[96] to the numerous Anglo-Saxon churches still standing or

---

Celtic spirituality as an antidote for morose "Augustinian" piety are based as much on skewed readings of Celtic sources as they are on misconceptions of Augustine…even the very concept of a "Celtic spirituality" is a topic for debate, just as historians several decades ago began to question the usefulness of the term "Celtic Christianity." "Island of Saints and Scholars: Some Recent Books on Early Irish Christianity," *Journal of Religion* 79 (1999), 280.

[93] See D. O Cróinín "New Light on Palladius" *Peritia* 5 (1986), 276–283; and Thomas Charles Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 202–233.

[94] The influence of eastern monasticism on the Irish church (and the subsequent influence on the liturgy) is still an interesting but unclear dimension of this particular church. For two different aspects of this influence, see Jacob Ghazarian, *The Mediterranean Legacy in Early Celtic Christianity: A Journey from Armenia to Ireland* (London, 2006); and Gary Criles, "John Cassian and the Development of Early Irish Christianity: A Study of the State of the Literature," *American Benedictine Review* 53 (2002), 377–399.

[95] See M. Millett, "Roman Kent" in *The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800*, J.H. Williams, ed. Woodbridge, 2007, and David Petts, *Christianity in Roman Britain* (Gloucestershire, 2003).

[96] *L'Eglise et la mission au VIe siècle* (Paris, 2000).

forming the foundations of later constructions,[97] to the earliest monastic complexes such as that of the Venerable Bede at Jarrow,[98] a tentative claim for a shift in building form from small rectangular rooms with attached (but separate baptisteries)[99] which represent the 4th–5th century Christian style under Roman influence to a more indigenous and Anglo-Saxon style, can be seen. The sixth century churches extant and excavated are generally two rooms, a long narrow nave and a sanctuary, or chancel for the altar almost blocked off from the nave, narrower yet, and squared off at the eastern end. This two room pattern allows for a sense of progressive holiness drawing on both an adapted temple design and as well as a ready-made plan for the later emergence of monastic churches in which the monastic community will pray in a space that functions as a church within a church.

Literary Resources for Reconstructing Early Latin Eucharistic Patterns

In the section above reviewing Latin-speaking churches in the fourth and fifth centuries, a number of references were made to the earliest stratum of liturgical texts from which we can reconstruct the scripture readings, the liturgical texts and the ritual patterns of the Eucharist. While these sources are few and far between in some areas, they provide a marker for noting changes in particular ecclesial traditions, discerning some of the exchange of liturgical practices and texts between geographical churches, and provide a source for the more expansive and directive liturgical books of the seventh and eighth centuries.

Our knowledge of eucharistic theology and practice comes from a number of different written sources, indirect references like those found in hagiographical and apologetic writing, more direct indications in sermons and epistles, and in the liturgical texts intended for use in particular communities, the sacramentaries, lectionaries, and church orders which emerge in the seventh and eighth centuries. These more detailed literary works describe a eucharistic liturgy combining word and eucharist proper, along with the developing introductory

---

[97] Esther Jackson, *Art of the Anglo-Saxon Age* (Peterborough, 1964).

[98] See Rosemary Cramp, *Wearmouth & Jarrow Monastic Sites* (Swindon, 2005).

[99] See the work of Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (Berkeley, 1981), especially pp. 202–227.

and concluding rites as the normative pattern in the Latin-speaking church. But the origins of these important liturgical texts are found in the trajectory of systemization represented by the texts mentioned above, particularly church orders in the earliest centuries.

The earliest sub-apostolic primary sources are the church orders, in which the purported apostolic authorship directed their readers on how to "do" church, laying out guidelines for liturgical rites such as Baptism and Eucharist as well as ethical instructions for individuals and communities. While they do not contain entire liturgies, they do give examples of liturgical shape and interpretations that continued to be valuable long after they were actually used. Dated primarily to the first four centuries of Christianity, the best known of the orders are the *Didache* (1st/2nd century, Syria), the *Apostolic Tradition* (3rd/4th centuries, Rome), the *Didascalia* (ca. 230, Syria), *Apostolic Church Order* (ca. 300, Egypt), *Canons of Hippolytus* (ca. 340, Egypt), the *Apostolic Constitutions* (particularly the *Epitome*, or altered Book VIII, ca. 380, Syria), and the *Testamentum Domini* (late 4th/early 5th century, Syria?).[100] Together with the descriptions from other genre of writing, such as that of Justin Martyr (ca. 150) mentioned above, we can glimpse the pattern of synaxis[101] and eucharistic liturgy proper increasingly taking precedence over other eucharistic contexts.[102] But between and during the development from church orders to sacramentaries, we are aware of the fundamental shift away from the expectation of improvised prayers by eucharistic presiders to increasingly fixed texts dictated by synods and councils responding to the need for theological accuracy and, perhaps, to the failing abilities on the part of bishops and priests to preside over the Eucharist without set texts.[103]

---

[100] For a recent review of dating and provenance issues, see Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, especially chapter 4.

[101] *Synaxis* is generally used to describe the liturgy of the word preceding the anaphora (eucharistic prayer) and communion, originating from the Greek sense of a gathering for liturgical purposes with a proper set of texts.

[102] The Sunday morning pattern of word and Eucharist as described in Justin, *Apology I* 65.1–66.4, was not universal, there is evidence of morning and evening liturgies separating word and Eucharist, combinations of meals and eucharistic elements together, and a type of evening prayer and Eucharist. For the variety of early patterns, see Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, especially chapters 3 & 4.

[103] See the classic work by Allan Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula: The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (Washington, DC, 1981).

Within the Western church, these church orders of the early centuries are augmented by the next generation of written sources, individual booklets containing proper prayers, grouped under the title *libelli missarum* and written for use in particular churches for particular celebrations of the Eucharist.[104] As mentioned above, while there are many references to eucharistic prayer sets being written, the only extant collection is the so-called "Verona Collection" or *Veronensis.*[105] The editor/collector gathered the eucharistic formulae dating from the fifth and sixth centuries,[106] arranged them according to the civil year, and even with the first quarter of the year missing, 43 sets of *libelli* still remain. The prayers confirm an early Roman preference for proper (variable) texts, prayers specifically written and intended for particular days or feasts, but because it is a collection of individual sets of prayers rather than a systematic presentation of a full liturgy, we can only discern groupings of prayers used in fifth and sixth century Roman liturgy (and perhaps elsewhere as there is already borrowing from Gallican and other liturgical sources).[107] These types of liturgical prayer collections probably overlapped with church orders in the earlier centuries, and did not end with the invention of sacramentaries in the next generation. It is most likely that many different types of liturgical books were preserved and produced simultaneously between the fifth and the ninth centuries.[108]

The Sacramentary

It is with the next generation of Latin-language liturgical books that we are on firmer ground, not only with the information regarding eucharistic liturgies but also having made the transition to books and a written tradition linked to liturgy.[109] "The advent of the liturgical

---

[104] See the discussion in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 37–38.

[105] For details of scholarship current until the 1980s, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 38–46.

[106] The dating of the individual *libelli* is uncertain, with most scholars agreeing for dates generally in the sixth century. The date of the compilation is the beginning of the seventh century, based on paleography. See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 40.

[107] See the discussion in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 37–46.

[108] We are aware of composite collections such as *The Stowe Missal* (792–812) which was a collection of *libelli* representing a number of different geographical churches, and the seven *Masses of Mone* (ca. 650) from the Gallican tradition.

[109] See Mazza, *Celebration of the Eucharist*, p. 37, and Thomas Elich, *Le context oral de la liturgie medieval et le role du texte écrit*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1988).

book demonstrates an increasing codification of usages between the fifth and sixth centuries, it is part of a whole trend of that period; the setting down in writing of tradition and knowledge" not only in liturgy, but in law and other areas.[110]

If the *libelli missarum* represent an interim step between improvised liturgical texts and the "increasing codification" of liturgical texts, sacramentaries[111] represent the next step, not only the gathering into one book of all the necessary prayer texts for the one presiding at the Eucharist, but also an indication of a new approach to the affirmation of antiquity. Where the early church orders were often titled "of the apostles" to give them authenticity, the sacramentaries were often titled with the names of Roman popes, the new bearers of authentic antiquity. The earliest sacramentaries also give witness to the creative sharing and mixing between Western liturgical centers, there are no "pure" Roman or Gallican books, all of the known sacramentaries are mixed, and when new "families" of sacramentaries appeared, they existed side-by-side with older traditions, or re-mixed liturgical materials. Cyril Vogel put it well, "in the case of liturgical texts, what is authentic is what was actually used for divine worship. No matter how much such a text has been interpolated, enlarged or pruned, it is completely authentic if once utilized in an actual liturgy."[112] His definition gets us away from scholarly debates of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which evaluated early sacramentaries as authentic or not in light of comparison to how "Roman" they were.[113] But, while helping us move away from that particular scholarly methodology, it still does not solve the question as to whether all the liturgies gathered in early sacramentaries were actually used on a regular basis.

---

[110] Mazza, *Celebration of the Eucharist*, p. 37.

[111] 'Sacramentaries' is the modern term translating and summarizing the titles given to books (dating back to Gennadius (fl. 470), *liber sacramentorum, sacramentorium, sacramentarium, liber sacramentarum*, and in the 8th and 9th centuries, *liber missalis* or *missalis.* See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 64, 112.

[112] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 63.

[113] See the discussion by Yitzhak Hen in the introduction to his edited volume of the Bobbio Missal regarding "the preoccupation with the various aspects of "Romanisation' which characterised the interest of eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars, and particularly liturgists" ("Introduction", *The Bobbio Missal*, p. 5). In her article on liturgical Latin in the same volume, Els Rose draws our attention to the fact that this is not a modern phenomenon. The Carolingian reform was focused on a "propaganda-like promotion of the reformed liturgy" referring to the Roman liturgy, as well as a deep dislike of things Merovingian. "Liturgical Latin in the Bobbio Missal," p. 69.

The primary centers of sacramentary development which concern us here are Rome and Frankish/Carolingian Gaul. We know that into these two primary liturgical systems the Irish influence (throughout Gaul and Alemannia, the Eastern part of the Latin-speaking Christian realm which would become Germany and Switzerland) would contribute a number of elements, as well as the Mozarabic tradition and undoubtedly some North Italian influence too.

The web of sacramentaries begins with the Old Gelasian (*Incipit liber sacramentorum romanae aecclesiae ordinis anni circuli*) in the title, but attributed, erroneously, in the *Liber Pontificalis* to Pope Gelasius (492–496). Scholarly consensus currently describes the single manuscript as a copy made "in the eighth century in the scriptorium of Chelles."[114] As the title indicates, it was originally a liturgical book for the city of Rome, reflecting liturgies and concerns of the mid-seventh century, but one that already represents a mixture of Roman source materials in addition to some Frankish rites and texts.

> These Gallican additions should not be regarded as blocks of material mechanically juxtaposed to the older Roman elements but as fresh additions or combinations which were gradually amalgamated, to varying degrees, with the older Roman structures.[115]

The insights gleaned from this eighth century manuscript include information regarding Roman presbyteral liturgy in the seventh century in the earlier stratum of Mass formularies, the movement of liturgical books to Gaul, and the addition of local Gallican liturgical practices by the eighth century.

This book was joined by a family of sacramentaries emerging from the Frankish Gelasian or eighth century Gelasian book,[116] which carry forward some of the material from the Old Gelasian, but add to it Roman and other elements which can only come from a later century. The English liturgist Edmund Bishop was the first scholar to note the distinctions between this family of sacramentaries and the Old Gelasian, calling the Frankish Gelasian the "Roman Sacramentary

---

[114] Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 44.
[115] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 67.
[116] Because of the similarities among 12 different sacramentaries, scholars have postulated "the existence of a single archtetype—the Sacramentary of Flavigny, now lost." Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 71.

of King Pepin."[117] The twelve similar sacramentaries dating from the eighth to the early tenth centuries include five from Gaul (including the earliest and best recension of Flavigny, the Gellone; Angoulême; Phillipps; Rheims/Godelgaudus; and St. Amand), five sacramentaries of "Alemannia" (St. Gall; The Triplex Sacramentary of Zürich; The St. Gall Fragment 350; The St. Gall Fragment 349; and Rheinau), and four from Italy (Missal of Monza; Arno; Angelica Palimpsest; and the Budapest Fragment). All of these sacramentaries differ from the Old Gelasian in that they have evidence of Benedictine roots (the inclusion of feasts of St. Benedict and supplementary materials for monks and nuns),[118] they contain later Frankish sanctoral additions to the calendar and the eucharistic prayers, add specifically Gallican practices such as Rogation Days, and reveal the evolution of Roman practices which emerged after the time of the Old Gelasian, specifically "Masses for the Thursdays of Lent" added by Gregory II (715–731), the September 14 Feast of the Cross introduced after the death of Gregory the Great, and "four feasts of the Blessed Virgin" probably added under Sergius I (687–701).[119] These additions to the cursus of feasts in medieval sacramentaries are a primary way in which scholars can untangle the strata of historical and geographical additions, and the process is a good reminder that understanding what and why additions are made to liturgical texts needs the external data of dating from political as well as ecclesial dates of importance.

In Gallican lands, these hybrid Roman-Frankish sacramentaries were used alongside liturgical books which drew less on Roman tradition and more on a mixture of various Gallican traditions, as well as Irish practices. The primary sacramentaries in this group include representatives of creative Merovingian liturgical enterprises, the *Missale gallicanum vetus* (seventh century), the *Missale Gothicum* (late seventh/early eighth century), *The Bobbio Missal* (late seventh century), as well as the *Missale Francorum* of the eighth century (and the more heavily Celtic sacramentary, *The Stowe Missal* of the late eighth century).

The Frankish Gelasian sacramentaries may represent a deliberate political move by King Pepin to regularize liturgy as a method of

---

[117] Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 46. Bishop, writing in 1918, was of course referring to the Pepin the Short, who became king of the Franks in 751.

[118] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 73.

[119] See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 69–78.

unification,[120] but it is with his son Charlemagne's rule that liturgy as a political tool, and the sacramentary as a vehicle of that political unification, is most apparent.

While the Gelasian family of sacramentaries and the Merovingian/Gallican sacramentaries were being copied and used north of the Alps, the needs of the Lateran basilica and papal liturgies in Rome[121] were being met with the development of a seventh and eighth century series of *libelli* gathered into sacramentaries and titled the Gregorian Sacramentary.[122] These Roman sacramentaries differed from the hybrid Gelasian and other Frankish sacramentaries in that they combined the temporal and sanctoral cycles "into a single, continuous series of Sundays and festivals,"[123] perhaps directly related to their use in the stational liturgical system of the city of Rome. They also include only three proper prayers for each Mass, in the Gregorian tradition called: *oratio, super oblata, ad completa* (or *ad complendum*) corresponding to the presidential prayers at the beginning of the Mass, over the gifts, and at the completion of the communion rite. This differs from the Gelasian books which have additional prayers for the presider, including *super populum* blessings at the end of the liturgy. In addition, the terminology for the various prayers differ, the Gelasian tradition uses "*oratio, secreta* and *post-communionem* as well as *cotestata* or *contestatio* for the *praefatio* of the Gregorian MSS."[124]

If this Gregorian tradition of sacramentaries had remained in the city of Rome, it would still be an important source for reconstructing

---

[120] "It is probable that the compilation was undertaken by monks at the prompting of King Pepin…who would have wanted to exemplify the ambitious movement of liturgical unification in his kingdom by the composition of a sacramentary intended for use throughout its territory." Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 47. It is important to note that Pepin's move toward liturgical unification marks a turning point between the Romanization of Gallican liturgy as a purely individual activity and one that involves a far more sweeping public pattern of Romanization.

[121] This includes the pattern of stational liturgies where major feasts were celebrated *in situ*, and the sacramentary follows both the temporal progression and the spatial indications of where the papal Mass was to be celebrated. See the discussion in Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, pp. 127–130.

[122] Here again the designation of the book for Pope Gregory gave it gravitas and antiquity, but the liturgical texts and style do not date back to Gregory the Great (590–604). They most likely begin under the reign of Pope Honorius I (625–638) and are continually added to through the next century. See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 79 and Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 51.

[123] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 79.

[124] *Ibid.*

Latin liturgy, but it becomes in addition the best-known vehicle of liturgical sharing in the medieval church. It is this book, one of several probably used in the city of Rome, which was sent to Charlemagne (768–814) by Pope Hadrian (772–795) at Charlemagne's request for a "pure Gregorian sacramentary" free of Frankish and other additions.

> Wishing to satisfy the request of the Frankish sovereign, Hadrian simply picked out from the papal library the book that appeared to him endowed with the literary and religious authority desired by Charlemagne. But after crossing the Alps, this sacramentary acquired a new status: from ancient collection it became an official book although it had not been written for that purpose.[125]

Its unsuitability for the regular requirements of parish liturgy was immediately obvious to the liturgists of Charlemagne's court,[126] and so, in the early ninth century Benedict of Aniane (ca. 750–821) set about adding a supplement (and correcting the Latin) so that the book could become the *editio typica* for the Roman liturgy that Charlemagne hoped to use under his rule. Benedict's supplement to the so-called *Hadrianum* sacramentary was originally added onto the end of the manuscript,[127] but after ca. 850, the *Hucusque* supplement and the imported *Hadrianum* were merged into a single collection. Benedict of Aniane's northern Spanish roots are particularly reflected in the supplemental rites, thus bringing a number of Mozarabic dimensions into the 'mainstream' sacramentary of the fused Romano-Frankish tradition.[128]

From the Gregorian sacramentary's authoritative standing emerged a consistent but gradual "hadrianization" of the already present Gelasian and Frankish liturgical traditions, with hybrid liturgical books being spread and copied throughout the ninth and tenth centuries as far afield as the ninth century *Sacramentary of Noyon* (which used the Gregorian sacramentary with the supplement mixed in and added

---

[125] Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 52.

[126] It was missing more than half of the Sundays of the year, there were no funerals, reconciliation of penitents, votives of the type used in the north and few blessing texts, as well as an incomplete catechumenate and no rites for the sick and dying.

[127] Benedict's supplement is known by the first word of the preface, *Hucusque* ("up to this point the present sacramentary is obviously the work of the blessed pope Gregory…").

[128] See chapter four of Frederick Paxton's *Christianizing Death* (pp. 128–161) for the extent of Benedict of Aniane's work and the Visigothic/Mozarabic influences on him and on the supplement.

new liturgical materials from unknown sources), and the *Canterbury Missal* of the tenth century (which combines the *Hadrianum* plus supplement with material from the Roman curia). These centuries of widespread mixing of Frankish, Irish, Mozarabic, Roman and other liturgical resources draws to somewhat of a conclusion with the twelfth century move from sacramentaries to missals (the latter inclusive of sacramentaries, gospel books, lectionaries, chant collections and some of the ritual instructions). The Latin tradition of the priest-celebrant reciting "to himself the sung parts of the Mass even when they were duly executed by their proper ministers or by the choir"[129] certainly contributes to this move to a single book, as well as to the gradual diminishing of the multiple "ministers" of the Mass from the ninth to the twelfth centuries.

The Lectionary

While sacramentaries contain the evolution of euchological and other central prayer texts, the equally important development of the liturgical use of scripture is found in lectionaries. Cyril Vogel's overview is still one of the clearest because he places his study in the context of the developing liturgical year which gives purpose and shape to the cursus of eucharistic scripture readings.[130]

Drawing on the work of Theodor Klauser in categorizing lists of scripture used in eucharistic liturgies,[131] there are thirty-eight *codices* with indications of liturgical readings for the Latin-speaking churches prior to the year 800. Of these, nineteen limit the length of the pericopes "by marginal notes and lists of *incipits* and *explicits* for each reading—often of different periods and origins; three *codices* provide the readings *in extenso*" (which makes those three *codices* lectionaries in the proper sense), "and two *codices* give the pericopes in full in the context of a sacramentary,"[132] (which would move us into the category of partial missal). These four categories (marginal notes, lists of pericopes by beginnings and endings (generally known as *capitularia* or

[129] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 105.
[130] The following outline is drawn from Vogel's study in *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 314–353 unless otherwise noted.
[131] Theodor Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum* (Münster, 1972).
[132] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 314.

comes, lectionaries proper and euchological and scriptural texts combined) are not necessarily sequential, but existed and were used side by side for centuries (from the fifth to the fourteenth century).

1. Marginal notes—were simply markings in the margins of liturgical Bibles (called *bibliotheca* and generally in one or two volumes)[133] which predate the division of biblical book into chapter and verse.
2. *Capitularia* (*Comes* is confusingly used sometimes for both *capitularia* and for a collection of texts *in extenso*)—in which listings of readings and length were communicated with four indicators: the day and the month to be used; the liturgical day and the stational church; the name of the biblical book; the *implicit* and *explicit* (connected by *usque*).[134] These listings were of non-Gospel readings, Gospel pericopes or a combination of the two.
3. Books containing the text *in extenso* (lectionaries)—were laid out like the *capitularia* above but with the full texts. Extant examples include books of gospel readings (*Evangelary*); non-gospel readings (*Epistolary*, which often contained the prophetic readings too); and combined (*Mass lectionary*, listed as such to distinguish from the office lectionaries).
4. Books containing both the scriptural texts *in extenso* and the prayer texts (often with the antiphonary, discussed below), thereby forming a partial missal (full missals were unknown prior to the tenth century). The choice of readings seems to have developed quite separately from the sacramentaries, only in one case is there a discernable link between choice of scripture readings and prayer texts.[135]

Collections of scripture readings for Mass in various forms are found throughout the early Western churches described above in part two. The most consistent trajectory of readings is that of the Spanish lectionaries (Visigothic or Mozarabic), known as the *liber commicus*, or *liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, which are traced back to the seventh century and reflect a tradition of three readings (Old Testament,

---

[133] See L.V. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque imperial*, II, (Paris, 1870).

[134] The helpful example given by Vogel in *Medieval Liturgy*: "*Die X mensis Maii. Natale sancti Gordiani. Scd Matth. Cap XCV. Nolite arbitrari quia veni pacem* usque *Amen dico vobis non perdet mercedem suam*," p. 316.

[135] The *Comes* of Murbach and the Frankish Gelasian sacramentary family. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 315.

epistle and gospel) throughout the liturgical year, beginning with Advent.

From Merovingian Gaul the earliest collections of scripture readings are *The Wolfenbüttel Palimpsest* (ca. 500), which is arranged throughout the liturgical year beginning with the Easter Vigil, providing three readings (OT, Pauline letters and Gospel) many of which are *centos*,[136] and the *Lectionary of Luxeuil* (late seventh century) which begins with the Vigil of Christmas and contains three scripture readings for the liturgies extant (OT, Pauline epistle and Gospel) and non-biblical readings. The choice of readings is completely different from the *Wolfenbüttel Palimpsest*, which may have originated in Marseilles.

From Rome, the earliest and most extensive collection is that of the *Capitulary of Würzburg* (ca. 700). This book is based on the stational liturgy (and vice versa) of the liturgy in the City of Rome and gives first a calendar with the assigned stational churches, followed by a list of epistles (drawn from different eras) and then a list of Gospels. Later lectionaries from Rome reflect a hybrid Roman-Frankish blending.

In addition to these three centers, there are multiple manuscripts from Northern and Central Italy, from Trier and other parts of the Germanic Church, as well as many others reflecting a blending of Gallican, Spanish, Roman, Irish, and Italian influences. Most of the lectionaries are more developed in the "high seasons" of the liturgical year, with clearer directions for the pre-Lent, Lent and Easter seasons, as well as the *sanctorale*, followed by developments around Christmas and the new season of Advent. There was even less uniformity in the choice and sequence of scripture readings between the sixth and tenth centuries then in eucharistic prayer texts, but, along with the Carolingian focus on liturgical uniformity through the Gregorian *Hadrianum* came the first regularizing of the eucharistic scripture readings too.

The *Lectionary of Murbach* (late eighth century) was a hybrid Romano-Frankish (or Romano-Germanic)[137] *capitulare* (in spite of its title) which followed the Frankish Gelasian sacramentary calendar, but was constructed according to the Roman tradition of only two readings, epistle and gospel. It follows the cycle of the year beginning with Christmas Eve and had a "fully developed Sunday cycle", plus

[136] A *cento* is a patchwork of verses taken from different scriptures and blended together in a poetic arrangement.

[137] See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 347.

readings for each Wednesday (two readings) and Friday (only Gospel). The *Murbach* collection is closely related to the *Comes of Alcuin* (with supplement) from the first half of the ninth century, as well as other lectionaries which reveal a growing consensus and sharing of information in the Carolingian scriptoria. The *Lectionary of Murbach* is the direct ancestor of the *Missale Romanum* of 1570, and therefore represents an important moment in the fixing of a set of liturgical texts.

The Antiphonary

The collections of chanted texts for the Mass are known under titles drawn from various versions of the Latin *antiphonale*,[138] none of which precede the eighth century[139] when the systemization of musical notation began to be sufficient to supplement (but not replace) oral tradition.[140] The texts set to chant, however, predate these books and were "said" generally in cantillation, a simple rhythmic melody based on the natural accents of the words. Emulating the Roman style of chanting became a goal of several geographical churches in the seventh and eighth century, most notably under the reign of Pepin the Short (751–768) in Gaul and through the influence of the Venerable Bede for Britain in the early eighth century. According to Amalarius of Metz (died ca. 850), the multiple chant books of the Roman church (*Cantatorium*, containing the Gradual, the Tract and the alleluia verses), the *Responsoriale* (the responses for various parts of the Mass) and the *Antiphonarius* (with the introit and communion antiphons) were combined into a single book in the Frankish tradition, the *gradale* at first, then the *Antiphonale*.[141] It is about the year 800 that the chant melodies themselves become associated with Pope Gregory the Great ("Gregorian chant"), another example of the deep desire to ground Carolingian liturgical reforms in authentic antiquity, now through claiming

---

[138] From *antiphona*, 'sung piece'. See Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 69.

[139] Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) helps understand the obvious lateness of these collections: "if people do not retain the sounds in their memories, the sounds perish because they cannot be written." Cited in Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 63.

[140] Musical notation appears in the Carolingian period with *neumes*, indicatory signs written above the words of liturgical texts *"a campo aperto" (in an open field)*, that is to say, without staves; these signs helped cantors remember the melody appropriate for a given text." Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 64.

[141] See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 358.

papal authorship.[142] Within this Romano-Frankish blending, the oldest antiphonaries are *The Cantatorium of Monza* (ca. 800, primarily Roman); the *Antiphonary of Rheinau* (late eighth, early ninth century) which is contained in a manuscript with other documents, including a Frankish Gelasian Sacramentary (thus hybrid Romano-Frankish); and the *Antiphonary of Corbie* (after 853), which stands out as containing both the antiphonary for Mass and a sacramentary witnessing to the "supplemented *Hadrianum* of Benedict of Aniane."[143]

Ordines

The last important collection of texts that help scholars understand and reconstruct the eucharistic liturgies of the early medieval Latin church are the ritual instructions of how to actually do the liturgy, complementing the words to be said. These *ordines* find their ancient roots in early church orders originating with documents like the *Didache* and the *Didascalia* described above. "The term *ordo* means an arrangement, disposition, grouping, composition or plan and is equivalent to the term *regula* or *canon*."[144] While it is safe to presume that there have been *ordines* of a sort as long as the eucharistic liturgy has been celebrated by multiple leaders, the use of the word *ordo*, and the detailed instructions included under that title come into being after Gregory the Great, and generally appear in the eighth century.[145] The value of the classic medieval *ordines* are, according to Vogel, threefold:

1. "They permit us to witness a liturgy as it was actually celebrated when the *codex* was drawn up and for as long as it remained in use."
2. "They encourage us to get back behind the example in hand and attain the archetype or common ancestor of an *ordo* or family of *ordines*. By so doing, we can both arrive at the time certain rites

[142] "…the prologue *Gregorius praesul*, which is found in the earliest graduals and was probably composed about 800, attests to the medieval belief in Gregory's authorship." Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, p. 70.
[143] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 360.
[144] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 135.
[145] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 136.

began to appear and also discover the amount of time they endured in use…"

3. "Since paleographically speaking, the *ordines* are all of Frankish manufacture and are, for the most part, of mixed or hybrid character, we must carefully separate out primitive original form of the *ordo* from the additions made at the time of its transcription… The Roman recension of the *ordo* bears witness to a style of worship in the City of the Popes or in the suburbicarian diocese of Rome… the Frankish recensions permit us to see the changes the Roman rites underwent after they crossed the Alps."[146]

The most referenced and central of the early medieval *ordines* are the so-called *ordines romani*, individual instructions which were gathered together as they were brought north to Gaul. Their importance in assisting clergy in Rome, throughout Gaul and elsewhere perform the cycle of liturgical rites throughout the year remained until they were superseded by the appearance of Pontificals in the tenth century, which codified and combined the scattered *ordines* into one collection reflecting the growing uniformity of liturgical text and practice. The *ordines romani* related to liturgical issues were presented in a scholarly edition by Michel Andrieu which is the source of most current scholarship on the fifty collected texts.[147]

Like the *libelli missarum*, the *ordines* were gathered and preserved in different collections, each collection varying a little. The extant manuscript of the earliest collection (in Andrieu's system known as "Collection A") dates from about 800 and contains six *ordines*, all of which reveal Roman origins (and probably began to be useful in Gaul in the mid-eighth century). Andrieu's "Collection B," comprised of seven *ordines* and dating to the "early years of Louis the Pious (814–818)"[148] reveals the inculturation of Gallican traditions as well as the necessary adaptation of papal liturgies to episcopal liturgies in regular cathedrals. The third important collection of *ordines romani* is the Collection of St. Amand (ninth century) which contains six *ordines* that actually combine fifteen actual *ordines* from their original form. Several other Gallicanized collections reveal the necessary adjustments for presbyteral

[146] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 137.
[147] M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931–1961).
[148] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 151.

parish use. Of the fifty liturgical *ordines*, the first, known as the *ordo romanus primus*, is considered by many scholars to be the most important because it is the first full description of a Eucharist in the city of Rome.[149] It dates to a time shortly after the reign of Sergius I (687–701) and was known and copied in Gaul by 750.[150]

Non-Roman descriptions of liturgical rituals (together with canonical, catechetical and moral questions) also influenced and regularized the celebration of the Mass in the sixth to ninth centuries. In the geographical areas we have traced in this chapter, two documents which represent a type of hybrid Mass commentary/ritual book inform the practices of two churches. From Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636, bishop from 600–636) we have the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, a two-volume work in which his exposition of the seventh century Mass in Seville as he knew it (and as he hoped it would represent non-Arian, Catholic orthodoxy) gives us an insight into what is now commonly called the "Hispano-Mozarabic Rite."[151] The second is a two-letter work given the title *Expositio Antiquae Liturgiae Gallicanae*, and attributed to Germanus (Bishop of Paris 555–576).[152] The ninth-century manuscript was discovered in 1709 and the attribution to Germanus came from the title on that particular manuscript. Decades of scholars have questioned that attribution (or its specific assignment to the Cathedral in Paris), and recently the thesis of A. van der Mensbrugghe has gained a following. Van der Mensbrugghe argues that rather than the *Expositio* borrowing from the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* of Isidore, it is more likely that Isidore borrows from the *Expositio*.

> Keeping only the internal evidence of the *Expositio* and the *Officiis*, there seems to be at least three grounds for deeming the *Expositio* as the older of the two, and Isidore as dependent on Germanus. These reasons are

[149] The *ordo* contains not only the solemn papal Mass but also the geographical/ecclesiastical precincts of the city, the stational liturgies, the reduction of the solemn Mass to the "private Mass" (a low Mass does not imply a Mass without any people other than celebrant), and various other descriptions of the structure of the church in Rome.

[150] Much of the dating is based on internal evidence of what had been added to the liturgy (such as the Agnus Dei added under Sergius) and a hierarchical structure and description of celebration in a *diaconia* which could not have preceded Pope Gregory II (715–731). See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 159–160.

[151] See the extended introduction and context provided by Thomas Louis Knoebel in his English translation of Isidore's work (Mahnaw, NJ, 2008).

[152] The best edition to date is still that of E.C. Ratcliff (London, 1971).

> 1. The clear conflation of a thought of Augustine and one of Germanus in the passage of musical psalmody; 2. The more archaic features of Germanus' liturgy, which ignore still the *Oratio Veli seu Sidonis* and the word 'offertory'; 3. The typical *initia* of the untitled paragraphs of Germanus which can only be traced in Isidore as meaningless vestiges.[153]

In the end, van der Mensbrugghe still argues that Germanus of Paris may be the author partially because of the temporal precedence the *Expositio* takes over Isidore's work. However, Yitzhak Hen is convinced not only that the *Expositio* is earlier but that it has more in common with the Merovingian compositions of the Burgundian region, rather than the Paris Merovingian center.[154]

These written sources, sacramentaries, lectionaries, antiphonaries, and ritual books are only part of the puzzle through which we try to understand the eucharistic liturgy between the flourishing of liturgical centers in the fourth century and the systemizing of the Latin-language Western liturgy under Charlemagne in the ninth century. The cultural and political contexts, the mixing of cultures and rich exchange of liturgical texts and practices, the art which inspired and expressed peoples' faith, the liturgical items used and worn, and above all the architectural setting of the liturgy helped create and interpret meaning and practice.

It may be helpful to end this section by suggesting a couple outlines of what an early Gallican (or better, Merovingian) liturgy would look like in structure as well as an early reconstruction of a Roman liturgy. In both cases, but particularly in the case of the former, the Gallican, the definitive article is not helpful. There is no single Gallican liturgy, as the discussion above has revealed again and again. An earlier generation of scholarship, desiring clarity of origins and development, as well as that elusive desire for authenticity in the most ancient, has shaped the discourse in ways that are difficult to set aside.

> The so-called Gallican rite was in use not only in Gaul, but also in large parts of Spain and northern Italy (Gallia Transpadana).[155]

---

[153] A. van der Mensbrugghe, "Pseudo-Germanus Reconsidered," *Studia Patristica* 5 (1962), 183.

[154] See Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul AD 481–751* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 47–54.

[155] Klaus Gamber, ed., *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores* (Freiburg, 1968).

Responding to this single example of the sweeping approach to liturgical texts, Yitzhak Hen writes:

> Such a definition…is extremely confusing and misleading. It groups under a single rubric the various liturgical traditions of northern Italy, Merovingian Gaul and Visigothic Spain, assuming that they are all mere derivatives of the Roman rite, and therefore represent a parallel stage in a linear line of liturgical development.[156]

Treading on even thinner ice, it seems increasingly difficult to talk about *the* Roman Rite for several reasons. First is the almost complete dearth of information between the third and fifth centuries, second, the lack of confirmation of a single liturgy in the city of Rome (or rather, the confirmation of different practices and texts being used simultaneously and for a number of centuries in Rome), and third, even the Roman Canon is far more difficult to pin down as the single eucharistic prayer of the Western Church than once thought. Yitzhak Hen, writing again on the *Bobbio Missal* which contains the oldest known text of the Roman Canon, writes that:

> While a wide range of different *anaphorae* existed in the liturgy of the east, it was assumed by scholars that a single *canon* evolved in the west. This assumption, however, is based on extremely shaky ground. We know from various references in the writings of Jerome, Augustine and other late antique and early medieval authors that a certain *canon* for the celebration of the Mass was followed in Rome already by the end of the fourth century. Yet, we do not know exactly what this *canon* included. There is no full description of it in any of the sources, and none of them, not even Pope Innocent I's letter to Decentius of Gubbio or Ambrose of Milan's *De sacramentis*, alludes to the fact that a single *canon* for celebrating the Mass exists, and should be followed by all Christians.[157]

So, with those caveats, this overview of the liturgical translation and tradition which was passed on to later, more systematic liturgical shaping, concludes by offering outlines of what elements of Merovingian and Roman eucharistic liturgies might have included by the seventh century.

---

[156] Hen, "The Liturgy of the Bobbio Missal," p. 140.
[157] Hen, "The Liturgy of the Bobbio Missal," p. 151.

A Merovingian missa solemnia *of the Seventh Century*[158]

Solemn entrance of the clergy with *antiphona ad praelegendum* sung by the choir
A diaconal call for silence
Dominical greeting (*Dominus sit semper vobiscum*, and the response by all, *et cum spiritu tuo*)
The *Aius* was sung, the *Trisagion* intoned by a bishop or priest, sung first in Greek, then in Latin, concluding with the Hebrew 'Amen' (by the whole congregation according to Caesarius of Arles)
Kyrie eleison, sung three times (and/or by three boys?)
Sanctus (sanctus or Trisagion? referred to by the council of Vaison II, 529)
Benedictus (or *Prophetia*), Luke 1:68–79, was sung by all antiphonally after being intoned by a priest
Old Testament reading (prophets)
Collect post-prophetiam (?)
Hymnus trium puerorum the canticle of the three young men (Daniel 3:57–90) was sung after the OT reading
Epistle reading (in Easter from Acts and Revelation of John, in Lent historical OT books, on martyr/saint days, the *acta* or *vitae* was read instead)
Responsorium was sung by choristers (boys)
Aius ante evangelium, the Trisagion was sung by the clergy as the Gospel book was processed in, accompanied by seven candle-bearing minor clergy, the deacon then proclaimed the gospel appointed, concluding with "Glory to you, O Lord", answered by all "Glory to Almighty God" according to Gregory of Tours (?)
Sanctus post evangelium, the Latin sanctus was sung by the clergy as the gospel book was returned to its place and the homily was preached

---

[158] Reconstructed from the *Expositio Antiquae Liturgiae Gallicanae*; "The Gallican Rite" (drawing from the *Masses of Mone*) as outlined in Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, pp. 147–150; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris: 500–1550.* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 41–45; Hen, "The Liturgy of the Bobbio Missal", pp. 140–153; Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 67–71. The title '*missa solemnia*' refers to the Mass "people were ordered to attend by royal edicts and Church councils' decrees, and this is probably the only one they did attend." Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, p. 67.

Preces, the diaconal prayers or litany, was chanted, and the peoples' response was "Domine, miserere, Kyrie eleison" or "Domine, exaudi et miserere"
Collecta post preces done by celebrant
Deacon orders catechumens, penitents and excommunicated to leave (? Doubtful presence of any catechumens…)
Deacon calls for silence
Sonum is sung (or *Sonus*), an elaborate chant sung by choir accompanies gifts
Bread is carried as a stack on a paten (*turris*), wine mixed with water in a chalice
Placed on altar and covered with a decorated cloth (Gregory of Tours)
Alleluia sung three times
Praefatio (admonition to pray well)
Recitation of the names of the dead pronounced
Prayer post-nomina
Kiss of peace exchanged by all
Eucharistic prayer
  Lift up your hearts
  We lift them to the Lord
  (in Gelasian, gratias agimus…)
  Contestation or *immolation*—variable prayer
  Sanctus sung by all (holy, holy, holy, lord God of Sabaoth…)
  Post-sanctus (variable), Caesarius calls it a *collecta*
  Secreta (institution narrative, fixed)
  Post-secreta or *post-mysterium* variable prayer (including epiclesis?)
  Doxology with people's 'amen'
  (with clergy singing psalm antiphons during the prayer (?))
Antiphona confractionis sung during the breaking of the bread and the arranging of the particles of the *hostia* on the paten
Pater Noster sung by all
Communion (people came up to the altar to receive), during which the choir sang
The *Trecanum* (Psalm 33/34 and a doxology praising the Trinity)
Benedictio final blessing chanted by bishop or priest, with congregational
Response of 'deo gratias' or 'amen' (also called *benediction super populum*) dismissal?

A Roman missa solemnia
(with Extant Information of the Seventh Century)

Antiphona, litania, kyrie eleison in stational liturgies outside?[159]
Introit psalm by choir[160] (with procession of clergy)
Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison chanted[161]
Collecta by celebrant[162] (on some feast days, two are listed)
Epistle reading[163]
Graduale chant (psalm) with alleluias[164]
Gospel proclamation[165] by deacon
Sermon
Solemn prayers, intercessions, *Deprecatio Gelasii*[166] with response *domine exaudi et miserere*)
Oratio super oblata or *Secreta* (offertory prayer and/or concluding prayer to intercessions)[167]
Canon actionis[168]

---

[159] See Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, chapter 3. He also points out that all of the "Roman processional terminology, *antiphona, litania, kyrie eleison*, is taken from the Greek," p. 343.

[160] Introit consisting of psalms (psalm verses) attributed to Pope Celestine (Pope, 422–432). The architectural evidence of a *solea*, or walkway, points to the ritual use of processions, as well as references in non-liturgical writing. See Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, chapter 3.

[161] The different uses (and ritual placements) of the Kyrie makes analysis difficult. Gregory the Great writing to John, Bishop of Syracuse (598) says: "we have not sung nor do we sing the kyrie as the Greeks do…among us the clergy sing it and the people respond. We all sing Christe eleison…finally…in daily Masses we omit the other things." The "other things" may be the tropes of a litany. See John Baldovin, "Kyrie Eleison and the Entrance Rite of the Roman Eucharist" *Worship* 60 (1986), 334–347.

[162] *Old Gelasian Sacramentary* and *Veronensis*.

[163] *The Capitulary* (or *Comes*) of *Würzburg* has listings of epistle readings for part of the liturgical year.

[164] No listings in antiphonaries, but references in sermons.

[165] No evangelary is extant until the *Comes* of Murbach (late VIII century) "in which epistles and gospels appear side by side for each day of the full cycle." Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 350.

[166] The solemn prayers are not mentioned after Felix III (483–492) but the Gelasian litany (*Deprecatio Gelasii*) is linked with Pope Gelasius (492–496) in several sources.

[167] The *secreta* is part of Mass sets in the *Veronensis* and the *Old Gelasian Sacramentary*. Some scholars have speculated the 'extra' collect is not an optional opening collect but a collect after the gospel, or over the corporal, or concluding the intercessions. See Gordon P. Jeanes, *The Origins of the Roman Rite*. (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1991), pp. 32–34.

[168] The first full text of a eucharistic prayer from Rome is in the Bobbio Missal, the *missa Romensis cotidiana* including the *canon missae*, an 8th century manuscript (possibly 7th century practices) written for use in Merovingian Gaul. Prior to that,

Sursum corda (?)[169]
Vere dignum (*Laus Deo* in ambrose), variable/proper prayer of praise[170] (or *contestatio* in Gelasian sacramentaries)
Sanctus[171]
Communicantes?[172] (here or below) with variable prayers (embolisms) inserted
Prayer for offering this *figura corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi*[173]
Qui pridie (in Gelasian, *preces*)—fixed text inclusive of institution narrative, *"who, the day before he suffered…"*[174]
Ergo memores gloriosissimae…(Unde et memores,[175] "therefore, remembering his most glorious passion and resurrection…we offer to you…")[176]
(Epiclesis)? Et petimus et precamur ("we pray and beseech you")[177] supra quae[178]

---

there are the quotes from Ambrose of Milan, ca. 390 as well as some prayers from the *Veronensis* and the *Old Gelasian*.

[169] The repeated phrase '*vere dignum'* in the *Old Gelasian* ("it is truly right that we should praise you…") makes sense flowing out of the end of the *sursum corda*, "it is fitting and right…" although the *sursum corda* is missing even in the *Bobbio Missal*. "The Lord be with you-and with your spirit; up with your hearts-we have them with the Lord; Let us give thanks to the Lord our God-it is fitting and right."

[170] Ambrose, *De Sacramentis* IV. 4.

[171] *Old Gelasian Sacramentary*, and possibly prior to that with Xystus I (ca. 530).

[172] "In fellowship with…" saints, apostles and others with whom the prayer is offered.

[173] Following Ambrose, not the same as the later Roman Canon *quam oblationem.*

[174] This text, following Ambrose, is alluded to in other writings. The Western tradition, "who, on the day before he suffered…" varies from the Eastern tradition, which begins the institution narrative with "in the night he was betrayed (or handed himself over"), a markedly different theological context. The "institution narrative" refers to the blended or harmonized scriptural accounts of Jesus' own words over the bread and over the cup. In the 9th century canon, "he…took bread…gave thanks to you, blessed, broke, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take and eat from this, all of you; for this is my body. Likewise after supper, taking also this glorious cup in his holy and reverend hands, again he gave thanks to you, blessed and gave it to his disciples," saying, "Take and drink from it, all of you; for this is the cup of my blood, of the new and eternal covenant, the mystery of faith, which will be shed for you and for many for forgiveness of sins. As often as you do this, you will do it for my remembrance."

[175] Phrase from the 9th century Roman Canon.

[176] This anamnesis is from Ambrose, *De Sacramentis,* IV, 27, but similar to the Mozarabic with references to Abel and Abraham. Only Western prayers mention Melchizedek.

[177] Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, IV, 27.

[178] Phrase from the 9th century Roman Canon. Here the intercession to receive the gifts at the altar on high is placed where other eucharistic prayers would have the

Communicantes (?) the saints and others with whom the prayer is offered—here variable prayers (embolisms) can be added according to *Veronensis* and *Old Gelasian, intra actionis*, or *infra actionem* particular to the feast day
Doxology[179]
Lord's Prayer (*Pater Noster*)[180]
Kiss of Peace *pax* or *pacem*, moved here from prior to offertory[181]
(recitation of names? (Innocent)[182]
Kiss of Peace
Fractio (with *Agnus Dei*)[183]
Fermentum?[184]
Communion (under both species)[185]
Collecta post-communio (or *oratio ad complendum*)[186]
Blessing (*super populum*, or *ad populum/ad plebem*)[187]

Suggestions for Further Reading

Baldovin, John. *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy.* Rome, 1987.

---

epiclesis, or petition for the descent of the Holy Spirit. Interestingly, Pope Gelasius (Pope, 492–496) seems to imply just that: "For how will the heavenly Spirit, who has been invoked, come to consecrate the divine mysteries if the priest, who prays that the Spirit be present, is in all respects guilty of sinful actions?" *Fragment* 7 to Bishop Elpidius of Voltera.

[179] Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, VI.24.

[180] According to Gregory the Great, moved here and said only by the "sacred ministers". *Epistle* 26 to John, Bishop of Syracuse.

[181] Innocent argues for its placement here, rather than earlier in the liturgy (Letter to Decentius), as does Gregory the Great (linking Lord's Prayer and Peace).

[182] Pope Innocent I, Letter to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, "On the recitation of names." Innocent may be referring to mentioning the names of those who had given money (or who made the bread and brought the wine?) Either way, the listing follows the eucharistic prayer.

[183] The addition of the chant, *Agnus Dei*, seems to come from Sergius (687–721).

[184] Rome knew the *fermentum* practice, at least for some liturgies (Innocent to Decentius), but whether the *fermentum* was a piece of consecrated bread from the papal Mass mixed in with the bread at Masses celebrated by presbyters around Rome, or whether it was the only communion received is not clear. For the most up-to-date discussion, see John Baldovin, "The *fermentum* at Rome in the 5th century" *Worship* 79 (2005), 38–53.

[185] Pope Gelasius, *Epistle* 37.

[186] Proper prayer from both *Veronensis* and *Old Gelasian.*

[187] Alternative titling found in the *Old Gelasian Sacramentary.*

Bradshaw, Paul. *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy.* Oxford, 2002.
Larson-Miller, Lizette. *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*. New York, 1995.
Mazza, Enrico. *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation.* Collegeville, 1999.
Palazzo, Eric. *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont. Collegeville, 1998.
Vogel, Cyril. *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William Storey and Neils Rasmussen. Washington, DC, 1986.

THE HERITAGE OF THE LATE EMPIRE: INFLUENTIAL THEOLOGY

Joseph Wawrykow

Other chapters in this volume will show that medieval Christians could be quite innovative when it comes to the Eucharist, in both their practices and the arguments about the sacrament advanced by theologians. But, medieval thinkers were as a rule quite circumspect about their own achievements. Rather than trumpet innovation and distinctiveness, theologians were more concerned with proclaiming their continuity with those who had preceded them in the faith. In developing their own teachings on Eucharist, medieval theologians were not shy in acknowledging their dependence on others, in asserting a fundamental agreement with earlier theologians.

The point can be secured in various ways. For one thing, there are the various comments in medieval theology about 'authority.' Here, some brief comments by Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1.1.8 ad 2, can be taken as representative of the basic conviction of theologians from the twelfth through at least most of the fourteenth century.[1] Sacred doctrine, the topic of the first question of the ST, is the body of truths necessary for salvation revealed by God. In conveying these truths, there is room for argument; and argument from authority holds pride of place. There are, Aquinas note, different sorts of authority found in sacred doctrine (and by extension in the theology that pertains to sacred doctrine). There are the human authors of scripture. It is to them that God has revealed the truths necessary for salvation, and has done so in a way that they cannot be mistaken. Given that revelation, their authority is certain, sharing in God's authority, as well as intrinsic or proper, for the human authors of scripture are concerned with saving truth, the content of sacred doctrine. Next come the doctors or fathers of the church, those earlier theologians who were concerned with the identification and passing on of the truths found in scripture,

[1] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, cura et studio Instituti Studiorum Medievalium Ottaviensis ad textum S. Pii Pp. V iussu confectum recognita (Ottawa, 1946), p. 8a–b.

and who have been deemed over time by the believing community to have been successful in that work. With the human authors of scripture, their authority is intrinsic. But, a revelation has not been made to them, and they are, as humans, fallible. And so, while more often than not their interpretations are apt, their authority is but probable. Aquinas goes on to mention a third group that might have authority in sacred doctrine: the philosophers, by which he means pre-Christian philosophers. Their authority is extrinsic: in the main they are not concerned with the truths with which sacred doctrine and theology are concerned. But, they can be brought into the sacred doctrine enterprise, and their ideas put to use, in examining and presenting Christian truth. And, their authority is also, with the church doctors, but probable. They too are fallible. And so there is a neat hierarchy of authority: at the top, the authors of scripture, followed by the church doctors and, in their own way, philosophers. And credence in differing degree will be accorded the writings of each sort of authority. For one group, the authority is intrinsic or proper and certain; for another, intrinsic and probable; for the third, extrinsic and probable.[2]

That text early in the *Summa* stands, as it were, as a promise, of a 'nuanced taking seriously' when appropriating the writing of various others in the actual doing of theology. When looking at medieval scholastic treatments of Eucharist, the promise would seem to have been kept. There is Aquinas's own practice in his treatise on the Eucharist in the Tertia Pars. Those questions (3.73–83) are rife with scriptural citation, and Aquinas is most concerned to root his teaching in the words and actions of Christ as rendered in scripture. In those questions, many of the Fathers too make an appearance, helping Aquinas to secure points of varying kinds, including on the distinctive presence of Christ in this sacrament. The same holds more than a century earlier, in the Lombard's discussion of the Eucharist in Book 4 of his *Sentences* (distinctions 8–13).[3] Peter would be uneasy with the notion that he is offering something new, something on his own. Rather, he too is attentive to scripture, and to the mediation of scriptural teaching

[2] For a like appraisal of the authorities that can enter into theology, see Thomas's contemporary, Bonaventure, *Collations on the Six Days*, 19, trans. Jose de Vinck (The Works of Bonaventure) 5 (Patterson, NJ, 1970), p. 291. For the Latin, see his *Opera omnia* 5 (Quarrachi, 1896), at 422.

[3] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata, 1981); 2: 280–315.

through the Fathers. His account of Eucharist might be termed a series of answers to the queries, what does scripture, and what do the Fathers affirm? Even Berengar, a more controversial figure than either Peter or Aquinas, shows in his own way the medieval preoccupation with the Fathers—the restriction of Eucharistic presence to one *in signo* is an attempt to have this sacrament conform more obviously, and in a straightforward fashion, to what he takes to be the general Augustinian teaching about 'sacrament.'

Much can be learned, then, about medieval theologies of the Eucharist by attending to the 'traditional' cast, the concern for the tradition, of the later theologians. Their work stands in literary relation to those of earlier theologians. Assessing that relation in its full dimensions would require a case by case study. What does a given medieval theologian know about the patristic inheritance? How has that inheritance been transmitted to him—in an original work, in its integrity? By quotation, in florilegia, or in sentence-collection? Or as quoted and deployed in the arguments of others? What else has been transmitted, falsely-ascribed to a given Father? What else has been transmitted by others and received, and considered alongside the comments of a given Father?[4] Such detailed, localized study of transmission lies outside the scope of the present essay; and the account of reception by given medieval authors can be safely left to others in this volume. What this essay can provide is an overview of select early authors whom the medievals—recall Aquinas and Peter and Berengar above—claimed to know and to use. That use could take different forms; for, 'literary relation' takes many forms. To give but a few examples: The authoritative sayings of the Fathers could point a later author in the right direction; could suggest at least part of the agenda for discussions of the Eucharist; could complicate things, at least momentarily, by making points that are not, at least immediately, congenial with the basic insights about Eucharist of a later thinker; could further deeper reflection by standing, whether really or only apparently, in tension with other statements, whether by that earlier author or by another.[5]

---

[4] For a general orientation to the transmission of patristic work in the middle ages, see Irena Backus, ed., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1997), vol. 1.

[5] Recall in this regard Peter Abailard, *Sic et Non*, ed. Blanche Boyer and Richard McKeon (Chicago, 1977); in his Prologue, Peter provides rules for the handling of seemingly discordant authorities.

To the extent that the medievals figure in this essay, it is in the identification of those who are to be examined here. The focus is not on the reception—and one should keep in mind the difference that genre makes, as well as the historical distance of, say, fifth-century Hippo from thirteenth-century Paris: the concerns of a later age as well as the audience would have to be kept in mind, in considering reception—but rather on those early teachings, in their original form. Whom among the theological writers of the late Empire did medieval theologians claim to be encountering, claim to be in relation to, in various ways? Thus, employing that standard of selection, in the rest of the chapter I will look at the Eucharistic theologies of Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Cassian, and Gregory the Great, and, from the East, those of John Chrysostom, Pseudo-Dionysius, and John Damascene.[6] Western medieval theologians were typically dependent on translations for the latter group (knowledge of Greek remained very much the exception among high medieval intellectuals), but translations into Latin there were. All of these earlier authors, both western and eastern, would exercise some form of influence in the development and refinement of western medieval theologies of Eucharist.

The recounting of early teachings is complicated by a noteworthy feature of early discussions of Eucharist in comparison with what is to come. Medieval discussions of the Eucharist aim at comprehensiveness, whether in the treatise devoted exclusively to the Eucharist or, as in the sentence-collections and summae of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in the treatment in detail of the sacrament that is embedded in the larger, comprehensive systematic work. These medieval treatments are striking in their breadth and depth; and there are many such treatments. Early approaches to the Eucharist, however, tend to be occasional and piecemeal, not aspiring to the extensive examinations of later writing that go through the sacrament methodically and in great detail. The Fathers do not write treatises on the Eucharist. Early Eucharistic teachings must be extracted from catechetical and mystagogical instructions, which are not exclusively Eucharistic in content;

[6] As is evident, I am taking the "late Empire" of the title of this chapter in an expansive sense, both chronologically and geographically. Joining authors of the fourth and fifth centuries are others who are later: Gregory, John of Damascus. And, by the time that he is writing, John lies outside of the 'Empire.' The first is an important early medieval conduit of patristic ideas, not least those of Augustine; the other, a significant synthesizer who passed on to the West teachings not otherwise available from the East.

from commentaries on the scriptures in which Eucharist is prominent; from homilies and sermons, many of which may cover more than this sacrament (but which continue to be primarily exegetical in tenor).

Just as there is no single medieval theology of the Eucharist, but many theologies,[7] so there is no single early Christian theology of the sacrament. In the theologian by theologian accounts that constitute the rest of this chapter, every effort will be made to identify the particular concerns of individual authors, what it is about Eucharist that that early author desires to emphasize when the topic comes up. But, while there are numerous differences among the early authors to be considered in the pages that follow—differences of nuance, of stress, of ways of proceeding in presenting Eucharist—they are all united in some core convictions, which can be identified here as a sort of foreword to the detailed renderings that follow. All affirm a presence of Christ in the sacrament that is distinctive and irreducible; for almost all, this affirmation shapes the presentation of Eucharist. An older scholarly convention, of pitting "realists" against "symbolists", as if it were not possible to affirm Christ's presence while insisting on the sign-character of this sacrament, seems increasingly untenable. For all of these authors, what was bread becomes in the liturgy, really, the body of Christ. The affirmation of that presence was due, not to insinuations of 'philosophy' but to the guidance of scripture: in scripture, as in the words of institution, Christ promised his presence in that sacrament; here as elsewhere, the early authors offered their theologies as exegetical.[8] The Eucharistic Christ, moreover, was universally understood in incarnational terms: this Christ is, in full, the second person of the Trinity who without loss to himself as fully divine Word has become truly and fully human, and who as human suffered and died and was raised. There is, in turn, a profound soteriological dimension to the account of the Eucharistic Christ: engagement with this Christ, in the reception of the sacrament is of benefit to the whole person, body and soul, and contributes to the working out of that person's salvation. The benefits of Christ's death for sinners are conveyed in this sacrament,

[7] A point made by one of the editors of this volume in several of his studies; see, for example, Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period. A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians, ca. 1080–ca. 1220* (Oxford, 1984).

[8] See Paul Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins* (Oxford, 2004), ch. 8: the 4th century marked a new stage in the handling of the Eucharist, not least for the introduction of the institution narratives in the Eucharistic prayers.

in meeting Christ. Yet, that encounter is of importance to more than that person alone. There is, in these early authors as in their medieval successors, a pronounced ecclesial dimension to the Eucharist. It was customary among the medievals to refer to the Eucharist as the sacrament of charity. That indicates the need for a living relation of the recipient to the Christ who is met in the sacrament; that also underscores the ties that bind those who come to Christ in this sacrament, to Christ himself and to all those who also belong to Christ. Here, in so designating the sacrament, the medievals were simply following the lead of their predecessors.[9]

Hilary (d. 367)

Hilary is best remembered for his contribution to defining and defending Christological orthodoxy against the Arians, as a western counterpart to his contemporary St. Athanasius.[10] That is certainly how he was viewed by later theologians: although he could on occasion slip up, by later standards, on aspects of Christology,[11] he was valued for upholding a single subject (the Word or Son of God) Christology in which the two natures (divine and human) are united, without confusion, in the person of the Word. This Christology figures prominently in Hilary's Eucharistic teaching. This Christ, the Word of God become human, who has suffered, died and been raised for human salvation, becomes present anew in the Eucharistic celebration and makes available in this setting His salvific benefits; those who eat, correctly, eat towards their salvation. In linking as insistently Christ's Eucharistic benefits to the Christ present in the sacrament, Hilary is closer to Ambrose than to Augustine (who tends to keep the distinctive Eucharistic presence more muted, as assumed); he is like them both in playing up the spiritual fruits of correct Eucharistic participation.

---

[9] For a like statement of the core early Christian Eucharistic themes, see G. Macy, *The Banquet's Wisdom: A Short History of the Theologies of the Lord's Supper* (Mahwah, NJ, 1992), p. 29; see too p. 58.

[10] For Hilary's life and writings, see Manlio Simonetti, "Hilary of Poitiers and the Arian Crisis in the West," in Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Placid Solari, 4 vols. (Westminster, MD, 1983–86), 4:33–61.

[11] In *De trinitate*, bk. 10, Hilary makes a distinction between undergoing suffering, and, feeling pain, and ascribes the former, but not the latter to Christ.

Eucharist in fact plays a significant, if subordinate, role in one of the books in Hilary's major writing against the Arians, *De trinitate* (Bk.8.12–19).[12] The occasion for invoking Eucharist is Arian exegesis of the Johannine, 'I and the Father are one' and similar texts affirming oneness. For the Arians, this has to do with the unity in willing of Christ and the Father: each wills; they will the same thing, and so are one in their willing. For Hilary, this is insufficient, and in fact misses a major, indispensable point of agreement. They are one, in his telling, because they are one in nature, not simply in willing.

The Word, the second divine person, who is one in nature with the Father, has without loss to itself as divine Word become human. By the act of incarnation, the Word has established an essential unity with humans, with those with whom as incarnate the Word shares the second nature. And, the Word who is one in nature with the Father can share with those who share his second nature (His by incarnation) what belongs to the fully divine Word and Father. In this communicating of what pertains to God to humans, there is a divinization. But such divinization would be impossible if the Word and the Father were not in fact one, in nature: only as God can the Word communicate that to those who share his second nature.

It is at this point that Eucharist is invoked. Eucharist is in brief a locus of divinization. For, in the celebration of the sacrament, the fully divine Word incarnate becomes present anew; and in meeting Him in the sacrament, those who share in his second nature, eat him, and so come to receive their share in God, come to participate more fully in God.

Eucharist, then, is brought in to underscore what is involved in a Trinitarian theology, so intimately connected to a proper account of Christ. But, while the focus remains Trinity and the one who became incarnate, some of Hilary's most valued insights into Eucharist come to nice expression. There is a distinctive Eucharistic presence; the one who is present is Jesus; encountering that Jesus brings great spiritual power, furthering the recipient's growth into God, the end of Christ's salvific work. Much is made in this passage of natural community: of the Word with the Father; of the incarnate Word with humans; and so

[12] Hilary of Poitiers, *De trinitate*, ed. P. Smulders (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina) 62, 62A (Turnhout, 1979–80). English translation: Stephen McKenna, *The Trinity* (Fathers of the Church, 25) (Washington, 1954).

in turn of humans with God, through the incarnate Word. Yet, Hilary is not denying the need for faith, for a spiritual disposition in order to benefit from Christ's presence. That too is needed. Who benefits from the eating? Human beings, to be sure, but to be more precise those humans who are united to Christ by their faith and who receive Christ in this sacrament by their faith. Hilary is much taken with 'communion,' as a designation of church, and in treating the meeting of Christ in the sacrament.[13] By the Eucharist, one shares anew in the benefits of Christ and so as bound to Christ and to others who are likewise united to Christ, grows in community with Christ and his church.

Another of Hilary's statements about Eucharist, in the earlier *Commentary on Matthew*,[14] received considerable comment in the subsequent tradition. In discussing the Last Supper as rendered in Matthew 26:26–29, Hilary considers the case of Judas. Did the one who would betray the Lord receive the Eucharist at the Supper? Matthew would seem to leave that an open question, neither affirming nor denying Judas's reception. But, according to Hilary, no, Judas most definitely did not receive. Judas had not merited communing in the divine mysteries; and so had not been present at this point in the Supper. Judas, for other authors (see, e.g., John Chrysostom below), could represent the unworthy recipient; and so, in allowing his reception, a case could be made that he provides a salutary warning to those who would come to the table in an improper spiritual state. When he ate, he sinned, and the devil entered him; and of course he went on to further sin, and eventual condemnation. For Hilary, however, what is telling in the account of the Last Supper is Jesus' promise, in terms of the cup, that He, and the disciples, would not drink again of it until they were together again, in heaven. But, notes Hilary, Judas would not be with the disciples, and Christ, in heaven; and so had not partaken of Christ's blood at the Supper.

---

[13] See Denis Dupont-Fauville, *Saint Hilaire de Poitiers, théologien de la communion* (Rome, 2008), especially pp. 139–155.

[14] Hilary of Poitiers, *Sur Matthieu*, ed., with French translation, Jean Doignon (Sources Chrétiennes) 258 (Paris, 1979); what follows in the text is based on ch. 30 of that commentary, pp. 221–25.

Ambrose (d. 397)

Ambrose's comments about Eucharist are more sustained, covering a fuller range of Eucharistic topics than does Hilary; and, they can be considerably more evocative, at times even poetic.[15] In *De sacramentis* (bks. 4 and 5) we are provided Ambrose's mystagogical instructions on the Eucharist, directed to the newly baptized.[16] He wants them to know how important is the Eucharist of which they are about to partake. In the sacrament, they will meet Christ Himself; their recent baptism, in which their sins have been removed, has made them ready for this encounter, which is of benefit to the pure. They now long for the Eucharist; their longing is about to be met.

Ambrose echoes Hilary in proclaiming a distinctive, irreducible presence of Christ in the sacrament, while going into greater detail. Much of Book 4 is devoted to this presence, whether to the change by which Christ is, eucharistically, or to that presence itself. What prior to the consecration was bread, was wine, after the consecration, by the power of God, is really Christ's body, Christ's blood. While the appearances remain as before, the truth of the elements has been changed. What was wine is by God's power the blood of Christ; the appearances of wine remain, so that there be no horror at the blood. The truth of the presence, and the possibility of that presence, through change worked by God, is established on scriptural grounds. The institution narratives receive their due. Christ has instituted the sacrament and in effect promised that He will be there when His words at the Supper are uttered. The priest who officiates is not speaking for himself; he utters the words that Christ has provided, and God works the change through them. The sacramental formulae thus work doubly, as description of what is the case by the power of God—this is indeed Christ's body, Christ's blood—and performatively. When these words are uttered by the priest [in Christ's stead] they effect what they say, by the power of God.

---

[15] For Ambrose's life and writings, see Maria Grazia Mara, "Ambrose of Milan, Ambrosiaster, and Nicetas," in Quasten, *Patrology*, 4:144–180.

[16] Ambrose of Milan, *Des Sacrements, Des Mystères*, ed., with French translation, Bernard Botte (Sources Chrétiennes) 25 bis (Paris, 1994). What follows in the text is based on *de sacramentis*, 4–5. *De mysteriis* addresses much the same material, albeit in more polished, streamlined form. To avoid repetition, I review only *de sacramentis* on the Eucharist.

The scriptural case, as it were, for Eucharistic presence as due to the power of God is broader, however, than the words of institution. Ambrose notes several parallels to Eucharistic change, in all of which God's power is evident. Creatures, and the laws of nature, are subject to God's power; and the Jesus who establishes the Eucharist, is God, the Son of God who has, without loss to itself as fully divine Word, become human. Thus, Ambrose invokes, in relatively short order, creation itself; the Virgin birth; as well as other miracles reported in scripture in which God's power over nature is evident, to ground the plausibility of the Eucharistic change. What was the case, previously, becomes otherwise, by the power of God.

The use of scripture is, however, even more extensive. For one thing, Ambrose brings in several figures, found in the Old Testament, to explicate Eucharist. Hence, following Hebrews, he cites Melchizadek, as prefiguring the Christ who is the Priest in this sacrament. He also, following John 6, refers to manna, the bread that fell from heaven. Eucharist, however, is superior to manna, for it contains the one who is Creator of heaven and of all. So too the Eucharistic practice of adding water to wine is explained in terms of an Old Testament figure, Moses's striking of the rock, with his rod, from which water flowed and which the people drank; here, I Corinthians 10 provides the lead. Ambrose's general point is that just as the Old finds its fulfillment in Jesus, so the sacramental practices of the Old come to their term and fullest expression in the celebration of the Eucharist, in which what was anticipated in the Old comes to fruition. That final example (the adding of water) can have a further explanation, one that underscores the connection between Eucharist and Passion (already established for Ambrose by Christ's institution of the sacrament at the Last Supper): the piercing of Jesus' side while he was on the cross, from which water and blood flowed out (John 19).

What perhaps is most striking in terms of the scriptural tenor of Ambrose's account of Eucharist comes in Book 5, when he employs the language of the Song of Songs to proclaim Eucharist. The Song's language of love and lovers clarifies what I would term the beauty and the grandeur of Eucharist for Ambrose. "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth" (1:1); "breasts better than wine" (1:1); "the king has brought me into his chamber" (1:3); "eat, and be intoxicated" (5:1)—these and other verses from the Song are quoted by Ambrose to characterize this sacrament. In the Eucharist, lover is present to lover, and by that presence there is the opportunity for a consummation

that is sweet and delightful, indeed intoxicating, and contributes to the growth in love of those who meet Christ in this sacrament. In so linking the Eucharist to the Song and playing out wooing and loving, Ambrose will find many medieval followers.

John Chrysostom (d. 407)

A native of Antioch who eventually became Bishop of Constantinople (but who due to political intrigue was deposed from that position and died in exile), John Chrysostom offers a rich Eucharistic theology in his many homilies.[17] In a powerful homily delivered on Holy Thursday (likely while he was in Antioch), John presents a rather impressive array of insights about Eucharist.[18] In one of its paragraphs,[19] John briskly outlines what might be termed the objective features of the sacrament. There is a change in the Eucharist. What was bread, becomes Christ, is truly Christ. This change is effected by the words of institution. A priest utters these words; the change, however, is not due to the priest, at least principally. The priest acts as Christ's representative. It is Christ, the Christ who instituted the sacrament, who effects the change and so becomes present. John draws a neat parallel with creation, by noting what in Genesis is said about "increasing and becoming multiplied." By that word, uttered once, human nature is given the power to procreate, to increase. A like word, uttered once at the Supper, is active in this sacrament; Christ endows the words of institution with power to make Christ present whenever and wherever those words are repeated by a delegated human, the priest. In short, John nicely invokes his incarnational Christology. The same Word by whom things are created and who gives created things their participated power, is active, as incarnate, in bringing about the change through the words said by the priest, and so Christ's presence, in this sacrament. Through those words, the churches accomplish the perfect 'sacrifice,' a designation for Eucharist that is frequent in the homily.

---

[17] For the life and writings of John Chrysostom, see Quasten, *Patrology*, 3: 424–482. A nice range of John's homilies, some on explicitly Eucharistic passages in scripture, others that bring in Eucharist as important to the life of the church, is available in English translation in Daniel Sheerin, ed., *The Eucharist* (Message of the Fathers of the Church) 7 (Wilmington, Delaware, 1986).

[18] The following is based on the translation in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, pp. 144–47.

[19] Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, p. 145.

The rest of the homily (by far, the greater part) is given over to the theme especially dear to Chrysostom: the ethical dimensions of Eucharist. What on the part of the recipient is required for a reception that is fruitful, and so in accordance with Christ's will? And, what is promoted, in terms of the Christian life, by a fruitful encounter with the Christ here present?

The example of Judas is offered up as a warning, not surprising in a homily on Holy Thursday. John is unequivocal: Judas did partake of the Eucharist at the Last Supper. But, that eating was not fruitful; it was unto his condemnation. For, Judas had approached the sacrament with sin in his heart, and so had blocked its benefits.

Immediately after receiving, the devil had hastened into him. This, of course, is a lesson for those who now approach the Eucharist, who approach it as Judas did, with the venom of wickedness. "Let no one now be Judas," John pleads repeatedly. What happened to Judas will happen to sinful recipients. "For the sacrifice is spiritual food, and, just as corporeal food, when it enters a stomach which has evil humors, further increases the illness, not because of its own nature, but because of the weakness of the stomach, so too is it the case with the spiritual mysteries."[20] When they enter the "soul full of evil," they corrupt it all the more and destroy it.

Who, then, will approach the Eucharist in a way that will be beneficial? The Eucharist is a clean sacrifice, an awesome and holy sacrifice. The slain offering is Christ. And so, John insists, let there be no wicked thoughts in the recipients. They should cleanse their minds, and should make their souls holy. And, "if you have anything against your enemy, get rid of your wrath, heal the wound, let go of your hostility, that you may receive healing from the table."[21] Only as cleansed, become holy, and reconciled with others, will one receive to one's benefit. John reinforces the point by reminding his listeners of the link between the cross and the Eucharist. Why did Christ die, offer himself on the cross? He died for sinners; he died for people while they were enemies of God. He died to bring about reconciliation, between humans and God, and among humans; he died to make them friends, with God and with each other. To approach the Eucharistic Christ at odds with others, viewing them as enemies, is to fail to respond to the cross

[20] *Ibid*., p. 146.
[21] *Ibid*.

correctly, and so to this sacrifice correctly. What then to do? Become reconciled to each other, become friends, by forgiving your enemies, just as God through Christ has forgiven you. And when you do that, you then approach the sacrifice properly, and benefit from that reception. If one is not at peace with one's brother, one partakes of the sacrifice in vain, the work is of no benefit to you. "Do first, then, that for the sake of which the sacrifice is offered, and then you will properly enjoy its benefits."[22] The commandment to be reconciled is, John notes, the greatest of them all; in following it, one will forgive and love, and the bond of love that links one to God and Christ and to each other in the church will be strengthened. Christ came to reconcile and to give his title to those who follow him. In becoming, after Christ, an agent of peace, in preparing for and living out of this sacrifice, one will be blessed and shall be called 'sons of God' (Mt. 5:9).

John repeats these points, and adds others, in other homilies that deal with Eucharist in whole or in part. Judas did indeed partake at the Supper, and immediately the devil entered him, to his destruction; this again is cited as warning to those who approach now.[23] Jesus is present through the power of the words of institution,[24] at his command. And, approaching the sacrament must be done in all seriousness. John does not want to scare recipients off, and is certainly not advocating a communion that would be rare; he wants his hearers to take advantage of this opportunity all that they can. But, he rejects casual reception, without due preparation aforehand; and repeatedly warns against receiving in sin, receiving without making amends and coming to peace with others.[25] And, so being ever vigilant and aware of what is in one's heart and how one stands in relation to others, one should do all that is in one's power to get ready for Christ—and, receive. Naturally, then, John will elsewhere advert to charity, to the love that is a fitting disposition to receive fruitfully. And, that love is deepened by proper reception, binding one to Christ, to others in the community. John can be quite moving in describing the tremendous value and ethical import of partaking of this sacrament: "Let us, then, come back from that table like lions breathing fire, thus being

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 291; 292.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 299; 213; 215; 307.

terrifying to the devil, and remaining mindful of our Head and of the love which He has shown for us."[26]

John's knack for the telling image is undoubted; repeatedly in his homilies he secures his teaching about Eucharist by the apt comparison. He can cite, for example, the magi to promote adequate preparation for Eucharistic reception. These foreigners came from afar, to give honor to the infant Jesus; they did so, when they got there, in fear and trembling. Nothing less is acceptable from natives, from Christians, when they approach Jesus at the altar.[27] And, John can invoke the homage due to a human king to sketch what is proper, and not proper, in receiving Christ: "You would not presume to kiss a king with a foul-smelling mouth, but you kiss the King of Heaven with a reeking soul? That is an outrage."[28]

More than once, John resorts to what might be termed maternal imagery[29] in describing the Eucharistic encounter. Sometimes, he tells us, a woman who gives birth will have another feed her child. Jesus has given birth to Christians, but he does not employ a wet-nurse; He reserves their feeding to Himself. Jesus feeds Christians, in this sacrament, with His own blood, and in every way entwines the recipients with Himself.[30] As rendered by John, that encounter becomes quite vivid: "Do you not see the babies, how eagerly they grasp the breast, how impetuously they fix their lip upon the nipple? Let us similarly approach this table, and the nipple of the spiritual cup." Or, rather, Christians should do so even more eagerly than does the baby.[31] Other descriptions of the encounter can be equally sensual. In the Eucharist, Christians have been counted worthy to touch Christ's flesh "with their tongue."[32] In eating Christ, Christians become His very flesh, and not by charity only but also in very fact. They become commingled of His flesh by means of the food which He has given for them.[33] When they receive, they touch Him and eat Him and fix their teeth in His flesh.[34] And, in speaking of Eucharistic encounter, John can even invoke the

[26] *Ibid*., p. 205.
[27] *Ibid*., p. 296.
[28] *Ibid*., p. 300.
[29] *Ibid*., pp. 205; 290–91.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 290.
[31] *Ibid*., p. 291.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 217.
[33] *Ibid*., p. 204.
[34] *Ibid*., p. 205.

behavior of lovers, likening the reception of the Eucharist to a love-bite: "we often bite with our teeth those whom we love vehemently."[35]

Other homilies make significant additions to this Eucharistic theology. Jesus himself, John states, ate the sacrament, before dispensing it to the disciples,[36] doing this to help his disciples get used to Him as spiritual food and drink and to encourage them to partake themselves.

John also asserts the connection between the heavenly Christ—the Jesus who having suffered and died, was raised for our salvation and has ascended into heaven—and the Eucharistic Christ. It is the same Christ who is present and seen by the angels in heaven, who offers himself to those who approach and receive in faith.[37]

John allots to the priest considerable discretion in the dispensing of the sacrament. If a person who is known to the priest as a sinner approaches, the priest should refuse the Eucharist, to preserve what is holy, to not make of the sacrament an occasion of that person's sin, to chastise the person and perhaps lead to repentance.[38]

And, finally, John adds to 'sacrifice' another important designation: 'thanksgiving', 'Eucharist' in the literal sense.[39] Christians have much to be grateful for; recall, John admonishes, all of God's gifts to people, including this sacrament itself, in which they can encounter Christ. Thus, the appropriate attitude in those who come to the table is one of thankfulness; that thanks adds nothing to God, but brings the recipient ever closer to God.

Augustine (d. 430)

At the outset, two points must be made. First, the extant Augustinian corpus is enormous,[40] and Augustine wrote much about the Eucharist. His comments about Eucharist are scattered throughout that corpus. It is simply not possible to review all that he wrote about the Eucharist. Rather, choices have to be made. In the following, I concentrate on his

---

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 296.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 297.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 291–93.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 287ff.
[40] For Augustine's life and writings, see Agostino Trape, "Saint Augustine," in *Patrology*, 4:342–462.

tractates on John 6,[41] supplemented by some homilies, including some catechetical instructions, and, by his reflections about sacrifice, as in *De Civitate Dei*, bk. X and related texts; this should suffice to convey the principal features of this teaching.

Second, Augustine is by far the most controversial of the theologians treated in this chapter. Did he affirm or deny a 'real' presence of Christ in the Eucharist? The issue was of considerable concern in the Reformation and figured in Catholic-Protestant polemics; and more recent scholars, including some twentieth-century Catholics, have concluded that on presence, Augustine was content to think in (merely) symbolist terms. In this, he would have charted a course independent of, say, Ambrose; the post- Augustinian centuries might even be viewed as a struggle between realists and symbolists, of the followers of Ambrose and of Augustine.[42] This, however, seems an over-simplification. Augustine does seem in places to allow for a distinctive Eucharistic presence. That he does not fixate on that presence is also clear enough, preferring to play up other features of Eucharist as he presents that sacrament. Why he is in effect reticent about presence and has put the stress elsewhere will require some explanation.

Augustine's presentation of Eucharist is framed by his understanding of Church as the body of Christ. Christ is the Head of this body; those who are joined to him by faith and charity, having received from Him the Holy Spirit, are His members. In discussing Eucharist, Augustine, first of all, plays up its sign-quality. A sign is a thing that points to another thing (*res*). It signifies that thing, but is not that thing. In the case of Eucharist, the material elements, the bread and wine point to the *res* that is the power of the sacrament. Taking his cue from 1 Corinthians 10:17, a favorite verse that appears repeatedly throughout his writings, Augustine states that the *res* that is signified by the bread is the Church, the body of Christ, in its fundamental unity, which is grounded in charity. The Eucharist is the sacrament of unity and charity. Just as bread is made out of many grains, so the Church, the body

[41] *In Johannis Evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. Radbod Willems (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina) 36 (Turnhout, 1954); English translation: *Tractates on the Gospel of John 11–27*, trans. John W. Rettig (Fathers of the Church) 79 (Washington, D.C., 1988). What follows in the text is based on tractates 26 and 27.

[42] See Josef Geiselmann, *Die Eucharistielehre der Vorscholastik* (Paderborn, 1936), and more recently, Edward J. Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, ed. Robert J. Daly (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1998), as at p. xxiii.

of Christ, is made out of many people who are joined to their Head by their charity.[43]

Augustine continues the thought when he turns to reception of the Eucharist. That reception too is—or, at least, should be—sacramental, testifying to one's membership in Christ's body that is Church. This sacrament testifies to the charity that binds the members to the Head, and reception of the sacrament proclaims that unity, founded in charity. This informs Augustine's account of worthy and unworthy reception of the sacrament, a distinction, he reminds us, that is based on 1 Corinthians 11:28–29. Who eats worthily? A person who is truly a member of the body of Christ. In that eating, that person proclaims his membership in Christ. And, since there is a power to the sacrament, one established by Christ's promise, those who are truly members of Christ and who in their reception are proclaiming that membership in an exercise of their charity, their love of God in Christ, will grow in grace, grow in charity, receiving anew and in heightened form the Holy Spirit who binds Christians to their Head. In that case, the eating that is sacramental will also be spiritual.

Yet, not all who approach the sacrament are members of Christ's body. In their receiving, they are feigning a connection to Christ. They lack the faith and charity that is required for fruitful reception, for receiving the power of the sacrament promised by Christ and conveyed by the Spirit. Their eating is sacramental, but is not spiritual. They receive the elements, which point to the truth of the unity of the body of Christ. But, that eating is not the occasion for growth into Christ, through the strengthening in grace and charity that is offered in the sacrament. They have, in effect, rejected the offer of that grace, of more grace; for they don't have that grace and charity in the first place. Their eating is unworthy, and is sinful. In their dissimulation, they sin, and so are eating unto their condemnation.

As in his catechetical instructions, Augustine can portray reception of the Eucharist by Christians of genuine faith and charity as the term of a process of formation, described according to the making of bread. Bread, he reminds his listener, is not made from one grain, but from many. When the listener was exorcised, he was, after a fashion, milled.

---

[43] On this topic, see Gerald Bonner, "Augustine's Understanding of the Church as a Eucharistic Community," in *Saint Augustine the Bishop*, ed. Fannie LeMoine and Christopher Kleinhenz (New York, 1994), pp. 39–63.

When he was baptized, he was moistened. And, when he received the fire of the Holy Spirit, he was baked. Thus, in approaching the Eucharist, 'be what is seen, and receive what you are.'[44]

That a living faith, a faith informed by charity, is needed for fruitful reception, for an eating that is both sacramental and spiritual, does not lead Augustine to deny what might be termed the objective aspects of the sacrament. Reception is a proclamation of such living faith; it is not the source of the grace and charity that are found in that sacrament. For Augustine, in a sacrament a 'word is added to the element'; only then is there a sacrament. And the word is not a human word, but that of Christ, who promises his gifts to those who participate. The gifts are accepted, it is true, only by those who are marked by charity; but that charity does not establish the grace and charity found in the sacrament. Rather, Christ offers grace and more charity in the sacrament; without His promise and offer, there would be no growth in charity, no matter how great the living faith of the recipient. God in Christ offers; the person accepts, or rejects, that offer.

The controversy with the Donatists, who tied membership in the Church to moral purity and sacramental efficacy to the moral qualities of the priest, stimulated Augustine's commitment to the objective character of the Eucharist, in distinction to what an individual recipient might bring to the celebration. The priest plays an important role in the sacrament. The priest serves as Christ's representative; through his ordination, he has been designated for this sort of service to Christ. It is a priest, by virtue of his ordination and the priestly character or indelible mark on his soul, who officiates at a celebration of the sacrament. Yet, while important, the priest's role is secondary, is subordinate. It is not his word, but the word of Christ enacted by the Holy Spirit, which he utters that works the sacrament. In terms of making the sacrament, his moral qualities are a matter of indifference. Christ is the principal agent. By the word of Christ, God changes what was bread into the sacrament of unity and charity. Christ works through his instrument, the priest. In this analysis, Augustine offers an effective response to the Donatists. Does it matter if the priest is a sinner? For that priest's reception, yes: in receiving that priest, if sinful and lacking a living faith, would sin, not benefit. But, not for the consecration. There, the priest is but a minister, and the prime agent is Christ

[44] See his Sermon 272, translated in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, p. 95.

himself; and Christ can use bad ministers as well as good to effect His will.

In his accounts of Eucharist, Augustine plays up its sacramentality and spiritual power. His focus is on the effects of the sacrament, geared to the worthy recipient. As in the tractates on John 6, little can be said by him about a distinctive Eucharistic presence of Christ, as part of the objective efficacy of the sacrament and in making available its effects. He does acknowledge such a presence in other texts, but as a rule only in passing and not as the main point of edification.[45] But the stress is put elsewhere, on what is conveyed spiritually through the sacrament and the requirements for growth through the sacrament. The reticence is striking, especially when one thinks of Ambrose, otherwise so important for Augustine's own spiritual progress, on the Eucharist. And, as in the tractates on John 6, Augustine, on first reading, gives the impression that musing about such a distinctive presence is beside the point, perhaps even counterproductive. Flesh is in itself of no avail; what counts is Christ, faith in Christ, being linked to Christ by charity. That is what provides for eternal life. 'Spirit, not flesh.' He can make the same point in other writings.[46]

Scholars who think that Augustine does hold a distinctive Eucharistic presence while putting the stress elsewhere, perhaps not exploiting that belief sufficiently (in the sense of making it central to the account of Eucharist), have offered varying explanation for this muted treatment of that presence. Jackson, for example, refers to Augustine's understanding of sign: a sign points to a thing, and is different from that thing. Thus physical food can point to the spiritual food that is the growth in charity; it is not that spiritual growth. A sign is not that thing, and will not be identified with what it points to. Perhaps if Augustine had a more expansive notion of sign, to include as well the *representation* of what is signified, and not just the signification, Augustine might have worked in more smoothly the teaching about the distinctive Eucharistic presence that he can affirm.[47] As an historical observation, something of the sort, I would add, is met in the High

---

[45] For such texts, see the lists provided by Trape, in *Patrology*, 4:450, and by Pamela Jackson, "Eucharist," in *Augustine Through the Ages*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, 1999), p. 333. See too Marie-Francois Berrouard, "L'être sacramental de l'Eucharistie selon S. Augustin," *Nouvelle Révue Théologique* 109 (1977), 702–721.

[46] See, for example, his *Enarratio* on Ps. 98, translated in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, at p. 184.

[47] Pamela Jackson, "Eucharist," pp. 333–34.

Middle Ages, where the sign and *res* of the eucharist is increased, as it were, by positing explicitly a second, mediating *res*—Christ himself. Thus, the bread acts sacramentally in a double way, pointing to the effects, which it signifies, and pointing to the Christ who is present as the term of the consecration, signifying that Christ and containing that Christ.

Patout Burns has taken a different tack in discussing Augustine on Eucharistic presence, emphasizing his social-historical location as a theologian and bishop of the Church in North Africa.[48] For one thing, North Africans did not traditionally think of the working out of human salvation in terms of divinization, an overcoming of mortality and sin that aims at growing into God (such a view is to be associated with such Alexandrians as Cyril of Alexandria, and Antiochenes such as Chrysostom). An insistence on a distinctive, irreducible presence of Christ in the Eucharist goes nicely with such an account of salvation: the Word incarnate shares what is His with those who come into contact with Him in this setting. Rather, for the North Africans Christ's work is geared to overcoming and reversing sin and its effects, as people move toward the end of their journey, life with God in heaven. The presupposition of reaching that end is charity, by which the Holy Spirit brings forgiveness and new power, becoming active in Christians' lives and readying them for eternal life; and by this charity, they are joined in community with God through Christ and with each other. And, in developing a distinctive North African theology of the Eucharist, going back to Cyprian there had been a stress on Eucharistic reception as the sign, expression of, the unity provided to the members of Christ's church, by charity. Augustine's teaching about Eucharist thus continues this North African understanding, tailored to the handling of the difficult situation in North Africa provided by the competition with the Donatists. For Augustine, the Church must be construed in visible and in invisible terms. The visible church is a mixed entity, of those who are marked by charity, and of those who are not; only at the Judgment will the wheat be separated from the chaff. For now, both coexist in the visible church, which thus is not co-extensive with the invisible church, Christ's body that is characterized by charity. For the Donatists, the church is constituted only by

[48] J. Patout Burns, "The Eucharist as the Foundation of Christian Unity in North African Theology," *Augustinian Studies* 32 (2000), 1–23.

the pure; and the visible and invisible church are identical. In insisting on moral purity and rejecting from the true church those who have sinned and who lack charity, the Donatists themselves betray their lack of charity. Now, for Augustine, the ordination of Donatist priests was effective; and so in principle their Eucharist too could be said to make available beneficial effects. But, Donatist eating was a sign neither of unity nor of charity; they lack charity, and so their eating is merely sacramental, but not spiritual. In restating a traditional North African theology of Eucharist, Augustine kept his sights on the prerequisites of fruitful reception and the possible effects of the sacrament; that was an effective way to undermine the Donatist case, while imbuing his own position a North African resonance. But, once he granted that Donatist priests did receive a priestly character through their ordination, he would not want to press the case by lingering on the presence of Christ in the sacrament that would result from their consecration. And, although Cyprian, in Burns' telling, and Augustine himself allowed for a distinctive, irreducible Eucharistic presence, North Africans tended in any case to be more reticent about that presence, putting the focus on effects and fruitful reception, as sign of the unity and charity of the Church. Did Christ become present in the consecration by the Donatist priest as instrument of Christ? That was left to the side, as was the presence of that Christ through Catholic consecration, and the argument for (Catholic) and against (Donatist) charity kept to the fore.

Augustine's account of Eucharist as sacrifice links the sacrament closely to the Passion, which is the perfect sacrifice.[49] In any sacrifice, there are four points to be considered: by whom the sacrifice is offered; what is sacrificed; to whom the sacrifice is made; and, for whom the sacrifice is offered. In the Passion, Christ offers Himself, to God, for people, to please God and to overcome the sins of the people. There is a double aspect to Christ's sacrifice, an inner and an outer: the outer sacrifice is the handing over of his life, for our sins; the inner, is the love, for God and for others, in which Christ delivers Himself up. The Eucharist is a reminder of this sacrifice, the image of it; it recalls what Christ has done on the cross. And, as one would expect, there is also

[49] What follows in the text is based on *de civitate Dei* bk. 10.4–6, 19–20; English translation in *Saint Augustine: The City of God Books VIII–XVI*, by Gerald G. Walsh and Grace Monahan (Fathers of the Church) 14 (Washington, 1952). For Christ's Passion as sacrifice, analyzed according to four points, see as well *de trinitate*, bk. 4.14.

a pronounced ecclesial dimension to the sacrifice, with regards to what is offered up. As it recalls the Passion, the church is joined to Christ as to its Head and so offers itself, as Christ's body, up as well. In terms of the Eucharist, one can specify another agent, the priest, who speaks as the representative of both Christ and the people; but that priest, who utters the words of Christ instituting the sacrament and so brings to the mind the Passion, acts, as would be expected in Augustine, in a thoroughly subordinate and secondary way, as Christ's agent. The main offerer in the Eucharist, as in the Passion, is Christ Himself.

John Cassian (d. ca. 435)

Through the *Conferences* and the earlier *Institutes*, Cassian did much to promote an interest in, and shape, monasticism in the West.[50] Likely composed in the later 420s, the *Conferences* purport to render conversations that Cassian and his friend Germanus had had with leading monastic figures in Egypt, where Cassian had lived many years before. In the twenty-second *Conference*, Cassian turns to the question of worthy reception of the Eucharist. What is required for worthy reception? Who is the worthy recipient? What Cassian wrote in this *Conference* was known and cited by later writers on the sacrament, both monastic and other (that is, the scholastics too learned from this account).

The point of entry in this *Conference* is nocturnal emission, a matter of some concern for vowed celibates. Why do such emissions occur? There are, we are informed, three types of reason for nocturnal emissions. One is when the monk has eaten and drunk too much; that occasions a buildup of fluid, which will seek its release. Another has to do with a monk's spiritual neglect. Rather than working at his relation with God, the monk lets things slide, perhaps out of a wrongful sense of how much he has, spiritually, already achieved. In the seminal emissions that arise from these two reasons, there is culpability. But, Abba Theonas notes, there is a third reason for nocturnal emissions: the assault of the devil, who wants to humiliate a monk and make him

[50] For Cassian's life and writings, see *Patrology*, 4:512–523. For the text of the *Conferences*, see *Conlationes XXIV*, ed. Michael Petschenig (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum) 13 (Vienna, 1886); English translation: *John Cassian: The Conferences*, trans. Boniface Ramsey (Mahwah, NJ: 1997).

worry about his spiritual direction. In this there will be no culpability of the monk, who has not been careless whether in body or in soul.

The enumeration of these different reasons for nocturnal emission leads Germanus to ask whether these nocturnal emissions render the monk unfit for receiving the sacrament. In response, Theonas relates the story of a brother whom he knew. That brother suffered such emissions on feast days, when he was planning to commune. This bothered him greatly, and he sought the advice of his elders, who investigated the matter. He was diligent in his fasting, combating gluttony and the range of vices that might emerge from gluttony; his emissions thus were not due to neglect of his body and the need to tame it and the passions. Nor was he careless in his spiritual practices. When they asked him whether he thought his spiritual success was due to his efforts, and those alone, he asserted forcefully his need for God's grace, without Whose assistance no progress in the spiritual life can be made. It was clear, then, that he was not subject to pride; that could not be the source of his seminal emissions.

And so as the term of their investigation, the elders concluded that these emissions were the doing of the devil, without that monk's complicity or consent. The devil was laying a trap for him by making him spill his seed, so that confused and humiliated he would refrain from receiving the Eucharist, and so be deprived of the protection that the Lord's body could provide him, in his own body and soul. The elders encouraged him to receive; and as it turned out, fortified by repeated reception of the sacrament, such trickery of the devil came to an end.

The upshot, then, is that sinfulness—in this case, when sin is the cause of these emissions—renders one unworthy of receiving. Those who do receive, as serious sinners, eat unto their condemnation. This heavenly food, because of what they bring to the altar, becomes for them the occasion for new sin, and deepened illness, to the point of death. But, as for those who have strived with all their might, and with the aid of God, to do what God seeks, they are ready to receive this heavenly food, and to benefit from that reception. Communion in the body of Christ is fruitful for the holy or righteous.

And yet, the *Conference* continues, that is not the same as saying that those who eat to their benefit are worthy, in a strict sense, of receiving. In humility, one will acknowledge that one is not so worthy of communion in the sacred body. Such humility bespeaks a double recognition: that this heavenly manna is so majestic that no one in this life receives its nourishment of his own deserving but rather only due

to the generosity of the Lord; and, because even those who strive the mightiest, with God's grace, are struck by at least the darts of infrequent and lesser sins. Even those most committed to the spiritual life still sin; they are holy, righteous, because committed to the service of God, but they are not utterly perfect, immaculate. Indeed, Abba Theonas notes, only Christ, who was without sin and who never succumbed to temptation, was immaculate; only he, in other words, would be 'worthy' in the strict sense. But, for others, what suffices for receiving the Eucharist to one's benefit is a sound sense of oneself in relation to God, and acknowledgment of one's dependence on God for one's movement to God and growth in that relationship. For these people, holy and righteous, but not immaculate, reception of the Eucharist will be a great and bountiful thing.

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500)

The author of the Dionysian corpus purports to be the pagan who, as reported in Acts 17:34, had been converted by the preaching of the Apostle Paul in Athens. The claim went unchallenged for much of the Middle Ages, and accordingly these writings were read with special interest, although it would go much too far to think that they enjoyed canonical status. They did not; but they did seem to give renewed access, from a different angle, to Paul, and were so valued. These writings were available to the Latin West from the Carolingian period on; and there was more than one translation of the corpus.[51]

Dionysius's view of reality is complex. There are many different levels of reality, and these stand in a relation of connectedness and dependence. Each layer of reality is dependent for its being on a higher; and the lower level reflects that higher level, although in a diffused, scattered form. Thus, the sensible world owes its existence to the intelligible, and proclaims that world, in a way that is commensurate to the sensible. The source of all is God, who is supereminent. The transcendent God gives rise to the level of reality immediately below

[51] For the medieval Latin translations, see *Dionysiaca*, 2 vols. (Bruges, 1937). On the corpus, see *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus (750)*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 45–53. English translation: *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid (Mahwah, NJ, 1987).

God, which in turn gives rise to that below it, and so on. The human being is mixed, both sensible and intelligible, but ultimately arising from God.

The spiritual task, then, is a matter of reflection and meditation, of discovering traces of God in what is accessible to the human at the level at which the human is found, in this world, moving from the scattered reflections in the material world, up to those more concentrated reflections in what is higher, and finally—if the journey, which is noetic and spiritual, is successful—rising to God Godself in a final act of selftranscendence. A broad range of western medieval writers found this understanding of interconnectedness and dependence, and of spiritual ascent, attractive, and not simply those who are known for their heightened sense of sacramentality (e.g., Hugh of St. Victor; Bonaventure)—Dionysius is among the most cited sources, after scripture, in the *Summa* of Aquinas.

This view of reality shapes Dionysius's discussion of the sacraments in his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, (hereafter *EH*) including of the Eucharist: through this sacrament, one can make spiritual progress, come to know more about God and Christ and be furthered in the movement to God as end—indeed be brought into God's presence. This view of the sacraments emphasizes Jesus's providential care for human beings. The Hierarch—the one who is perfect and seeks to convey that perfection to others—attends to the mixed character of human being, and so establishes rites that are simultaneously sensible and intelligible. The sacraments are to be received, and, to be contemplated. Jesus has established them wisely, and every aspect of the rite is fraught with meaning, to be recovered by the recipient who contemplates them in the movement to God. Other hierarchs (the ecclesial figures also commented on in *EH*) participate in the performance of the sacraments. It is through them that Jesus acts; their power is derivative from His, participating in His hierarchical activities; in celebrating this sacrament, they use His words, as at the Supper.

Dionysius's most important treatment of the Eucharist comes in *EH*, ch. 3. The chapter is, however, on a broader topic, the prayers and words, and actions and gestures, of the divine liturgy, as known to Dionysius, in which the Eucharist is embedded. The explication of all of those actions and words stimulates ascent. They are recounted for themselves, and then in relation to their source and for what, above them, they also reveal, as a way of contributing to divinization and

moving up towards God. The chapter as a whole would be of value in the composition of later commentaries on the divine liturgy.

Dionysius is clear about the centrality of the Eucharist. It is the sacrament of sacraments; its importance is signified by its performance at all of the rites of the other hierarchic sacraments. These other sacraments fall short of what this one does. It is Communion and gathering (synaxis): it grants communion and union with the One; it divinely brings about a spiritual gathering to the One for the person who receives the sacrament. It, alone among the sacraments, works full perfection, perfecting the recipients in their communion and gathering to the One. For Dionysius himself, the Eucharist has tremendous personal significance. All of the hierarchic sacraments convey divine light. But, he tells us, it was this one that first gave him the gift of sight, which led him toward the vision of divine things. The Eucharist then was for him the interpretative key to reality and God's dealings with humans.

Much of *EH* ch. 3 is given over to the description of divinization through the divine liturgy. Dionysius thus conveys his sense of the qualities required for worthy reception, for worthy encounter with the divine in this sacrament, in meeting Jesus Himself. He does so, for example, by noting at length who should not receive the Eucharist, referring to the dismissal, during the liturgy, of, in turn, the catechumens, the possessed, and the penitents. The Eucharist is reserved for initiates, for those who have already begun the process of divinization and have been baptized into new life. It is given to those who seek to be conformed to God and who have made progress in this conformity. By the Eucharist, those who are being divinized receive considerable impetus by seeing and eating divine things, and grow in their perfecting into God. In contrast, the catechumens are excluded because they have not, yet, been brought into the new life by baptism. The possessed fail to seek conformity to God, giving themselves over to wanton passions and false desire. And, the penitent still need to make up for the sin that has drawn them away from God. In this account, human intentionality and purposefulness seem quite important. Jesus provides this sacrament for those who seek God and who have made considerable progress, by their moral and intellectual reform, in that pursuit, and who understand the Eucharist as contributing mightily to that endeavor.

In contemplating the words and actions of the divine liturgy, and encouraging those at the liturgy to do likewise, Dionysius indicates the value of the liturgy for readying the recipient for worthy encounter

with Jesus. The liturgy recounts what God and Jesus have done, and are doing, for human beings. Human beings are made for God, to become 'god' as God intends. Human beings had stupidly sinned, forfeited their resemblance to God and moved away from the path to God. But, God did not leave human rebellion and sinfulness as the final word. Jesus came, uniting our humanity (as unaffected by sin) to his divinity, and restoring human beings to correct relationship to God, making it possible to attain the end set for people by God. Meditating on what God and Jesus have done will make those at the liturgy cognizant anew of their own insufficiency and of their need for and dependence on God and Jesus; the appropriate disposition, as they approach the sacred things, is one of love and gratitude.

Later in the *EH* (ch. 7), Dionysius turns to a practice that would seem to put his account of Eucharist and the place of Eucharist in the spiritual ascent to the test. What about infant baptism and with it, infant communion? Infants do not have the use of their human capacities for knowing and discerning; so why are they baptized, initiated into a new life of which they are not aware? And, why as part of the baptismal rite, are they given communion, which is designed to provide perfection? And, of course, they cannot speak for themselves; others speak on their behalf at the baptism. Dionysius, in response, notes that our knowledge falls short of the mysteries. Yet, he thinks infant baptism and communion defensible, given what he has received on the question from the blessed teachers. Those who speak on behalf of the infant make a promise on the child's behalf, that the child will be educated in the faith and come to acquire the holy habits conducive to reaching God. And, in giving the infant communion, it is as a pledge of such future training and formation, and to provide nourishment, so that the child may give his life to contemplation of divine things, make progress in his communion with them, and may acquire a holy way of life, raised in sanctity by a sponsor who too lives in conformity with God. Here, then, we meet the Dionysian version of the 'faith of the church' that suffices at baptism (and communion) and which will engender the personal faith and sanctity so crucial to Dionysius in his account earlier of Eucharistic reception.

Gregory the Great (d. 604)

The contributions of the great Pope to Eucharistic theology come in two distinct contexts. First, as in the fourth book of his *Dialogues*,

Gregory offered relatively extensive reflections on the sacrifice of the mass, and in particular the benefits of that sacrifice.[52] For Gregory, there is an intermediate state, after death, for souls that have not qualified immediately for heaven (but definitely have not qualified for hell). Such is the case for people who have generally led a good life and have died in proper relationship to God, but have not had some lesser sins (such as immoderate laughter, or improper use of property) forgiven. These souls are undergoing a purgatorial fire, to cleanse them of those lesser sins. For these people, the sacrifice of the mass can be most effective. That offering of the people of the Christ who brings forgiveness, for the intention of a soul now undergoing such purgation, can bring about a lessening of that punishment or even its complete remission; in that case, the purgated soul would proceed to its final place, in heaven. The proof that the sacrifice of the mass can be effective for the dead is provided by the example of some who are still alive, whose stories Gregory also recounts in the *Dialogues*. When the mass has been offered for them, good things can happen.

Gregory is clear, however, that the application of Christ's effects, made available by the Passion and conveyed through the sacrifice of the mass, is not automatic. Not all for whom the mass is offered benefit from the sacrifice. Rather, only those who have merited through their activity while alive that they will benefit by that offering—that is, those who are in correct relationship to God, by their faithful and loving actions—will benefit when the sacrifice of the mass is offered for their intention. In the ecclesiology which underlies this account of sacrifice, Gregory would seem in nice continuity with Augustine: to benefit from Christ's offering, made available in the Eucharist viewed as sacrifice, one must already belong to Christ. The sacrifice will not reverse the effects of the more serious sin that has put a person at odds with God, destroying community with God and others. If such serious, fatal sin has been committed, that person must have repented and been contrite, and so restored to correct relationship to God in Christ. There must be in place a bond of love, linking people to God through Christ and to each other, for the sacrifice offered for that person to have its effect. The very offering of the sacrifice for their intention, one might add, will itself be an expression of the love that binds.

---

[52] Gregory discusses the sacrifice of the mass at greatest length at *Dialogues*, 4.60–62. However, comments about it are scattered throughout the entire fourth Dialogue.

Gregory's other contribution to Eucharistic theology comes in the form of instructions on pastoral matters offered in his letters. Especially noteworthy here is a lengthy letter responding to queries sent to him by Bishop Augustine, engaged in the mission to England.[53] The Eucharist is prominent in the eighth and ninth of Augustine's queries; in his answers, Gregory discloses his sense of the dignity of he sacrament, and its importance, as well as his pastoral skill. Should a menstruating woman be allowed to receive the Eucharist (q. 8)? For Gregory, no restriction should be placed on the woman. Menstruation is something natural, and no one should be punished for what is natural. Whether she receives or not is to be left to the woman, to be determined by her frame of mind. If she is thinking of human sinfulness, and about the corruption of the nature that sin has brought, she may decide not to receive; and for her lack of presumption, she should be applauded. But, if she is carried away by her love for the mystery, she will receive; and she in no way should be reprimanded or judged for her fervor for the sacrament. What matters is her interior state, which will guide her Eucharistic practice.

What about the man who sleeps with his wife? Can he enter the church and even approach the mystery of Holy Communion (q. 8)? For Gregory, the husband should wash himself and refrain for a while from receiving. It is not, Gregory stresses, that marriage is considered a sin. It is not. But, lawful intercourse with a wife seldom takes place without sinful pleasure. If the intercourse were conducted only for the sake of procreation, after washing there need be no delay in receiving the sacrament. But, such is rarely the case. When it is the pleasure in the intercourse that dominates, then both husband and wife should abstain from receiving for an appropriate time. Again, it would appear that one's interior focus is in play in Gregory's handling of this question: one will need time to gather oneself, and so be able to approach the Eucharist with the apt spiritual disposition.

With the ninth question, Gregory returns to an issue with which Cassian, in his twenty-second *Conference*, had been concerned: after

---

[53] For his letters, see *Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum*, ed. P. Ewald and L. Moritz Hartmann (Monumenta Germaniae Historica), 2 vols. (Berlin, 1887–1899). The letter on which I focus in the text is listed as 11.56a in that edition, in 2:331–343. English translation: *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, trans. John R.C. Martyn, 3 vols. (Mediaeval Sources in Translation, 40) (Toronto, 2004). The translation is found in 2:532–544, listed as Ep. 8.37. For a discussion of the authenticity of the letter, see Martyn, 1:61–66.

a nocturnal emission, can anyone receive the body of the Lord? And, Bishop Augustine had added, in posing this query, if that person is a priest, can the priest celebrate the holy mysteries? Gregory's response is nuanced; much depends on the cause of the emission. Has the emission been the result of natural superfluity or sickness? If so, then the emission is not to be feared; after cleansing, a person can receive. Is the emission due to gluttony, of taking too much food aforehand? In that case, there is some guilt, but not as far as prohibiting that person from receiving the Eucharist or, if a priest, from celebrating it, either when a holy day demands it or necessity compels him to offer the mystery, because no other priest is available. If other priests are available, then that priest should refrain from celebrating, although he can himself receive the sacrament.

But, if the emission is culpable, that is, due to temptations in which one finds pleasure and to which one consents, then a person should refrain from receiving or celebrating, until such time as penance can be done. Again, as in his response to the eighth of Augustine's queries, it is one's interior, spiritual state that will decide reception. Only those who are free of serious sin, and in the correct frame of mind, able to give their attention to the Eucharist, fittingly receive the sacrament.

John of Damascus (d. 750)

Among this eighth-century author's many writings is a huge work, the *Fountain of Knowledge*, which fell into three main sections.[54] After sections on philosophy, and, heresies, the final section of that larger work was given over to an exposition of the orthodox faith, in which John examines the main theological issues, drawing on the most important Greek fathers. A handful of chapters from that exposition, having to do with Christ, were translated into Latin by the mid-twelfth century; Peter Lombard knew that partial translation and employed those chapters in presenting Christ in the third book of his *Sentences.* Not long after, the entire *de fide orthodoxa* was translated into Latin, and was

[54] For the life and writings of John of Damascus, see Johannes Quasten *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers*, ed. Angelo de Berardino and Adrian Walford (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 228–37.

known by thirteenth-century theologians.[55] *De fide* is well-organized, putting the main theological topics in a sensible order; and the discussions of those topics are as a rule brisk and comprehensive. In John, the thirteenth-century theologians, much engaged in constructing theological overviews in their own *summae* and concerned to proceed methodically through each of the main theological topics, found a kindred spirit. Exhibiting a thorough acquaintance with the Greek patristic theological inheritance, John proved an important conduit between the Greek fathers and the medieval west.

John's *de fide* in Latin translation came to be divided into four books; the Christology is found in the third book, the lengthy chapter (86) on the Eucharist, in the fourth book. That chapter is dense and methodical, running a gamut of the topics that are most important in presenting this sacrament.

John's first concern is to locate the Eucharist in its proper context, in effect linking Eucharist to other theological topics examined earlier in *de fide*. He thus invokes the goodness of God in creating, and in creating for a purpose. God has made many different sorts of creatures, to proclaim God outside of God. God has created the human being, a mixed being (material and spiritual) for a special end, to share God's own life; and as created for that end, human beings were instructed on how to act, in this life, in order to reach that end. They did not follow God's commands, have sinned, and so fallen; as a consequence, they are off track, at odds with God, and in contravention of God's plan for human beings. To meet the human predicament—sin and its effects, including death as the punishment for sin—God sent Christ. The Word became incarnate, and as incarnate, has taken decisive action to set things right, to return human beings to correct orientation to God and to enable them to reach the end, God, set for them by God. This Christ does through his death on the cross and the resurrection; and those who acknowledge this work of God through Christ, benefit from his sufferings and doings. In sum, as a prelude to discussing Eucharist, John sketches a human journey, placed in the larger frame of God's

[55] See Saint John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa. Versions of Burgundio and Cerbanus*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert (St. Bonaventure, NY, 1955). For the original, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, ed. B. Kotter, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1969–2009), vol. 2; English translation: *John of Damascus: Writings*, trans. Frederick H. Chase (Fathers of the Church) 37 (New York, 1958).

creative and saving will. And the subsequent presentation of Eucharist exploits this broader framework. Christ's saving benefits are conveyed to His people through the sacraments, through baptism in the first place, and Eucharist. Those who receive the Eucharist, doing so properly, with the correct spiritual disposition, are given the sustenance and strength to make progress in their journey to God as end.

In turning to the Eucharist, John is concerned in the rest of the chapter to emphasize several points. First, the institution narratives are placed into prominence. At the Last Supper, as he prepared for the Passion, Christ established the New Covenant, and established this sacrament, by which He could, through His Eucharistic presence, provide continued support to His disciples in their journey to God. In establishing this sacrament as He has, Christ, the Word of God incarnate, has exhibited God's typical condescension, that is, skill in employing suitable matter to achieve God's ends. Human beings are accustomed to eat bread and to drink wine, for their sustenance; thus, God uses such natural things, the accustomed things of nature, to convey what is above nature.

John is much taken with the benefits of the Eucharist. It is this sacrament that replenishes the person, to sustain the person on the journey. It restores strength to the person, lost in the struggles of daily life, and offers protection to body and soul. And, the eucharist provides a foretaste of the end of the journey, when the successful journeyer reaches heaven and comes into the direct presence of God. Yet, reaching heaven is not automatic; nor is benefitting from the sacrament. As had so many others, John plays up the need for correct spiritual disposition, and correspondingly warns against sinful reception. Those who are open to the offer that is made in this sacrament do receive its benefits; but, those who approach in sin, those who are not in fact joined by correct disposition to Christ, eat unto their condemnation.

What seems most important, however, to John is the irreducible, distinctive presence of Christ in this sacrament. Christ has promised His presence in the celebration of the Eucharist; and Christ keeps His promise, doing so through the activity of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit effects the Eucharistic change; by that change, Christ is genuinely present, offering Himself to those who approach. This Christ is the incarnate Word; in meeting that Christ in the Eucharist, one meets the Christ who is true God, true human; and His body is received as life-sustaining and promoting.

In affirming Christ's Eucharistic presence, John draws parallels with creation, and, with the incarnation itself, underscoring the activity of

the Holy Spirit in all three 'events.' By the same creative Word and power, all that is not God comes into existence; through the Holy Spirit, from the Holy Theotokos the Lord made flesh to subsist for Himself and in Himself; and in the Eucharist, through the Holy Spirit Christ joins His divinity to bread and wine and makes them His body and blood. In each case, the Holy Spirit comes and does those things which surpass description and understanding. And, the bread and wine, after consecration and through the calling down of the Holy Spirit who effects the change, are truly Christ's body and blood. They are not called that as if they were mere signs of Christ, pointing to what they are not; because of the working of the Holy Spirit, they are indeed the body and blood of Christ. Near the end of the chapter, John can in this regard offer a subtle rebuke of a saying of St. Basil, that might be read as restricting Christ to a merely signified relation to bread. Basil is only right if he is talking about the bread prior to the epiclesis; after that, and the change wrought by the Holy Spirit, there is much more than sign in this sacrament. Christ is in the sacrament, and through His divinized body, can promote the growth into God that is the goal of the Christian life.

And so, John adds, the Eucharist has different names, to underscore what it enables. It is called a participation (metalepsis), because through it Christians partake of the divinity of Jesus, through His body. And, it is called communion, which it truly is, because through it we have communion with Christ and share in His flesh and His divinity; and, as well, through it Christians have communion and are also united with one another. By partaking of the one bread, recipients become one body of Christ and one blood, and members of one another.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Backus, Irena (ed.). *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, 2 vols. Leiden, 1997.

Bonner, Gerald. "Augustine's Understanding of the Church as a Eucharistic Community," in *Saint Augustine the Bishop*, pp. 39–63. Eds. Fannie LeMoine and Christopher Kleinhenz. New York, 1994.

Bradshaw, Paul. *Eucharistic Origins.* Oxford, 2004.

Burns, J. Patout. "The Eucharist as the Foundation of Christian Unity in North African Theology," *Augustinian Studies* 32 (2000), 1–23.

Dupont-Fauville, Denis. *Saint Hilaire de Poitiers, théologien de la communion.* Rome, 2008.

Quasten, Johannes. *Patrology*. Ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Placid Solari, 4 vols. Westminster, MD, 1983–86.

ART AND THE EUCHARIST: EARLY CHRISTIAN TO CA. 800

Elizabeth Saxon

Even before the Gospels were written, and long before the first eucharistic visual images, the Lord's Supper or breaking of bread was the central act of Christian worship. It evoked a complex of interconnected ideas of the nature of Christ's sacrifice and how it was salvific, about atonement for our sins, and about Christ's presence in the Eucharist as priest and victim. These ideas were raised in the Gospels and Paul's letters, especially Hebrews 9:6–28, explored but did not fully clarify them. The Eucharist both embodied Christian core beliefs and was a mystery of God. As the early Fathers struggled to formulate explanations of their faith they developed verbal imagery which touched the mysteries, illuminating them and sometimes shielding them simultaneously.

The nature of what came to be called the Eucharist has been complex and ambiguous from the very beginning when Jesus said of the bread at the Last Supper "This is my body."[1] By the time Paul wrote to the Corinthians around 50 CE, the Lord's Supper was already open to controversy as charges of misdemeanour around its practice reveal. The four Gospel accounts reveal hints of a considerable range of eucharistic practice and belief which had variously developed in the Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian communities in the preceding sixty years.[2] The essence of the Eucharist not only recalls but is inseparable from Jesus' passion and resurrection and from the shared meals at his

---

[1] The term Eucharist is not given in the New Testament but the verb *eucharistein*, to give thanks, occurs in 1 Cor. 11:24 in our earliest account of the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper. Eucharist as a noun appears in the *Didache* probably written between 50–100 CE.

[2] Eugene LaVerdiere, *The Eucharist in the New Testament and the Early Church* (Collegeville, Minnesota), 1996, gives an interesting discussion of the possible early developments. The institution narrative which forms the heart of the Mass is given with some variation in Mt 26:26–9, Mk 14:22–4, Lk 22:17–20. Jn 6:32–58 especially verse 51, "I am the living bread…the bread that I will give is my flesh which I will give for the life of the world," suggests the institution earlier in Christ's ministry. Jn 13 describes the washing of the feet and the discussion of the betrayer after the Last Supper but there is no institution narrative. Paul F. Bradshaw, "Continuity and Change in Early Eucharistic Practice: Shifting Scholarly Perspectives," in ed. R.N. Swanson *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship* (Studies in Church History), 35

first post-resurrection appearances. The traumatised disciples probably did not see as clearly as Paul did, some fifteen years later, the implications of saying "Christ died for us" (Romans 5:7–8) but his appearances to them as the risen Lord were transforming and life-giving.

The development of eucharistic theology from the early Church to the early middle ages was not a simple linear progression either in the East or the West.[3] Theological developments, particularly on sacrifice and offering, on atonement, on the nature of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and on the nature of the Church itself as the body of Christ became over the centuries multifaceted, and, at times, bitterly controversial. The imaginative exploration of theological and philosophical ideas about the Eucharist was, from about 200 CE, joined by visual expression which, because of the complexity of the Eucharist, was also complex and sometimes ambiguous.

The earliest forms of Christian art established a foundation for medieval art. Many Gospel stories and their Old Testament prefigurations "were visually standardized and frozen into a single image as early as the third century."[4] Particular emphasis in this chapter will be placed on the art that developed after the Constantinian legalization of the Church.[5] This chapter endeavours to show how visual imagery, from a range of genres, reveals aspects of some of the key directions of eucharistic theology and practice in the West from about 200 to about 800.

Text and Image in Early Christianity

The relationship between text and image is multifaceted. Christianity is a religion of the Book, the Word is foremost. Understanding

---

(Woodbridge, 1999), p. 7, notes that many scholars no longer see the accounts of the Last Supper as historical records of the institution of the Eucharist.

[3] Bradshaw, "Continuity and Change," pp. 1–17, explains how little is now considered certain about early eucharistic worship and explores the great variety of practice in the first three centuries.

[4] Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, "Paradise and Pentecost," in ed. M. Hageman and M. Mostert, *Reading Images and Texts. Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*. Papers from the third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7–9 December 2000 (Turnhout, 2005), p. 121. Lazarus, for example, is always shown shrouded and just about to emerge from the tomb. A half-length figure in the mouth of a great sea beast is Jonah.

[5] A valuable and detailed introduction to early Christian art is Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London and New York, 2000), hereafter cited as Jensen, *Early Christian Art*.

medieval art is not, however, a mere matter of decoding the meaning from the related theological and exegetical writings. Visual images are not passive reflections of texts, they contribute to the way experience, religious and secular, is shaped framed and absorbed. Sometimes images were sufficiently ambiguous to convey several ideas at once, increasing their "imaginative reach," making the relationship of images to scripture and creeds "not causal but dialogic."[6] Complex eucharistic theology ensured complex visual imagery. It has sometimes been argued that theology has a limited impact on medieval images, but such arguments are usually weighted towards consideration of hagiographical, cult and popular images of the later Middle Ages.[7] The interaction between visual and verbal in, for example, the illumination of liturgical manuscripts designed for the use of a clerical elite in the earlier Middle Ages, operate in a different world of seeing to the popular cult images.

In phases throughout the history of the Church visual images have been attacked as idolatrous, or, if not adored, at least as superficial and incapable of leading men's minds to the invisible and spiritual. The partly spurious claim by Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604, Pope from 590) that pictures might serve to instruct the illiterate or ignorant, was widely and often misleadingly quoted throughout the Middle Ages.[8] The issue of how images were to function, how they could offer those with both verbal and visual literacy an expanded religious experience, remained crucial.[9] Mary Carruthers, talking of Prudentius' letter-form puns as stimulation, said that "the specific content of an interpretation . . . is less the point of finding out its secret than is the

---

[6] Mary Charles-Murray, "The Emergence of Christian Art," in Jeffrey Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible. The Earliest Christian Art* (New Haven, Conn., 2007), p. 62.

[7] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "The Place of Theology in Medieval Art History: Problems, Positions, Possibilities," in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, eds., *The Mind's Eye. Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2006), pp. 11–31 lays out the arguments on both sides.

[8] For a good account of the confusions and simplifications occasioned by Gregory's letter to bishop Serenus of Marseille in 599 and 600 see Celia Chazelle, "Memory, Instruction, Worship: Gregory's Influence on early Medieval Doctrine of the Artistic Image," in John C. Cavadini, ed., *Gregory the Great. A Symposium* (Notre Dame and London, 1995), pp. 181–215. Parts of the letter were eighth-century interpolations.

[9] The debate about the nature of art and its didactic functions is too extensive to consider at length here. The articles in Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert, eds., *Reading Images and Texts. Medieval Images and Texts as forms of Communication, Papers from the Third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7–9 December 2000* (Turnhout, 2005), illustrate the range and approaches.

richly networked memory of the Bible which the clue finds out in one's mind.…"[10] As the years went by, the "networked memory" of the educated cleric included theological and exegetical writings on the Eucharist. The viewer's experience and the physical context of images ensure that, however standardised the base form, images remain open-ended and allusive. From the earliest times the Church had a repertoire of literary images based on the vivid language of both Testaments, and particularly on the reported words of Jesus (Fig. 1), as when he called himself "the true vine" (John 15:1–6), the Good Shepherd (John 10:11), living bread (John 6:51), and the Temple (John 2:21).

There was also the extensive typology found in Jewish exegesis, in the New Testament and in the elaborations/exegesis of the early Fathers, whereby events in the Old Testament could be interpreted as foreshadowing or prefiguring later events in salvation history. Typology revealed three main aspects of the Eucharist: the sacrificial offering, the nourishing of the people of God, and the eschatological promise.[11] Allegory and typology provided useful ways for Christians to reject the literal application of the old Jewish Law which they claimed ended with Christ.[12] In the economy of salvation Mosaic Law yielded to the Christian dispensation, the Old Covenant to the New but there was, nevertheless, a totality to the two Testaments which revealed reality at different times in sacred history. Jesus said he came to fulfil, not to abolish, the Law and the prophets.[13] Job, Jonah, Daniel and Noah, all frequently depicted in the earliest Christian art, were types of Christ (Fig. 2).[14]

---

[10] Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Memory: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 165–66. Carruthers crucial work is here quoted from Anne-Marie Bouché, "*Vox Imaginis*: Art and Enigma in Romanesque Art," in Hamburger and Bouché, *The Mind's Eye*, p. 311.

[11] William R. Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation* (New York, 1989), p. 78.

[12] Origen (ca. 185–ca. 251) created a controversial but highly influential spiritualization of the Bible whereby all events could be interpreted, literally, morally or allegorically, as pointing to Christ or his Church. Even apparently trivial events could thereby be raised to a spiritual level.

[13] Mt 5:17. The Church identified closely with the prophets.

[14] Jonah who was three days and three nights in the whale's belly was equated by Christ to his death and resurrection as the Son of Man three days and three nights in the earth. Mt 12:39–40 and 16:4. Basil of Caeserea (330–379) interpreted this as the triple immersion in baptism, *De Spiritu Sanct.*14.32 quoted in Jensen, *Early Christian Art*, p. 173. The Christian in baptism participates sacramentally in Christ's death and resurrection (Rom 6:3–4), and can, thereby, be likened to Jonah. 1 Peter 3:20–1 compares Noah's salvation by water with baptism. Noah's ark is the Ark of the Covenant and symbol of the Church. His drunkenness was interpreted not as intemperance,

Fig. 1 *Good Shepherd*, Early Christian sarcophagus, Vatican Museum, mid 3rd century (photo: K. Van Ausdall).

Fig. 2 *The Good Shepherd, Story of Jonah, an Orant, and Baptism*; Early Christian sarcophagus in Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, Italy, ca. 270. Marble, 1' 11 1/4" × 7' 2" (photo: K. Van Ausdall).

Almost every aspect of Moses' life had a parallel in Christ's.[15] The foremost eucharistic types of Moses are the manna (Exodus 16), the rock of Horeb (Exodus 17:1–6), and the incident of the brazen serpent (Numbers 21:6–9). Jesus created the prefiguration of the manna when he said:

> Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness and are dead./This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die./I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.[16]

The drawing of water from the rock of Horeb provided one of the most crucial and enduring of baptismal and eucharistic symbols. Jesus was both manna and living water.[17] This typological interweaving is reflected in 1 Corinthians 10:1–4: "all [our fathers] passed through the sea;/And all were baptized unto Moses […] and did all eat the same spiritual meat;/And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ." Typology also existed within the Gospels, thus the multiplication of bread prefigured the Eucharist and the miracle at Cana was a type of both baptism and the Eucharist.[18] Typology, and a range of associated allegorical interpretations that clarified or amplified morality and doctrine, suffused early Christian art. Jewish figurative art, as in the Dura- Europus synagogue, may also have provided the early Christian Church with a repertoire of Old Testament

---

but suffering exploited by Ham and prefigured Christ's suffering on the cross. Augustine, *City of* God, 16.2. Gregory the Great said that Job "prophesied [Christ's] Passion not just with words but also by his suffering." *Moralia in* Job 23.1. Daniel's miraculous escape from the lions' den prefigured the resurrection of Christ and of the dead. Jonah, Daniel in the lions' den and the three boys in the fiery furnace all symbolize the *Descensus ad infernus* or *inferos* (abyss)/Harrowing of Hell and the salvation of the pre-Christian righteous. Jonah in the "belly of hell" (Jonah 2:2) provides the later depiction of hell's gaping mouth used for both *Descensus* and Last Judgement scenes. The symbolism of Daniel is amongst the most multifaceted and revealing in Christian art, it will be discussed more fully in this chapter in the context of Romanesque art.

[15] T.F. Glasson, *Moses in the* Fourth Gospel, *Studies in Biblical Theology* 40 (London, 1963), explores this in detail.

[16] Jn 6:47–51.

[17] Jesus had also referred to himself as the water of life and living water when teaching the Samarian woman at the well. Jn 4:10–14. This is shown in the fourth-century catacomb on the Via Latina. Christ and the woman stand either side of the well.

[18] Cana occurs on the wooden doors of Santa Sabina, Rome (ca. 430) where it is juxtaposed with the bread miracle in a dual symbol of the Eucharist.

narrative images.[19] For all the intellectual complexity of typology, many of the images were, at one level, so essentially concrete and visual that when conditions allowed, in the early third century, they burst forth fully comprehensible and largely unchallenged on catacomb walls and on sarcophagi.[20]

It is important to recognise that before any formulation of eucharistic theology the Eucharist had a timeless context developed in verbal imagery. Christ is the High Priest and himself the Temple (John 2:13–18) where the Christian will eat with him in heaven at the end of time.[21] Late Judaism had developed the earlier idea of the messianic banquet of Wisdom (Proverbs 9:5) recalled in Isaiah 25:6 and saw the Messiah as the host of the feast. Significantly Jesus referred to this eschatological meal when instituting the Eucharist at the Last Supper. The apostles drank Christ's "blood of the New Testament, which is

[19] Before the discovery of the third-century synagogue at Dura- Europus in 1932 most scholars said there was, in accordance with the Second Commandment, no Jewish figural art. The synagogue at Dura-Europus had a wide range of biblical frescoes including Abraham and Isaac. Henry N. Claman, *Jewish images in the Christian Church: Art as the mirror of the Jewish-Christian Conflict 200–1250 CE* (Macon, Georgia, 2000), pp. 42–52.

[20] Until the 1970s three main reasons were given for the absence of earlier Christian art. Firstly, because Christian persecution demanded anonymity; this is not entirely convincing however, as most persecution was sporadic and local and during the greatest systematic persecution in the mid-third and early-fourth century there was considerable Christian art produced. Secondly, because generally Christians lacked the land and capital to produce art. This argument still has proponents, see for example, Paul Corby Finney, *The Invisible God. The Earliest Christians on Art* (Oxford, 1994), p. 108. Thirdly, a belief firmly held by writers in the nineteenth century and, surprisingly, even by many others after the 1932 discovery of the painted synagogue at Dura Europus, because Christian society, with its roots in Judaism, was seen as spiritual, iconophobic and aniconic. Jensen, *Early Christian Art*, pp. 8–31, summarises the direction of earlier literature. See also Finney, *Invisible God*, pp. 3–10. Early writers, even up to Augustine, and notably Clement, Tertullian, Eusebius and Epiphanius, were presented as hostile to visual art because it was essentially pagan and contrary to the second commandment (Exodus 20:4–6 and Deuteronomy 5:8–10). The art which gathered momentum after 200 CE was seen as the product of the less spiritual, near-pagan and less educated laity in opposition to clerical austerity. Current scholarship, however, rejects the popular/official division as a satisfactory definition of early Church art. In 1977 Sister Mary Charles Murray, "Art and the Early Church," *Journal of Theological Studies* N.S. 27, part 2, (October 1977), pp. 303–45, very effectively showed how the fairly small number of passages long seen as hostile to art, and which had provided the base for the "official opposition" theory, had been taken out of context, or mistranslated or misunderstood. This had partly occurred because selected passages had been used polemically and often indiscriminately in the iconoclast controversies of the eighth and ninth centuries.

[21] See later in this essay for Christ as High Priest and the Temple.

shed for many," but Jesus would "drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God."[22] The Eucharist thus looks forward to the Second Coming and to the final banquet. This idea is evoked, in varying degrees, in all the meal scenes and meal parables in the Gospels. All the meals of Christ (not just the Last Supper but also those before and after the resurrection) are thereby eucharistic and eschatological.

The eschatological aspect dominates the earliest known visual art with specifically Christian iconography, that of the third-century Roman catacombs.[23] The pictograms in ill-lit, confined spaces were abbreviated symbols. They were not simple narrative depiction, jogging the memory about particular stories, but evocative multi-referenced symbols which assume Christian viewers capable of integrating the extensive scripture readings (with related commentaries) used in catechesis, homilies and liturgy itself, with visual stimulus.[24] The catacomb pictures were soteriological funerary art. Thus the most common images, like the Good Shepherd, Noah in the Arc, Jonah and the whale and the miracles of Christ, inspired prayers expressing individual hope of salvation and deliverance (Fig. 3).[25]

---

[22] Mk 1424–25.

[23] The Roman catacombs expanded rapidly in the third and fourth centuries until catacomb burial ceased in the early fifth century. There were also Christian catacombs, some painted, in Sicily, North Africa, Malta, Thessalonica, the Aegean islands and Alexandria. The earliest catacomb art probably pre-dates, perhaps by about 20 years, the earliest extant Christian monumental art, that of a frescoed baptistery, dated about 232, which was discovered in a house-church at Dura-Europus, Syria in 1932–33. See Allan Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture from the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (Farnham, 2008), pp. 10–17. Paul Corby Finney in Everett Ferguson, ed., *Encylopedia of Early Christianity* (New York, 2nd ed. 1999), pp. 122 and 546, considers the house-church was in Christian use from perhaps 245–256 and was rebuilt in about 241.

[24] There may have been liturgical parallels to catacomb iconography. The fifth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (originating possibly in third-century Syria) cites as lessons to the faithful and signs of their salvation subjects corresponding to the catacomb frescoes. Prayers for the dead too seem a likely source but Jensen, *Understanding*, p. 71, notes that the prayer most often cited in this respect, the *ordo commendationis animae* cannot be dated before the fourth century and also that it contains characters like Enoch and Elijah, who do not appear in the catacombs. Earlier lost prayers may have provided models. Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great* (Notre Dame, IN, 1960), pp. 166–67, lays emphasis on the biblical knowledge of Christians who heard whole books of scripture and related commentaries, both in the vernacular, during services.

[25] Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, 1993; 2nd rev. 2003) emphasizes the popularity of Christ as a miracle-worker, a magician with a non-scriptural wand. The miracles, including the eucharistic miracles, were the commonest subjects in early Christian art and appeared even

Fig. 3 *The Good Shepherd, the Story of Jonah, and Orants*, painted ceiling of a cubiculum in the Catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, Rome, Italy, early fourth century (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank).

In this unstable age, however, images like Daniel or the three boys in the fiery furnace might suggest martyrdom and danger from secular authorities as well as religious salvation and deliverance.

As the catacombs were not places where Mass was generally celebrated, it would have been surprising had they given clear evidence of contemporary eucharistic theology or ritual.[26] Both the centrality of the sacrament and the eschatological emphasis are confirmed, however, in the many enigmatic meal scenes which might represent the Eucharist, the agape, the Last Supper, a funerary meal (*refrigeria*) or the messianic banquet.[27] A number of the catacomb meal scenes show seven people, usually reclining on couches, behind a sigma-shaped table on which are bread (sometimes cross or chi marked) and wine and, sometimes, fish.[28] The one in the Capella Graeca of the catacomb of Priscilla also shows seven baskets of bread and a figure, possibly a woman, breaking a loaf. This was seen by Wilpert (who discovered it in 1893 and called it *fractio panis*) and by others in the early twentieth century, as an actual depiction of the Eucharist but this is now generally rejected.[29]

---

on rings and woven into garments. They were "distinctively pacific, non-military and non-imperial," p. 62.

[26] The Eucharist was sometimes celebrated in cemeteries above ground. Robert Cabié, *The Church at Prayer. An Introduction to the Liturgy (new edition,) vol. 11, The Eucharist,* trans. M. O'Connell (Collegeville, 1986), p. 38, quoting *Didascalia Apostolorum,* F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1983), p. 248, "Catacombs," claims that there were eucharistic celebrations there on the anniversaries of the martyrs.

[27] Romans had always eaten beside family graves, sharing the symbolic banquet of a happy after-life. This was a norm of Graeco-Roman funerary art. *Agape* (as an early liturgical term) appears to have referred to the Eucharist, to meals recalling those of Jesus in life or post-resurrection, or to various philanthropic communal meals. From the mid-third century there seems to be a separation between the Eucharist and *agape* meals given for the poor.

[28] Seven was a mystical number with multiple references. Isaiah 11:2–3 prophesied that seven gifts of the Holy Spirit would descend on the Messiah and would animate post-baptismal Christian virtue.

[29] Josef Wilpert "Fractio Panis": Die alteste Darstellung des eucharistishen Opfers in den "Capella greca" (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1985). Josef Wilpert *Roma sotteranea: le pitture delle cattacombe romane* (Rome 1903). Jensen, *Early Christian Art*, p. 53 n. 74, gives references to others who also thought there might be direct representations of the Eucharist. Jensen herself rejects this because, by the early third century, the congregation did not recline on couches. Fish may have been offered in some early rituals but later (when fish was not offered) Christian art often showed fish on the table at the Last Supper as a symbol for Christ.

Fig. 4 Feast (agape?), Early Christian catacomb of San Callisto (Saint Calixte Catacomb), 3rd century CE, Rome (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank).

The most frequent eucharistic image in the catacombs is the miraculous multiplication of loaves and fishes, a vital prefiguration of the Eucharist, itself prefigured by the manna.[30] At least thirty frescoes in the catacombs can reasonably claim to symbolize this miracle. Of the bread and fish depictions amongst the oldest, early in the third century, are the fish and bread basket resting on a blue (but once green) background in the catacomb of Callistus (Fig. 4).[31] Many banquet scenes too, with their fish and baskets of bread, probably represent the Eucharist indirectly through this prefigured bread miracle.

In some scenes a figure, which could be interpreted as Christ, stretches out his hands, as if in blessing, over a tripod table containing bread and fish. This may refer to the post-resurrection meal on the sea-shore after Jesus had miraculously filled the nets with fish (John 21:1–14). Jesus asked to be given fish to eat to prove that that his glorified body retained his full humanity. The promise of salvation to humankind is thereby confirmed. The post-resurrection meals are

[30] All four Gospels record the feeding of five thousand with five loaves and two fish. Twelve baskets of remains were gathered up. Mt 15:29–39 and Mk 8:1–9 give a second account when four thousand were fed with seven loaves and a few fish; seven baskets of remains were gathered up. Seven and twelve were significant numbers in the early Church. Manna: Ex 16:11–36 and Nm 11:7–9.

[31] Jensen, *Early Christian Art*, p. 47, fig. 12. [International Catacomb Society photograph.]

a vital confirmation of Christ's resurrection, upon the truth of which lay all other central tenets of the faith. Prosper of Aquitaine (*ca.* 390–*ca.* 463) confirmed the eucharistic reference when he spoke of Christ "giving himself as food to the disciples by the sea-shore, and offering himself to the whole world as Ichthys [fish]."[32] Augustine (354–430) linked the Eucharist and crucifixion by seeing the fish on the coals as Christ crucified, "*Piscis assus, Christus est passus*."[33] All the meal scenes evoke a catena of interconnected eucharistic references, for example, leading from loaves, to the miracle of the loaves and fishes, to deliverance from hunger both physical and spiritual, to bread of the Last Supper, to Jesus' mysterious words "This is my body" and the concept of salvation this sacrifice brings. The ideas, moving seamlessly from time past, present and to come, suited the funerary setting and eschatological atmosphere.

Around the same period as the earliest catacomb art, about 200 CE, Christians were developing other uses for art, some with eucharistic reference. Engraved seal-rings existed with motifs like the dove, fish, lyre or anchor which Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–215) accepted, as a practical necessity, as long as the motifs were not idolatrous and could be assigned a Christian meaning, for example "if the seal is a fisherman it will recall the apostle."[34] These motifs, used decoratively or symbolically, were common in pagan and Jewish art also, but had by this time acquired new layers of symbolism which may have acted like a talisman to some Christian purchasers or identified them to initiates.[35] One rather mysterious example is of the Good Shepherd

[32] Prosper quoted in W. Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church* (New York, 1947), p. 74. The letters of the Greek word Ichthys form the first letters of the phrase Jesus Christ Son of God Saviour. Tertullian also gave the fish a baptismal interpretation; "We as little fishes, in accordance with our *Ichthus* Jesus Christ, are born in water." *Bapt*. 1, quoted in Ferguson, *Encylopedia of Early Christianity*, p. 431, who gives other eucharistic and baptismal references.

[33] Augustine, *Tractatus* 123 in Jn; CCSL 36 ed. R. Willems (Turnhout, 1954), pp. 123, 2, 20.

[34] *Paedagogus (the teacher)* 3.59.2–3.60.1.

[35] The ship was, and continued, to be seen as the Church (and sometimes the local church) carrying believers through a storm with the bishop or Christ as pilot. Tertullian in *De idololatria* 24, 4, asserted not only that the ship was the Church, but, in reference to Noah's ark, said "Quod in arca non fuit, in Ecclesia non sit." In *Apology* 1 Justin gave the ship's mast as a figure of the cross. The state as ship piloted by the king was common in Greek literature. The storm as tribulation appears in several psalms, and as eschatological trials in various Jewish apocalyptic writings. The ship as

engraved on eucharistic cups.[36] The Good Shepherd was a theme of protection in Christian, pagan and Jewish art.[37] Vine and wheat harvesting were common pagan bucolic images but in the catacombs could also be given eucharistic and eschatological meaning as Christ, the true vine, would garner Christian Elect at the end of time. The vine also represented the Church with many branches and fruit.[38] This would have confirmed to Christians the vital context of their baptism followed by their first Eucharist, an awesome mystery from which catechumen and all outsiders were excluded.

Some images seem to have formed full programs of sacramental reference. For example in chamber 21 of the Callistus catacomb there are representations of Jesus' baptism, Jonah, Moses striking the rock, a fisherman, seven men eating a meal, raising of Lazarus, and the Good Shepherd.[39] These all have baptismal or eucharistic references. Sometimes similarity of composition further confirms an interrelationship of images. In cubiculum III, catacomb of Domitilla, Christ touches the bread, as if blessing it, with a stick or wand in the manner of Moses touching the rock of Horeb. In the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus Christ touches the upright shrouded figure of Lazarus in the tomb with a long stick. A late-fifth or early sixth century pyx shows the sacrifice of Isaac on one side and Christ raising Lazarus on the other. Even at this later date Christ still uses the wand to call Lazarus from the tomb. Joining these two images on a vessel for the consecrated bread "allows a typological connection not only between Christ's death (Isaac's

---

a symbol of immortality appears on Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Christian funerary monuments. J. Daniélou, *Primitive Christian Symbols* (Paris 1961), pp. 58–70.

[36] Tertullian, writing in 210 or 211, refers to his opponents the *physici* having breakable eucharistic cups etched with the image of Jesus as the Good Shepherd. Tertullian, *On Modesty* 7.1–4 and 10.12. Tertullian, who opposed second repentance and thereby the Shepherd of Hermas, may have rejected the Good Shepherd merely as a symbol of a despised theology. J. Dillenberger, *A Theology of Artistic Sensibilities: The Visual Arts and the Church* (London, 1987), p. 7.

[37] In the Old Testament, e.g., Is. 40:1; Ez. 34, God was shepherd to the flock of Israel. In classical mythology Hermes was the guide to souls. A shepherd, personifying philanthropy, was a popular Christian image until the mid-fifth century, when it last appears in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna.

[38] For Hippolytus the bunches of grapes were martyrs, vintagers angels, and the winepress the Church. *De bene. Iacob* 25, quoted in Jensen, *Early Christian Art*, p. 61.

[39] Jensen, *ibid*., pp. 84–85. Lazarus' raising may be a type of Jesus' resurrection, a reference to the symbolic death and resurrection of baptism, or a reference to the promise of resurrection of the deceased. In particular contexts or juxtapositions it recalls the salvific Eucharist.

offering) and Resurrection (the raising of Lazarus) but also between the Eucharistic sacrament and the Christian hope of salvation."[40] The combined images, whether actually juxtaposed or merely joined in the viewer's memory, assert the necessity and salvific nature of the Eucharist.[41]

In the first three centuries, at the same time as the typological and allegorical verbal images were being developed, theologians were struggling with concepts that underpin much of later eucharistic theology. The Christian sacrifice as one of praise and thanksgiving, bread and wine as gifts offered to God, and the Eucharist seen as the memorial of Christ's sacrifice, all have their origin in the first and second centuries.[42] Bradley notes that they "are at first quite separate concepts […] that only from the third century onward begin to be combined."[43] Justin, writing in Rome between 151–161 CE, was the first to embody the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving clearly within the rite of the Eucharist where it fulfilled the prophecy of Malachi 1:10–12, that a "pure offering" would one day be offered more pleasing to God than the offerings

---

[40] Ivory pyx in Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna. Jensen "Early Christian Imagery," in Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible*, p. 82 and figures 59A and B.

[41] Christ's miracles form the largest group of subjects in early Christian art. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, pp. 54–91 has shown that miracles were so central to Christian understanding that they appear on everyday articles, like bowls and textiles, on ecclesiastical objects, and in funerary art. The wand or stick is used only in miracle scenes, including the eucharistic miracles of the multiplication and of Cana. Mathews considers this a potent presentation of Christ as magician, the greatest miracle worker, part of an "ongoing war against non-Christian magic." Robin Margaret Jensen, *Face to Face; Portraits of the divine in early Christianity* (Minneapolis, 2005), p. 153, sees the wonders, healings and raising the dead as emphasizing aspects of Christ's divine character and power even though the imagery may have been modeled on familiar pagan gods especially Hercules.

[42] Luke 13:29; 14:15–24; Mark 14:25. Christ had used the words "blood" and "flesh" and evoked the sacrificial references of the Old Testament in respect of the Messiah, but the biblical accounts of the Last Supper do not use the word "sacrifice" as such. D.R. Jones "Sacrifice and holiness," in S.W. Sykes, ed., *Sacrifice and Redemption* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 9–21 says there is no word in either testament for sacrifice as a whole. There are specialised Hebrew words which become translated into Latin fairly indiscriminately. Frances M. Young, *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), analyzes the complexities of transferring Old Testament sacrificial concepts to Christian ones. The term "sacrifice" was applied to the Eucharist by the time of the *Didache* (much debated but probably mid-to-late first or early second century). Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition 100–600* (Chicago, 1971), p. 146. Tertullian presented Christ as the victim offered for the sins of all. *Marc.*3.7. Everett Ferguson. "Sacrifice," in Ferguson ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*.

[43] Bradley, "Continuity and Change," p. 16.

of the Jews.[44] The term "sacrifice" was commonly used from the second century onwards, but as Bynum shows, there is no real definition of sacrifice in patristic discussion.[45] Rather, "sacrifice is used as an analogy to explain the saving action of crucifixion and Eucharist, but it is itself not theorized."[46] Hebrews 9 had laid great stress on the Jewish expiatory blood rituals being fulfilled by Christ as the high priest entering heaven once for all, and purifying men with his blood. The red heifer without spot in Numbers 19 prefigured Christ the spotless victim. Origen (ca. 185–254) developed the idea that the Eucharist was propitiatory, and Chrysostum (ca. 347–407) bishop of Constantinople, confirmed that we commemorate the dead in the Eucharist and "intercede for them, entreating the Lamb who lies before us."[47]

Lack of clarity about the nature of Christian sacrifice may be reflected in the fact that although Abraham offering Isaac (which was by the early Middle Ages the dominant prefiguration of Christ's sacrifice) appears frequently in the catacombs and on sarcophagi it is far less commonly depicted than Jonah or Daniel. Some writers have seen Abraham and Isaac at the period of persecutions as only a symbol of deliverance.[48] In the earliest image, that in the Callisto catacomb, Abraham and Isaac are shown as orants. No early example shows Isaac as bound upon the altar. This absence may, however, merely confirm the greater significance of deliverance for a funereal setting. Certainly in texts, from the early second-century Epistle of Barnabus onwards, Abraham offering Isaac was seen as a symbol of Christ's passion. This is vigorously asserted by major writers including Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement and Origen in the period of persecution, as well as by the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries.[49] The centrality of this image is confirmed by early liturgy. Most notably, the offering of Isaac as well as those of Abel and Melchisedek is a eucharistic type in the fourth-

[44] Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 41 (PG 6, 564). There is some disagreement about how far Justin emphasized the ritual content.

[45] The institution narratives of Mark-Matthew where body and blood appear to be elements of some sort of sacrifice are in contrast to Luke-Paul where body and cup seem foremost.

[46] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007), p. 214.

[47] *In 1 Cor. Homilia* 41.4; PG 61, 361.

[48] Isabel Speyart van Woerden, "The iconography of the sacrifice of Abraham," *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 (1961), pp. 214–55, esp. p. 242.

[49] Jensen, *Early Christian Art*, pp. 145–46 and fns 55–58 for textual sources.

century Milanese Canon of the Mass.[50] By the late seventh century the prefiguring sacrifice of Isaac was positively linked to Hebrew fire ritual and burnt offerings. Bede (ca. 673–735), in chapter nine of *The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth*-Jarrow, described pictures brought back from Rome which included "Isaac carrying the wood on which he was to be burnt as a sacrifice [which] was placed immediately below that of Christ carrying the cross."[51] The Eucharist itself came to be seen as a burnt offering reenacting the unique sacrifice.[52]

If the relationship of the crucifixion to the Eucharist was still unclear in the third century, the critical existence of that relationship was not. The third century had seen much written about the Eucharist following on from what some have seen as Justin's "feeling his way to the conception of the Eucharist as the offering of the Savior's passion," whereas other saw Justin as talking about prayer and thanksgiving for creation and redemption as themselves a presenting of sacrifice.[53] Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (d. 258) saw the Eucharist as "the sacrifice of the Lord's passion," and other patristic authors wrote of the eucharistic aspects of Jesus, wounded by the lance, as the rock from whose side came the saving water and blood of baptism and the Eucharist.[54]

Despite the vivid verbal imagery and the vitality of the theology, however, Christ crucified was not depicted in early Christian art. It is not necessary to depict the crucifixion in order to recognise the atoning sacrifice. The early Church chose not to do so probably from distaste and rejection of such a degrading death. A similar feeling was shown by Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428) who, nevertheless, writing about 392 for Easter instruction to the newly baptised said that they were to imagine the Eucharist as a complete representation of Christ's passion. For example, as the deacons arranged the linen on the altar the communicant was to picture Christ's body laid out for

---

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 146. See Kenneth W. Stevenson, *Eucharist and Offering* (New York, 1986), pp. 75–76 on Ambrose *De sacramentis* 4.27 describing the prayers for the offering to be acceptable.

[51] Bede, *Historia Abbatum* in *Baedae opera historica*, C. Plummer, ed. (Oxford, 1896), p. 373. J.F. Webb, trans., *The Age of Bede* (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 194.

[52] Images of fire, physical and spiritual, are common in eucharistic theology. See too Christ as the fish burnt on the grill by the sea. The eucharistic aspects of Isaiah purified by the burning coal will be discussed later.

[53] J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London 1958; 5th edition 1977), p. 197. Raymond Moloney, *The Eucharist* (London, 1995), pp. 81–83.

[54] Cyprian *Epistola* 63.17; PL 4, 379B. The side wound will be discussed later and with particular reference to Carolingian and Romanesque art.

burial. The congregation were silent actors in the drama, and every detail was given apart from Christ's executioners. Theodore explained their absence: "It is incongruous and impermissible that an iniquitous image be found in the symbols of our deliverance and salvation."[55]

Depicting the crucifixion death of the God-Man might have risked getting embroiled in the complexities of the Christological debates. The earliest Christians, according to Acts and the Epistles, saw Jesus as both God and man. Attempting to define this complex interrelationship, however, would prove difficult and highly divisive. There were many shifting competing groups and alliances, particularly in the third and fourth centuries. To simplify the matter greatly for the immediate purposes of this chapter one might say they asked in what way might the Father and the Son be of equal nature yet distinct persons; or as one and the same being with one nature; or of different natures, the Son/Word/Logos having been created by the Father out of nothing as an instrument for the creation of the world. Christ's dignity as Son of God was bestowed on him by the Father on account of his foreseen abiding righteousness. Arius accepted this latter position in an attempt to confirm that God is indivisible and self-sufficient. Arius (256–336) was a senior presbyter in Alexandria and an influential teacher at the outbreak of the doctrinal controversy ca. 318–20. There was no single Arian party, but his ideas and others of similar approach came to be seen as the major threat to orthodoxy.[56]

Eucharistic Imagery after the Constantinian Legalization of the Church

The Edict of Milan 313, granting toleration to all religions, resulted in both a transformation and an expansion of Christian iconography and the uses of Christian visual art. From the mid fourth century, to combat Arian ideas or perhaps to indicate they were already vanquished in a particular area, images of Christ performing miracles were sometimes replaced by Christ as deity as on the central scene in the Junius

[55] Catechetical lectures ed. and trans., A. Mingana, quoted in Georgia Frank, "Taste and See: the Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith in the Fourth Century," *Church History* (Dec. 2001), p. 638.

[56] In the fifth century there were further divisions concerning the way Christ's dual natures (human and divine) were united or kept distinct in one Person after the incarnation.

Bassus sarcophagus (soon after 359) where Christ, enthroned over the cosmos, gives supreme authority in the Church to St Peter and St Paul (Fig. 5).[57] The empty cross begins to appear in the fourth century as an image of victory as in the Chi-Rho symbol dominating the adjacent passion scenes on the late fourth-century Passion sarcophagus in the Vatican Museo Pio Christiano.[58] The legendary finding of the true cross by Helena, mother of Constantine, led to the veneration of the cross as a necessary instrument of God's plan of salvation. By the end of the fourth century the jeweled cross had become a familiar image. It may have originated in monumental church decoration as in the mosaic in the apse of Santa Pudenziana in Rome, dated about 400 CE, where a huge jeweled cross rises to the skies above the head of Christ enthroned among the apostles in the heavenly city (Fig. 6).[59] The creed promulgated at the Council of Nicea in 325 attempted to keep Constantine's empire intact by ensuring theological unity. The creed said the son was generated "out of the father's substance" and, "of the same substance" [*homoousios*]. This did not command a sufficient degree of consensus and divisions continued. At the Councils of Constantinople (381) and more so at Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) variants using Nicea as a base declared that Christ's humanity and his divinity were combined in one nature.[60] Leo the Great stated in his Epistle 28 (the Tome of Leo) to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople that, "Jesus Christ is One Person, viz. The Divine Word, in whom are two natures, the Divine and the human, permanently united, though unconfused and unmixed. Each of these exercises its own particular faculties, but within the unity of the Person." This was accepted at Chalcedon as the classic statement of the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation.[61] Chalcedon left open questions about the trinity and

[57] Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus Treasury of St Peter's basilica, Rome. Fig. 7. Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible*, p. 14.

[58] Jensen, *Early Christian Art*, fig. 43, p. 118.

[59] It may have evoked the large cross of silver or gold raised on Golgotha after the invention of the true cross. Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, plate 71, p. 96.

[60] The Council of Ephesus affected eucharistic theology indirectly by declaring the Virgin Mary mother of God rather than mother of Christ through his human nature.

[61] F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 3rd edition, revised, 2005).

Fig. 5 *Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus*, ca. 359. Marble, 3' 10 1/2" × 8'. Museo Storico del Tesoro della Basilica di San Pietro, Rome (photo: K. Van Ausdall).

Fig. 6 *Christ Enthroned*, Apse mosaic, Santa Pudenziana, Rome (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank).

about the nature of Christ and his suffering, but it was acceptable to many although not all.[62]

Neither eucharistic theology nor eucharistic imagery could fully develop until these controversies were largely resolved. The implications and impact of depicting Christ dead or dying on the cross are different if he is seen as, for example, a suffering human, a God-Man either suffering or incapable of suffering, as God hidden in human form, or many other possible logical permutations on these ideas. For eucharistic theology these debates affect what is meant by eating the body of Christ and the results of so doing. (In both cases the visual developments of the following centuries will be raised later in this chapter.) There may be an anti-Arian reaction in those, like Chrysostom, who emphasised the divinity of Christ by heightening the sense of awe at the Eucharist where "the death of Christ is carried out, the awesome sacrifice, the ineffable mysteries."[63]

All Passion imagery, not just the Last Supper and the Crucifixion, is eucharistic. From the Entry into Jerusalem to the resurrection all the actions are part of a foretold inseparable process. The Entry into Jerusalem was a popular image from the fourth century onwards, including on pilgrim mementos from the shrine of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem.[64] It was a reminder of Christ's resurrection. From at least the third century Matthew 21:9 "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord," was in the liturgy and applied to his "coming" in bread and wine.[65] It also signified Christ's coming at the end of time which would usher in the messianic kingdom. All of these are probably recalled on the fourth-century Junius Bassus sarcophagus where the *Entry into Jerusalem* is the central scene on the second row,

---

[62] The Sueves and the Goths in Spain remained Arian until 561 and 581 respectively. The Franks remained Arian until 496. Monophysite churches (Copts, Abyssinians, Syrian Jacobites and Armenians), who saw the divine and human united into only one nature, the divine, in the incarnate Christ, remain estranged.

[63] Chrysostum, *Acts of the Apostles*, Homily 21. 4. PG 60, 170, trans. R. Molony, *The Eucharist*, p. 48.

[64] Jesus' pacific coming, riding side-saddle (like a woman) on a simple ass, was the antithesis to a weapon-wielding emperor on a war-horse. Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, pp. 39–53 explores the significance.

[65] Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, p. 39. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition, vol. 1, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)* (Chicago, 1971), p. 126. This ancient image regained popularity in the 11th and 12th centuries at the time of the debates on the Eucharist. It has visual analogues to the child and the Virgin on an ass in the flight into Egypt which asserts the reality of incarnation.

directly beneath Christ in heaven giving the direction of the Church to Saints Peter and Paul. Both of these central images are framed by vine-covered columns, and the eucharistic reference continues in the vineyards depicted on both ends. Significantly on some early entry images Christ is accompanied by angels as is reflected in the cherubic hymn, sung by the choir representing the cherubim, greeting the entry of Christ in the bread and wine in the Eastern Church.

The Last Supper itself prefigured Christ's death on the Cross. The earliest unambiguous narrative depictions of the Last Supper are from the fifth century. The bread miracle or, from the fourth century the miracle at Cana, was used to prefigure both the Last Supper and the Eucharist. The interconnection of the passion, prefigured in this way, is shown on the late fourth-century ivory Brescia casket. This was probably a reliquary and probably from northern Italy.[66] A five-scene clear narrative sequence is depicted: Gethsemane; betrayal/arrest; Peter's denial; Christ before Sanhedrin/high priests; Christ before Pilate. The resurrection and possibly the ascension, however, are shown typologically as the Hebrews in the fiery furnace and the raising of Lazarus, and in the depictions of Daniel, Susanna and Jonah, all types of Christ. It does not show the crucifixion at all, leaving the viewer to set this in context.

One of the earliest extant depictions of the crucifixion is on a panel of ca. 420–30, from an ivory box made in Rome, probably a pyx, now in the British Museum (Fig. 7).[67] Its high-relief figures have an assertive reality. During the same period, another image of the crucifixion makes its appearance, one among many panels on the wooden doors of Santa Sabina in Rome, ca. 430 (Fig. 8).[68] In the Santa Sabina *Crucifixion* the actual cross is only diagrammatically suggested by the raised arms of Christ and the two thieves. Although the medium and style differs, in

---

[66] An excellent, detailed, and well-illustrated study is Catherine Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and the Early Christian Imagination* (Paris, 2002).

[67] Longinus, with a thrusting movement, is placed on the right, next to the cross; Judas is seen on the far left hanging from a tree, and a bag of money spills out below. Now separated, each side of the box was carved with scenes from the Passion; the other panels depict Christ carrying the Cross, the empty Sepulcher and Doubting Thomas. BM MME 1856.06-23.4–7, the "Maskell Ivories." See also Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible*, pl. 57B.

[68] A magical amulet of late 2nd to 3rd century depicts Christ crucified amongst Greek lettering of magical names. Other gems, without magical inscriptions, from the 4th century also depict the crucifixion. Illustrated with commentary in Spier, *Picturing the Bible,* pp. 228–29.

Fig. 7 *Crucifixion and Suicide of Judas*, Ivory Pyx, British Museum, London (photo: Courtesy of British Museum).

Fig. 8 *Crucifixion*, detail from wood door, Santa Sabina, Rome (photo: K. Van Ausdall).

neither the BM pyx nor the Santa Sabina door is there any suggestion of Christ's suffering on the cross; the mood is of calm acceptance of victory. In the narrative scene on the BM pyx, however, the lance (now largely missing) was originally shown being thrust into Christ's side.

This relates early crucifixion imagery to a crucial point of eucharistic theology, that of the salvific effect of Christ's blood. The blood and water would be recalled in the Eucharist at the commingling of water and wine. In the ancient world the separation of blood and flesh was necessary to a true sacrifice. In Leviticus 17:11 it is said "the life of the flesh is in the blood and it is the blood that that makes "atonement for your souls." Christ's words, "This is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins," would ensure that Patristic writers elaborated the themes of blood as necessary to redemption. Tertullian had emphasised the bloodiness of Christ's death which was cleansing and restoring, protecting and vivifying and crucial to salvation.[69] Blood was a life-giving gift but also implied slaying and division and the need for payment of what was owed.

The wound in Christ's side from which came blood and water occurs only in John 19:33–37. Jesus was already dead at this point but the wound was necessary to fulfil the messianic prophecy of Zachariah 12:19 "They shall look upon me whom they have pierced." Revelation 1:7 "Behold he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him: and they also which pierced him," looked forward to the Second Coming of Christ the judge as "alpha et omega" (Revelation 1:8) and to the water of life "proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb." (Revelation 22:1).[70] Acts 1:11 said Christ would come on Doomsday "in the same body with which he has now ascended." Augustine claimed this would be proved by the visible wounds.[71] This was an important point because it revealed that heaven was open to Christ's human body and thus to those whose nature he had assumed at the incarnation. The earliest crucifixion images express Christ's glorification by showing or implying Christ wounded, and therefore dead, but at the same time also eternally alive and with eyes open, thus revealing both Christ's humanity and his divinity.

---

[69] Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 213.

[70] For a detailed account of some later developments of these images see Jennifer O'Reilly, "Early Medieval Text and Image: The Wounded and Exalted Christ," in *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–8), pp. 72–118.

[71] O'Reilly, "The Wounded and Exalted Christ," p. 87.

Augustine in *City of God*, book 22, chapter 17, saw the formation of Eve from a wound in Adam's side as a type of the Church born from the wound in Christ's side from which flowed the sacraments of Eucharist and Baptism.[72] He also saw the side wound as the door by which we may enter the arc of the Church and its sacraments.[73] Pope Leo the Great (d. 461) writing about the Christological heresy of Eutyches, related the blood and water from the wound to both baptism and the Eucharist: "…let him identify the source from which the blood and water flowed, to bathe the Church of God with font and cup."[74] These ideas would be further elaborated in later exegesis and visual imagery but even in the sixth-century chancel-arch mosaic at the now-destroyed S. Michele in Affricisco at Ravenna, Christ enthroned like an emperor at his Adventus, is attended by angels bearing regalia, but significantly the triumphal regalia is now the lance which pierced Christ's side and the sponge.[75]

Context, setting, function and patron, always significant criteria, became crucial for a new ecclesiology fusing Church and state after the Edict of Milan in 313. Wealth and technology were now available and architecture could now legally provide or adapt buildings for worship and enrich them visually. The new church buildings gave scope for an even more vigorous renunciation of the pagan gods who, by this time, were a greater threat to the development of Christianity in the Roman Empire overall than Judaism. It was necessary to forge a new visually-impressive identity for a wider, less knowledgeable and perhaps less committed community. Core symbols and images from the earlier tradition required assertive expression since they had to persuade as well as to refresh. To attract and to educate it would be necessary to utilise the vigorous and familiar in late antique visual culture. Mosaic provided an effective medium for realistic biblical narrative accessible to the congregation in the nave, whilst other more complex symbolism

---

[72] Also in Augustine *In Iohannis* 120.2; CCSL 36, A. Mayer, ed. (Turnhout, 1954), p. 661.

[73] *City of God* Book 15, ch. 26. and *In Iohannis* 9. 10; CCSL 36 p. 96.

[74] N.P. Tanner, ed. and trans, *Decrees of the Ecumenical councils,* 2 vols. (London and Georgetown, 1990) 1:81. Leo the Great wrote a letter Epistle 28 (the Tome of Leo) to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople in which he lay out the Christological doctrine of the Latin Church. See later in this chapter.

[75] This image is now in the Bode Museum, Berlin.

could be utilised, especially in the area near the altar to indicate the mysterious and transcendental aspects of the faith.[76]

The mosaic image of the *Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes* at the sixth-century church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, for example, provides an interesting contrast to the simpler versions in the catacombs (Fig. 9). The mosaic is at first sight merely narrative, but on closer consideration the laymen in the nave could have pondered on the implications of Christ standing with his hands raised as if on the cross. Although he stands forward of the apostles who hold the fish and bread, Christ's blessing hands appear to rest on the fish and bread. The visual pattern of the cross is thereby extended to include these offerings which, tellingly, are reverently held in veiled hands like the bread and wine in the Eucharist.

The liturgy of the Eucharist was particularly affected by the post-Constantinian expansion of the setting of worship. Processions of entrance and offering, of communion, and rites of dismissal of catechumens and other non-communicants took place in the great basilicas. The form of the churches varied but the visual focus was always on the altar and the walls and vaults surrounding it. Visual images at or near the altar, and those on liturgical vessels, vestments, and books and book covers used in the rite, multiplied and increased in complexity.

It has been argued that Christian art quickly took over the imperial vocabulary. Christ and not the emperor was the divinity living in the world.[77] The earthly emperor had a new and lesser divine role as vicegerent of Christ. The divine Christ, it was said, enthroned, in a frontal pose, surrounded by his apostles as an emperor at court, stared down from the great apses, as in Santa Pudenziana in Rome ca. 400. At SS. Cosmas and Damian, Rome, in the apse mosaic of Christ with saints (early sixth century) the bearded Christ is magnificent in a golden robe and stands foursquare and powerful in the very heavens (Fig. 10).[78] Sometimes Christ is clothed in purple (faded often now to brown) even in everyday Gospel scenes as at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna,

[76] There is some doubt about when the congregation (in eastern rites) was relegated to side aisles and galleries leaving the central domed areas to the clergy and to the emperor's entry procession. It was so by the time of S. Vitale. Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture*, p. 64.

[77] For example, A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography and a Study of its Origins* (London, 1969). Ernst Kitzinger *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London, 1977).

[78] Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, plate 133, p. 170.

Fig. 9 *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes,* mosaic, early 6th century, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (photo: author).

Fig. 10 *Christ Surrounded by Saints*, apse mosaic, early 6th century, SS. Cosmas and Damian, Rome (photo: K. Van Ausdall).

projecting the idea of power. Thomas Mathews, however, has argued convincingly that this emphasis on the adoption of imperial iconography, as such, is misleading and overstated.[79] The throne, the golden halo and golden garments are not imperial attributes but those of the pagan gods who Christ replaced. These attributes signal his divinity which it was vital to confirm in the wake of the Arian controversy and to the large numbers of new, still semi-pagan, converts.

Theological Framework for Eucharistic Art in the Early Middle Ages

A desire to emphasise the continuity of offering had been present from the earliest Christians. Continuity and timelessness could be expressed, by the orthodox, in the concept of the seminal Logos of God (wisdom, reason and word) existing from all time in Christ. In Hebrews 10:12 Christ, priest and victim, is said to have offered "one sacrifice for sins forever." He was also "an high priest forever after the order of Melchisedek" (Hebrews 6:20 which recalled psalm 109:4 (AV 110:4). Melchisedek, high priest and king, offered Abram bread and wine. (Genesis 14:18). The uncircumcised Melchisedek pre-dated the Covenant with Moses and the Levitical priesthood and therefore he could become for the Christians a prefiguration of the eternal sacrifice for all nations and the prior election of the Gentiles. Melchisedek came to be seen as timeless and without genealogy. All images of the enthroned Christ evoke his timelessness, and the timeless offering is recalled in more sacrificial mode by all depictions of Melchisedek. One of the Mamre angels is sometimes shown as Christ (e.g., at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome), present long before the sacrifice of Isaac.[80]

A concept existed of an altar in heaven at which God receives the praises of angels and the praises and oblations of men. In the Mass at

---

[79] Mathews, *ibid*., pp. 100–107, argues that there are no extant examples of the emperor seated on a throne surrounded by his court as at Santa Pudenziana. The official seat of the emperor was the *sella curulis* a folding stool with some decoration. In contrast the dressing of the Virgin Mary as an empress in the Santa Maria Maggiore mosaics does seem to be a direct result of the Council of Ephesus.

[80] A recognition of the goodness of material creation (in opposition to the Gnostics and others who saw the material world as evil) may have further encouraged a desire to *offer* the physical bread and wine and thereby to offer the Church itself. *Oblatio* and *sacrificium* become commonly used names for the Eucharist. Hippolytus (ca. 170–ca. 236 CE) applied the cultic language of sacrifice primarily to the Eucharist rather than to the ordinary life of Christians. He called the bishop the high priest.

Supplices te God is asked to "command these offerings to be borne by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high." The minister at this heavenly altar was sometimes understood as an angel and sometimes as Christ himself.[81] Hebrews 9:11 called Christ "the high priest of good things to come" referring to the banquet of Wisdom to be shared with God and the angels at the end of time. All images beside or above an altar of angels carry all of these associations and particularly when they bear a clipeas containing the cross, symbolizing Christ who intercedes with God for man and as victim makes perpetually available his redeeming work.

There were different ways of expressing the nature of eucharistic sacrifice and of the body of Christ present in that sacrifice. Chrysostum emphasized the unity between the sacrificed Christ and the communicant. He saw the sacrifice of the Eucharist as identical with that of the Last Supper, "it is the same Jesus Christ we offer always . . . the victim is always the same so that the sacrifice is one."[82] For Ambrose the commemorative sacrifice of the Eastern Church is less significant than the idea that members of the Church share directly in the eucharistic sacrifice with Christ the high priest.[83] The priest consecrates using Christ's words and offers the sacrifice to God on behalf of the people asking that Christ will intercede for the remission of sins.[84] It is necessary that the earthly offering be borne to the heavenly altar by angels.[85]

Well before the fourth century, communion was seen as, in some way, effecting a salvific union between communicant and the risen Christ.[86] Irenaeus had talked of an invocation over the bread and wine which thereby "became" the body and blood of Christ. The world of sense experience is the *image, symbol, sign, figure, type, shadow* or *copy* of the real world, but "it cannot be thought of apart from the reality

---

[81] The matter of Christ's priesthood was complex and entramelled with the Christological debates. See J.A. Jungmann, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer* (London, 1965), pp. 239–263.

[82] *Ep. ad Hebraeos* 17.3; PG 63, 131.

[83] *Explanatio psalmi* 38.25. CSEL 64, 203.19–25.

[84] *De officiis ministrorum*; CSEL 15, 1.48.61–5.

[85] Augustine was less concerned with liturgical activity than in seeing the sacrifice of the Church, made with love, humility and praise, as its unity with the whole Christ. The eastern Church, especially after Cyril of Jerusalem, lay great stress on the activity of the Holy Spirit in the consecration. *De sacramentis* 4.6.27. CSEL 73, 57.4–12.

[86] The following section appears in a rather less contracted form in Elizabeth Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 13–24.

in which it participates."[87] For the early Church the bread and wine were symbols or types which rendered present the body and blood of Christ. The Fathers used three different kinds of language to describe the Eucharist: what Crocket calls *spiritualist,* describing the eucharistic gifts as spiritual food, *symbolical* where the wine in the chalice was, as to Ambrose, the "likeness of the precious blood,"[88] and *realist* where the elements were, as for Hilary of Poitiers, *transelemented* at the words of consecration.[89] These were different modes of verbal expression but they do not at this point translate into different visual images. There will be a separation of image and reality in the Middle Ages, but at this early point it is not helpful to search for it.

By the end of the fourth century the major framework of eucharistic theology had been laid. This may have been one of several significant elements in making the fifth century a period of remarkable creativity in Christian art. The range of art increased as did the subject matter. Typology, however, remained important in rooting eucharistic theology in scripture and providing a biblical foundation for liturgical rites, as noted in respect to the image of Abraham offering Isaac used in the fourth-century Milanese Canon. The prayer of consecration is essentially typological. In the Roman Canon the *supra quae* shows the Eucharist as the memorial of the sacrifice of Abel, Melchisedek and Abraham, as well as of the passion, resurrection and ascension.[90] In the

---

[87] W.R. Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation* (New York, 1989), p. 82. How one might usefully talk of union with the impassible Logos or of eating the crucified transfigured Christ remained, at this point, a problem of language, philosophy and theology. The early debates however need to be noted in context because they will be recalled in the ninth and eleventh-century debates on the subject which do directly affect iconography. Analogy could be made between the Word taking on flesh, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, at the incarnation and a liturgical incarnation where the Holy Spirit was the sanctifier of the bread and wine.

[88] Crocket, *ibid*., p. 83. Ambrose, *De sacramentis* 4.20; PL, 462B.

[89] For Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (ca. 315–67), the Church is the body of the risen Christ, through the incarnation the earthly and heavenly Church is bound together. The presence of the risen Lord in the Eucharist created a perfect and natural unity of communicant, Father and Son, "we…have Christ dwelling in us through his flesh." Hilary, *De trinitate* 8; PL 10, 245B–249B. Only through a natural union could we advance to God. Hilary was arguing for a divinization of man and spiritualization of his body so that the whole man might be united with God. The concept was less physical than it might initially seem, but Hilary's ideas on natural union, in a somewhat crude form, would be crucial for later developments in the West of the concept of Christ's eucharistic presence.

[90] The origin of the Roman Canon of the Mass is obscure. The *supra quae* dates from the 8th century but with much earlier roots. See Stevenson, *Eucharist and Offering*, pp. 76–84, for indications of the development.

papal basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (ca. 432) mosaic scenes from the Old Testament along the architrave of the nave lead the eye to the incarnation and the establishment of the new Chosen People shown on the chancel arch.[91] The depiction of Melchisedek offering Abraham bread and wine is deliberately placed slightly out of chronological order so that it flanks the altar of the new sacrifice.[92] "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedek," Psalm 109:4 (110 AV), was repeatedly stressed in Hebrews as confirming both Christ's preexistence and his eternal priesthood.[93] In Hebrews 5:6 and 5:10 the passage confirming Christ's priesthood is directly coupled with "Thou art my son" (Psalm 2:17) a vital confirmation of Jesus' divinity. Cyprian called the offering of Melchisedek not only a figure of the sacrifice of Christ, but also sacrament of the sacrifice.[94]

Sometimes the correspondences were less overt but no less deliberate. Thus in the late sixth-century Ashburnham Pentateuch, probably from Rome, folio 76r ostensibly illustrates Moses sprinkling blood on the people from the Hebrew animal sacrifices. Below Moses and Aaron flank the tabernacle, but it tellingly contrives to show the altar as that of the Christian eucharistic sacrifice (with chalice and bread on the altar) and the Easter candle.[95]

The wall mosaics in San Vitale at Ravenna, dedicated in 548, show very clearly how eucharistic typology could be fused with imperial imagery to provide a striking reflection of the central liturgical actions

---

[91] The iconography on the triumphal arch is unusual and controversial. In the Magi scene a second female figure, on Christ's left, wearing red shoes, a golden tunic and purple *palla*, may represent the Church or Mary personifying the Church. Both Mary, on Christ's right, and Jesus sitting on a golden throne (and not as normal in Magi scenes sitting on his mother's lap) are shown in imperial garb and attitudes which reinforced the doctrine of Mary as Mother of God (mother to Christ's indivisible humanity and divinity) which had been affirmed by the Council of Ephesus in 431. The indivisibility of Christ's nature is important in eucharistic debate on the ways in which Christ is present both as high priest/presenter/accepting offering etc at the ritual and in the eucharistic bread and wine. Michael Gough, *The Origins of Christian Art* (London, 1973), pp. 85–91.

[92] Claman, *Jewish Images*, Pl. 3.

[93] Heb.5:6; 5:10; 6:20; 7:2 and 7:17.

[94] *Epistola* 63.17; CSEL3, 713.

[95] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale nouv. Acq. lat. 2334. Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York, 1977), plate 47. See also Dorothy Verkerk, "Exodus and Easter Vigil in the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995), pp. 94–105.

of giving and receiving in the Eucharist.[96] The mosaic wall scenes are arranged in registers reading upwards from Old Testament scenes. Above them are scenes of the exalted cross and the four evangelists, then above them eschatological images of chalices and vines, culminating in the Lamb in the vault, significantly surrounded by a wreath held by angels, symbolizing the atoning offering of Christ. In the apse mosaic the enthroned Christ receives the saints of the Church and the donor. The typological parallels to the Lamb of God are shown above the arches supporting the galleries. To the left as one faces the altar, Abraham formally offers a lamb on a platter to the three angels at Mamre who are shown sitting before an altar-like table laid with cross-marked bread (Fig. 11). The visual eucharistic references are unmistakable. The angels are messengers foretelling the Eucharist as well as the birth of Isaac. The angels, but without the table reference, had been depicted in the fourth-century cubiculum B, Via Latina catacomb. Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea (ca. 360–ca. 340) saw the angel who surpassed the others in glory as a pre-Incarnation appearance of Christ.[97] This seems to be implied in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, ca. 432–40, where the central angel in the arrival scene is in a mandorla.[98] There too the eucharistic emphasis is confirmed by the great chalice before the table, the bread and the formal presentation by Abraham of lamb on a platter.

At San Vitale, to the right of the angel-guests an animal (one deliberately ambiguous so that it could signify a ram or a lamb) turns its head to watch the raised arm of Abraham who is about to sacrifice Isaac.[99]

---

[96] Gough, *Origins of Christian Art*, pp. 152–67. For the most recent discussion of Ravenna's churches of this era, see Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2009), especially pp. 223–249.

[97] Eusebius *Demonstratio Evangelic* 5.9 quoted in Robin Margaret Jensen, "Early Christian Images and Exegesis," in Jeffrey Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible*, p. 65. Pope Leo I (d. 461), *Epistola* 31.2, also saw one of the three angels as Christ but stressed that in the Old Testament Christ's humanity was only an outward appearance intended to proclaim that his reality would be taken from his forefathers. Barbara Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought* (Cambridge 1997), pp. 78–9.

[98] Claman, *Jewish Images*, Pl. 4.

[99] On ram/lamb interchangeability see Bede where the ram stands for Christ's human nature. On the need for obedience like Abraham Bede says of Christ slain "in him, since his divinity remaining impassible, only his humanity suffered death and sorrow, it is as though a son was offered but a ram was slain." Homily 1.14 ed. and trans. Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst Bede, *Homilies on the Gospels Book 1 Advent to Lent* (Kalamazoo, 1991), p. 141. For other examples, see Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation*, p. 163.

Fig. 11 *Abraham and Sarah, Abraham at Mamre, Sacrifice of Isaac*, mosaic, 548, San Vitale, Ravenna (photo: author).

Typology not only grounded the Church in the history of salvation but gave the sacraments themselves a salvific context. Hebrews 10:1–22 showed that "the blood of bulls and goats" could not "take away sins" but that Christ, the high priest, could do so since he offered himself as a "sacrifice for sins forever." The full range of this typology is recalled at San Vitale in the single image of the attempted sacrifice of Isaac, who would shortly be replaced by the sacrificial ram. Isaac is a type of Christ who here, as the lamb/ram, stands alongside watching, a device which also confirms Christ's timeless existence. On the corresponding right wall the offering of the Eucharist is symbolised by Melchisedek and Abel who stand either side of an altar on which are a chalice and two loaves (Fig. 12). Melchisedek, in priestly robes, offers bread and wine and Abel a lamb.[100] Above the altar the hand of God symbolizes the acceptance of the offerings. On the arches above both prefiguration scenes two flying angels, supporting a wreathed cross, serve to confirm the interconnection of the ancient sacrifices, the sacrifice on the cross and that in the Eucharist. The viewer might be reminded of the *Supplices te* where God is asked to "command these offerings to be borne by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high."

On one chancel side is the long offertory procession of the entourage of the emperor Justinian following, but closely alongside, the bishop Maximianus (Fig. 13), and on the other side the matching procession of the empress Theodora (Fig. 14). Justinian holds the vessel in which the paten is present and Theodora holds the vessel for the wine. On the hem of Theodora's robe are woven the three Magi. The Magi, the first members of the *Ecclesia ex gentibus*, are symbols of the Church.[101] They adore the divine and the human combined in the Christ-child. Their gifts are gold for kingship and victory; incense as homage to his divinity; myrrh, used for embalming, and thus a sign of his humanity and death. These gifts also symbolize here the offertory gifts of the congregation: gifts

[100] Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, 7th-century apse wall mosaic, shows a conflated scene of Abel, Melchisedek, Abraham, and Isaac derived from San Vitale. Abraham and Isaac stand on the opposite side of an altar to Abel offering the lamb, Melchisedek stands behind the altar on which are a chalice and two cross-marked loaves. The hand of God appears in the sky to acknowledge the offerings.

[101] Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, pp. 80–85 quoting Origen, *Against* Celsus, 1, 60, claims that the earliest catacomb and sarcophagus representations of the Magi show them as magicians bowing to the superior magical power of Jesus. Such myths continue into the Middle Ages, but are of secondary importance by the 5th or 6th centuries.

Fig. 12 *Sacrifice of Abel and Melchizedek*, mosaic, ca. 548, chancel lunette, San Vitale, Ravenna (photo: K. Van Ausdall).

Fig. 13 *Procession with Emperor Justinian and Bishop Maximianus*, mosaic, 547 CE, San Vitale, Ravenna (photo: author).

Fig. 14 *Procession with Empress Theodora*, mosaic, 547 CE, San Vitale, Ravenna (photo: author).

which are returned as the great gift of Christ.[102] In practice Theodora, as a woman, would have been unlikely to have taken part in the liturgical ceremony, nor would Justinian have held the paten. This is therefore an artistic device emphasizing the imperial role as protector of the Church making the offerings on behalf of the people. In earlier times the lay congregation had carried their own offerings to the altar.[103]

At San Vitale Old Testament typology reveals the meaning of the sacrament. It does so also in the seventh-century apse wall mosaic, described earlier, in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, where it forms a complement to the sixth-century Gospel imagery high in the nave. Together these images encourage exploration of the rememorative and commemorative rites evoking the timeless sacrifice and the Last Supper. Adjoining the apse on the left nave wall are the miracle at Cana and the bread miracle. Opposite, on the other wall, is one of the earliest narrative depictions of the Last Supper (Fig. 15).[104] These scenes form part of the long nave cycle of Gospel scenes but their vital position above the altar area confirms their relationship to the spiritual food of communion.[105]

Some liturgical vessels and book covers from the fifth and sixth centuries, such as the British Museum pyx with the crucifixion (see Fig. 7) and post-resurrection appearance to the doubting Thomas, reveal very clearly the way Gospel events, particularly of the passion, were represented sacramentally in the theology of the Eucharist and in the rite itself where both the pyx and the Gospel book covers placed on the altar symbolically contain Christ. An ivory diptych now in the treasury of Milan Cathedral, was made probably in Milan or Ravenna in the second half of the fifth century as a cover for a Gospel book. It has two

---

[102] The Magis' gifts, offered and returned, have a eucharistic symbolism from early on but were particularly emphasized in 11th and 12th century art. See Elizabeth Saxon "Carolingian, Ottonian, and Romanesque Art and the Eucharist," in this volume.

[103] For the range of offertory processions in 4th–8th centuries see Cabié, *The Eucharist,* pp. 78–80.

[104] At around the same time patens begin to be decorated in Constantinople with the Last Supper represented by the communion of the apostles with Christ (depicted twice) offering them the chalice and the bread. In the sixth-century Rossano Gospels (probably also from Constantinople) the apostles are not seated at table but file forward, as in the rite, to take bread from Christ who is robed as a priest. Ill. 172 in Gough, *The Origins of Christian Art*, p. 176. This iconography is not used in the West, but related images appear in the 12th century (see Saxon, "Carolingian, Ottonian, and Romanesque Art and the Eucharist," in this volume).

[105] Sant'Apollinare Nuovo also has a nave mosaic of the *Way to Emmaus*. The vital meal scene will be developed in Carolingian art.

Fig. 15 *Last Supper*, mosaic, 6th century, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (photo: author).

Fig. 16 Ivory diptych (book cover), treasury of Milan Cathedral, second half of the fifth century (photo: K. Van Ausdall).

wings (37.5 × 28.1 cm each) of ivory in an eighteenth-century wooden frame.[106] Each cover has five ivory panels. The front has the evangelist symbols of Matthew and Luke at the top corners, the back shows Mark and John. On both sides in the bottom four corners, bearded evangelists also indicate the Gospel within. The centre of the front panel is dominated by the nimbate Lamb of God, who stands before a portal. The Lamb is inlaid with garnet and surrounded by a wreath of fruit, olives, grapes and wheat.

A nativity is placed in a panel above the Lamb at the top of the cover, and the massacre of the innocents in the equivalent panel at the bottom; the Lamb is flanked by three small scenes to either side. In the top left scene an angel is shown with Mary who carries a jug, probably in reference to the apocryphal legend of her trial by water; in the middle the three Magi point to the star; below that John baptizes Christ, and the Holy Spirit as a dove descends. To the right of the central Lamb of God, the three small scenes show, from the top, the Virgin and an angel before the Temple with the veil drawn back, young Jesus with the Temple doctors, and beneath that the entry into Jerusalem. All combine to show Christ's human life, with intimations of his divine nature even in his youth, leading to the triumphal humility of the Entry and to his redeeming sacrifice.

The reverse side of the cover (Fig. 16) emphasizes Christ's divine authority as revealed by his miracles, his teaching and by his presence in heaven. In the center a silver-gilt jeweled cross stands on a hill, from which flow the four rivers of paradise. Behind is a pillared open door with veil or curtains drawn. The upper panel shows the Magi presenting gifts and the bottom Cana. To the left of the jeweled cross are the miracles of healing the blind and paralytic and, most significantly, the raising of Lazarus. To the right of the Cross are allegorical images, all with references to the Church, the body of Christ, through the sacraments of which comes salvation. Christ sitting on the globe gives wreaths of martyrdom to saints, probably Peter and Paul (thus possibly also giving an oblique reference to the *traditio legis*). Below this is the *Last Supper*, with bread and fish, through which all might enter the Church. The physical door is shown behind the Lamb and the Cross and, as foretold, the drawn-back veil of the Temple. At the

[106] Ills 76A and B and exploratory text in Spier, ed., *Picturing the Bible*, pp. 256–58.

bottom Christ, again sitting on the globe, receives the widow's mite. Thus martyrdom, sacrament and teachings reveal Christ as the heavenly provider of salvation.

By 600 in the major churches the light of the divine Christ shone with golden power from the great mosaics. His symbol the Lamb was on high recalling the unique sacrifice and linking it to the earthly sacrifice of the Eucharist on the altar below, and to the glories of the end of time. The major strands of eucharistic theology had been formulated by the beginning of the seventh century. East and West had diverged but not irretrievably divided on the role of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the consecration. The West used more realistic language about the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but this remained largely an open and undogmatic area until the ninth century. Eastern influences on artistic form, method and iconography continued in the west to varying degrees, especially in Italy but all aspects of creative life were disrupted by the waves of Germanic, Nordic, central Asian and Islamic invaders of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries.

Art and the Eucharist from 600–800

The Church, albeit long divided by Christological and Trinitarian heresies, had always claimed essential unity. By the end of the sixth century nominal unity remained, but bitter debate continued concerning the relative spiritual authority of Rome and the other major patriarchates. Doctrinal and jurisdictional fissures were aggravated by political pressures as waves of invaders pressed on every side. The great Eastern cities of classical antiquity had been devastated and Middle-Eastern Christianity dangerously disrupted even before the Islamic Arab attacks began in the early seventh century. By the time of Gregory the Great (Pope from 590–604) Rome was poor disease-ridden and threatened by the Lombards. Too far away for Byzantine aid, Gregory, of necessity, made peace with the Arian Lombards thereby by-passing the political authority of the exarch of Ravenna. Despite these jurisdictional battles there was no complete doctrinal rift in this period but on several crucial points separation was occurring. In both East and West the central question remained "How are we to be saved?" Redemption was a mystery and posed crucial questions about how one might appropriate Christ's remission of sin through individual spirituality and through the sacramental system. The East laid great stress

on divinization (*deificatio*) as the restoration of immortality. This was important too in Western tradition, but gradually divergent nuances of atonement and satisfaction theory gave the West a different penitential system intimately tied to the salvific Eucharist.

In respect to the Eucharist, in the East the *epiclesis* or invocation prayed that God would send the Holy Spirit to make the bread and wine "become" the body and blood of Christ. In this way the communicant might be joined to the Logos by eating the body of Christ and, after death, share in Christ's divinity. In the old Roman canon petition for consecration is divided between *supra quae* (praying for the acceptance of the gifts) and *supplices te* (asking for their translation to the heavenly altar). A preliminary epiclesis (*Quam oblationem*) prayed for the offering to become the body and blood of Christ. It came to be felt, however, that the recitation of Christ's words of institution was consecratory. The issue was both more subtle than this suggests and more confused.[107] The Eastern Church stressed the commemorative sacrifice which was also a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. The commemorative aspects were crucial too in the West, but about 600 Gregory the Great ensured that for the Western Church the eternal and incorruptible sacrifice would be seen as, in some sense, offered for us again repeatedly (*iterum*) in the Mass. He asserted forcefully: "We ought to immolate to God . . . the daily sacrifices of our tears, the daily offerings (*hostias*) of His flesh and blood . . . for who . . . can have any doubt that at the very hour of the immolation, in response to the voice of the priest . . . the heavens are opened and the choir of angels are present in this mystery of Jesus Christ?" In both East and West analogy could be made between the Word taking on flesh at the incarnation and a liturgical incarnation.

Gregory's confirmation of the re-presented sacrifice was made in the context of a discussion on purgation and intercession. The Church had linked prayers for the dead to the Eucharist since the fourth century, but Gregory moved nearer to the medieval doctrine of purgation.[108] Sins could be purged for those repenting of mortal sin by purifying fire (*purgatorius ignis*) and its pains could be relieved by the Mass. The

---

[107] The matter is explained more fully in J.G. Davies, ed., *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (London, 1972), pp. 15–16, under "Anaphora." The moment of consecration is significant in the West in both the ninth-century and eleventh-century debates on the Eucharist.

[108] Although not yet defining purgatory as a place.

Mass was seen as a sacrifice performed by the priest (further separating thereby priesthood and laity). There was no longer even a suggestion of a meal being offered for the dead by his family.[109] Family and community desire for priests to offer private Masses for the souls of their departed remained significant, however. By 700 "even the smallest tribe in Ireland had its own Mass priest" to "celebrate a valid Mass on behalf of their dead kin."[110] This community pressure led to the multiplication of altars in Roman churches and, by the ninth century, throughout Western Europe.

Early altars were mostly of wood and are now lost. A few stone altars remain as in the fifth or sixth-century altar at Vindolanda which is decorated with small carved crosses, and one at Auriol near Marseilles which has a monogram of Christ and twelve doves which probably represent the apostles and thus the Church.[111] Others of this date and later were covered with decorated cloth (as shown in the sixth-century mosaics in Ravenna) or a carved antependium. The earliest of the latter is eighth-century Lombard work from Cividale (Friuli) and now in the Museo Christiano.[112] Christ is here enthroned between two cherubs within a mandorla carried by four angels. The side panels show the visitation and the adoration of the Magi. This clearly reveals how the altar itself came to symbolize the mediation in the Eucharist between the heavenly and terrestrial Church.

Representing Christ's Human and Divine Nature

Two inter-related issues in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, the Lamb of God depiction and the Iconoclast controversy, had their roots in the Christological debate. Both areas greatly affected eucharistic art and attitudes towards it. The Council of Chalcedon (451) had laid down the bounds of orthodoxy about the hypostatic union but could not prevent continuing debate on how Jesus existed as "one person in two natures," the two natures to be recognized despite

---

[109] Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and diversity AD 200–1000* (Oxford 1996 2nd ed., 2003), pp. 260–66 sets out well the change of attitude to death and deliverance of the soul that had occurred by 700 CE in the west.

[110] *Ibid*., p. 265.

[111] On Gregorian reform and apostle symbolism see Saxon, "Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque Art and the Eucharist," in this volume.

[112] http://www.cividale.com/citta/museocristiano_uk.asp.

the substantial unity of person. Monophysites continued to see the human completely absorbed by the divine. Nestorians held that the deity could not have human weakness and so the two natures were entirely separate but united by one will.[113] Pope Leo the Great (d. 461) believed in Christ's human and divine natures inseparably united in one person at the Incarnation. His *Tome* or dogmatic letter on central issues of incarnation and human redemption "became increasingly important throughout the ensuing stages of the extended Christological controversy…and the deteriorating relations between papal Rome and imperial Constantinople during the seventh and early eighth centuries when Constantinople periodically gave forceful sanction to the belief that Christ had only one will (Monotheletism)."[114]

Leo's *Tome* influenced the Lateran Council of 649 which maintained that Christ was truly God and truly man and had two distinct wills, but that the human will was not in conflict with the divine will because his humanity was incorrupt and without sin.[115] This refuted the charge that unless fully human Christ could not have redeemed humankind. It has previously been noted that for Hilary the presence of the risen Lord in the Eucharist created a perfect and natural unity of communicant, Father and Son. The humanity of Christ was essential for this eucharistic union. There must also be a divinization of man and spiritualization of his body so that the whole man might be united with God. For Hilary, and the Western tradition that sprang from him, the nature of the God-man was crucial to an understanding of eucharistic presence and salvific reception.

Awareness of the fulfilled power of the glorified body of Christ was central. In early Christian art the exaltation of the glorified body of Christ had been suggested by two flying angels holding a cross in a clipeas, or two standing angels attending a cross.[116] At San Vitale, Ravenna, as has been noted earlier, two flying angels tellingly support

---

[113] It is not now clear exactly what Nestorius' opinions were, but opponents objected to too great a stress on the human seeing it as a form of Adoptionism. The Virgin Mary could not, by this type of reasoning, be called the Mother of God, a term increasingly used in orthodox circles. A great range of Christological views was expressed, particularly in the East some of which led eventually to total separation from Constantinople.

[114] Jennifer O'Reilly, "'Know who and what he is': the context and inscriptions of the Durham Gospels Crucifixion Image," ed. Rachel Moss, *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, Triarc Research Studies in Irish Art (Dublin 2007), pp. 301–2.

[115] O'Reilly, "Know who and what he is," pp. 301–02.

[116] See also, for example, the Golden Altar of Sant' Ambrogio in Milan.

a wreathed cross directly above the mosaics of the prefiguring sacrifice of Abel and Melchisedek, and the meal at Mamre. The theme was "appropriate to the eucharistic context in which the image was displayed on liturgical book covers, altar vessels and sanctuary decoration."[117]

Christ's transfiguration theoretically provided one of the clearest means of revealing his human and divine nature.[118] At Sant'Apollinare in Classe, near Ravenna, the sixth-century *Transfiguration* mosaic had been symbolized by a huge jeweled cross observed by Moses and Elijah and by three sheep representing Peter, James and John. In the contemporary apse mosaic at the monastery of St Catherine in Sinai, the transfigured Christ has a human figure, but is divinized by the very delicate almost transparent colors of his flesh and robes and by the light shimmering from the almond-shaped blue and white mandorla that surrounds him. The temporal and the eternal are fleetingly combined in human view, but give promise of the resurrection and second coming. Ambrose referred to eucharistic change as "transfiguration," thus revealing the intimate connection between the Christological and Eucharistic theologies as did Christ's descent into hell and all his post-resurrection appearances.[119]

---

[117] O'Reilly, "Early medieval text and image," p. 81. A Holy Land pilgrim ampulla from Bobbio shows Christ enthroned in a mandorla attended by two flying angels, set above the exalted cross which is attended by two standing angels. A. Grabar, *Les ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1958), no. 2, plate 33. The top panel in the "Murano ivory" book cover (National Museum, Ravenna) early sixth-century Egypt or Constantinople, has two flying angels holding a wreath surrounding a jeweled Maltese Cross, at each side of the panel an archangels stand with long-shafted cross and orb. The wreathed cross is directly above the central panel depicting Christ enthroned. See Robert Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Aldershot, 1988), plate 157, p. 247. A similar composition exists on another sixth-century ivory, probably from Alexandria, (BN Paris, Cabinet de Médailles). The enthroned Christ has scenes from his human life, mostly from his miracles, on left, right and bottom panels. The juxtaposition is explained by the angels and the wreathed cross on the top panel. David Talbot Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* (Oxford, 1963 repr. 1981), plate 9, p. 19. On a carved wooden reading desk from Poitiers of ca. 587 the Lamb in the centre is surrounded on four sides by versions of the cross (Chi Ro and Maltese, both with birds either side, and two unadorned). The Evangelist symbols inhabit the corners, linking the Lamb closely to apocalyptic and therefore eschatological themes. This allows the viewer to contemplate the sacrificial concepts also through the inclusion of the ox, symbol of St Luke. Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity AD 150–750* (London, 1971), plate 118, p. 179.

[118] Perhaps surprisingly the Transfiguration is depicted in the mid-sixth century and then rarely until later in the Middle Ages.

[119] Ambrose *On the Faith* IV, 124. PL16, 641.

Many questioned whether God had suffered on the cross. Some claimed that Christ's pain was unlike ordinary human pain since his death, although real, was that of a transcendent deity. In an attempt to refute this and so ensure recognition of Christ's saving humanity, Hilary of Poitiers, following Cyril of Alexandria, argued that Christ did suffer, making bodily suffering his own, but that his nature could not feel pain.[120] Leo the Great explained Christ's suffering as pertaining to the weakness of his human nature, a nature that secured human redemption.

By the fifth century the humanity and divinity of Christ and his willing suffering had begun to be expressed in the new, and as yet rare, imagery of the crucifixion, as in the British Museum ivory pyx discussed earlier in this chapter. Jennifer O'Reilly has argued that, "In the literature of the Christological controversies of the early Church the image of the crucified Christ functioned as a visual *credo*."[121] The Rabbula Gospels dated 586, from Syria (with illustrations perhaps from, or based on, a Greek Gospel book), show at folio 13r (Fig. 17) the sponge being held up (which occurred before death) and the lance piercing Christ's side (after his death). Speaking of the later Durham Gospel *Crucifixion*, but applicable to all of this type, O'Reilly noted the Christological significance of this iconography. Rather than denoting a particular moment in the crucifixion narrative, it emphasizes the unity in Christ's person, both "the humanity in which he experienced thirst, weariness, suffering and death, and his divinity, by which he triumphed over death."[122]

The Rabbula image, like the earlier Santa Sabina door panel (see Fig. 8), also depicts the crucifixion of the two thieves.[123] The thieves' legs were broken but Christ's were not as he was already dead. This was seen as confirming his humanity and also, paradoxically, his divinity by fulfilling the messianic prophecy in Exodus 12:46, "A bone of him shall not be broken," recalled in John 19:36. On the Santa Sabina doors Christ's near nudity also suggests his humanity. Bede said that dying between the two thieves he was revealed as man, but by the darkening of the sky and the other miraculous happenings around the cross, as

---

[120] Cyril of Alexandria *Epistola* 3 *ad Nestorius*. Hilary of Poitiers *De trinitate* 10.23. Jensen, *Early Christian Art*, p. 154.

[121] O'Reilly, "Know who and what he is," p. 302.

[122] *Ibid*., p. 303.

[123] Rabbula Gospels, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.

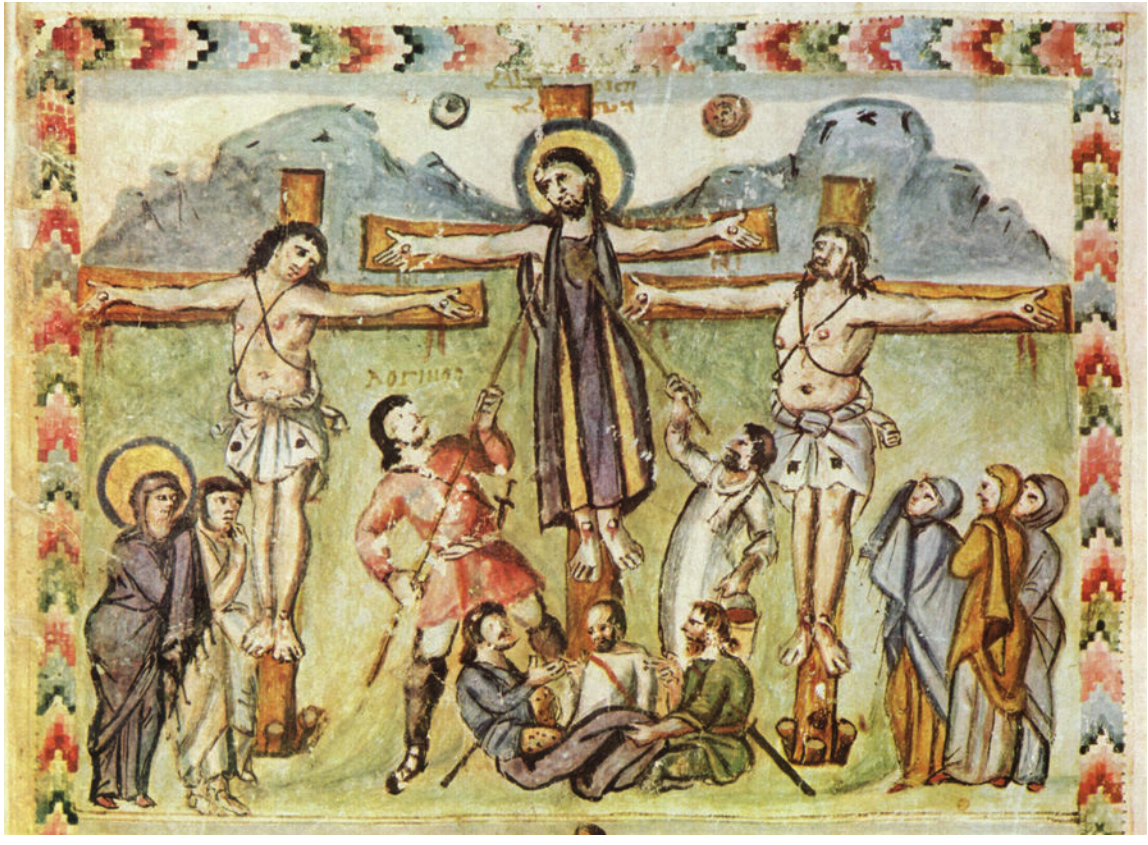


Fig. 17 *Crucifixion*, Rabbula Gospels, fol. 13r, 586, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (photo: Guido Sansoni, Florence).

God.[124] Bede linked the thieves to Habakkuk's prophecy that "between two living things you will become known."[125] At Christ's death, which was thought to have taken place at the ninth hour, his human and divine natures were be revealed as was his salvific sacrifice. Habakkuk's prophecy was used in the liturgy of Good Friday as the ninth hour responsory chant *Domine audivi*.[126]

Below the Rabbula *Crucifixion,* the Resurrection is indicated by the women and angel at the empty tomb and Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene. Combining this on the page with the Crucifixion emphasizes the whole divine plan for human salvation. Significantly the Rabbula Christ is alive and with eyes open. He wears a *collobium*, a long robe of dignity, like a priestly *orant* which also refers to his coming as judge "clothed with a garment down to the foot" (Revelation 1:13). Here both the resurrection and Christ's Second Coming are revealed in relation to the Crucifixion and to the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist.

Crucifixion imagery did not replace the old image of the sacrificed Christ as the Lamb which remained popular in both East and West. John the Baptist's prophecy of Christ's sacrifice "Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world" (John 1:29) was linked by exegetes to the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah about the sacrificed lamb and to "Christ, our Passover [lamb] sacrificed for us" (1 Corinthians 5:7, recalling the Passover commands of Exodus 12:3–13).[127] The triumphal imagery of the lamb that was slain and found worthy (Revelation 5:6–14) standing on the throne and on the Book of Life or on Mount Sion (Revelation 14:1) tied all the references to sacrifice and suffering to the glory and victory of Christ's atoning sacrifice. This interconnection was formative for visual iconography and was given patristic authority by Jerome who according to Okasha and O'Reilly:

---

[124] Bede *In Habacuc* trans. Sean Connolly, *Bede on Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk* (Dublin, 1997) p. 68.

[125] Hab. 3:2. In the same passage Bede also referred to the Transfiguration where Moses and Elijah recall the two creatures.

[126] The Vulgate gives "*Domine audivi… in medio annorum…*" The old Latin, which Bede was using, gives *animalium* as a translation, in the widest sense, of the Greek of the LXX as two living beings. *Domine audivi* was also sung each Friday at Lauds. Éamonn Ó'Carrágain, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (London, 2005), p. 207. See later in this chapter for the significance of this on the Ruthwell Cross.

[127] The prophecies of Isaiah 53 and 63 and Jeremiah 11:19 are all read in the liturgy during Holy Week.

> […] succinctly and influentially observed that the Agnus Dei acclaimed by John the Baptist in the Gospel (John 1:29) *is* the Paschal Lamb of Christ's sacrifice, prefigured in the slain lamb of the Exodus Passover, foretold by Isaiah and Jeremiah in their Messianic image of the lamb sent to slaughter which was given Christological interpretation by the apostle Philip (Acts 8:32–35) and finally revealed in glory as the apocalyptic Lamb.[128]

These crucial biblical references had not been, as such, directly depicted in early iconography. The Good Shepherd who lay down his life for his sheep (John 10:15) may have evoked these references, so too may the post-Constantinian Lamb who was flanked by other lambs who represented the apostles and the flock. But in neither case was there a clear visual reference to Christ's death.[129] A late fourth-century painting in the catacomb of St. Peter and St Marcellinus shows Christ in majesty between Saints Peter and Paul. Directly below Christ the Lamb stands on the hill from which flows the four rivers of paradise. Saints Gorgonius, Peter, Marcellus and Tiburtius acclaim the Lamb.[130] The reference in this funerary context is primarily eschatological. By the fifth and sixth centuries, however, the paschal rather than pastoral reference is clearly made as the Lamb, sometimes with or carrying a decorated cross of victory, is placed near or above altars, as in the San Vitale vault; and on Gospel book covers (like the Milan ivory previously discussed) which would be laid on the altar/tomb during Mass to symbolize Christ the Word sacrificed for humankind.[131]

In 692 the Council of Trullo (the Quinisext Council) canon 82 forbade the symbolic representation of Christ as the Lamb because such

---

[128] Elisabeth Okasha and Jennifer O'Reilly, "An Anglo-Saxon Portable Altar: Inscription and Iconography" *JWCI* 47 (1984), pp. 40–41. Jerome *In Esaiam* xiv, liii, *Corpus Christianorum S.L.,* LXXIII A. Turnhout, 1963, pp. 591–92.

[129] In one catacomb painting the lamb performs the miracle of multiplication of bread. Jensen, *Early Christian Art*, p. 143. No specific reference given. This catacomb image certainly links the death of the one sacrifice to the Eucharist prefigured by the miracle but it seems to be an isolated case.

[130] Jean Lassus, *The Early Christian and Byzantine World* (London 1967), plate 12. Also at: http://divdl.library.yale.edu/dl/eikon/objectdetail.jsp?objectid=4747.

[131] In Rome, the Lamb standing on the rock of Golgotha/Eden, from which flowed four rivers of paradise, appeared in the vault of St John Lateran, and at St Peter's (mosaic commissioned between 440–61, during the pontificate of Leo I) and at Saints Cosmas and Damian (mosaic commissioned by Pope Felix IV between 526–30). The facade with the Lamb at Old St Peter's is part shown in an eleventh-century MS probably made at Farfa of *Vita Gregorii* Eton College Cod. 124, fol. 122r, in Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing. Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia 2000), fig. 6.2, p. 106. St John Lateran, Jensen 2000, p. 143.

symbolism risked undermining Christ's humanity in the redeeming sacrifice:

> …the figure in human form of the Lamb who takes away the sin of the world, Christ our God, be henceforth exhibited in images, instead of the ancient lamb, so that all may understand by means of it the depths of humiliation of the Word of God, and that we may recall to our memory his conversation in the flesh, his suffering and salutary death, and his redemption which was wrought for the whole world.[132]

In the West, Pope Sergius (687–701) rejected the canons of the Quinisext council generally. This was primarily because many of the canon law issues raised were not applicable in the West and papal decretals, which over the years had given the West a quasi-legal body of rulings, had been ignored.[133] Nothing specific was said of canon 82. Sergius ordered that at the breaking of the bread for communion in the Mass the clergy and people should sing "Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us." This powerful chant brought together the Lamb and the body of Christ as "prefiguration and fulfillment," but its liturgical adoption may have been less a rebuff to the Council than a reflection of Sergius' Syrian ancestry and the tradition that referred to the consecrated Eucharist as the Lamb.[134]

Sergius' awareness of the power of the Lamb imagery may have led him to repair two Roman mosaics of the Agnus Dei, one on the gable triangle to the atrium to St Peter's basilica, the other at Saints Cosmas and Damian. Both mosaics juxtaposed the symbol of the Lamb to the human figure of Christ. At St Peter's the Lamb was shown above the depiction of *Christ in Majesty* adored by twenty four elders and the evangelists. The symbols of the evangelists, as has been noted, symbolize respectively the incarnation, passion, resurrection and ascension.

---

[132] Jensen, *Early Christian* Art, p. 143, quoting *Quinisext. can*. 82, trans. H.R. Percival, *NPNF* ser. 2, 14 (1988) p. 401.

[133] *Le Liber Pontificalis* ed. L.M.O. Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1884–92, 2nd ed. in 3 vols, ed. C. Vogel, Paris, 1955–57)) 1.372, 373. Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford, 1987; reissued London, 1989), pp. 284–87.

[134] The breaking of bread for communion was a lengthy business (wafers, which were easier to break, were introduced later for a range of reasons) so a chant was useful at this point. Stevenson thinks that at this period the analogy was with the Lamb that is slain rather than with Christ present in the sacrament. The Roman rite did not use the *Agnus Dei* before communion until 1585. Gallican liturgies also used Lamb imagery, notably for Maundy Thursday and Easter Wednesday. Lamb hymns at Easter are celebrations of Christ's victory for the entire paschal celebration but are eucharistic by implication. Stevenson, *Eucharist and Offering,* pp. 277–78.

In the apse mosaic at Saints Cosmas and Damian, Christ flanked by Peter and Paul who lead Cosmas and Damian, stands majestically in clouds of glory on the banks of the Jordan. He holds a scroll in his left hand and raises his right hand in blessing or welcome. Directly below Christ, the nimbed Agnus Dei stands on a hill from which flow the four rivers of paradise (Fig. 18). Six lambs from Jerusalem and six from Bethlehem proceed towards him. The Agnus Dei image is juxtaposed to its fulfillment in the human figure of Christ. On the façade of the arch above the apse mosaic a second Agnus Dei, directly above Christ and the lower Agnus Dei, is shown on a jeweled throne before a golden cross. The backless throne resembles an altar. A large scroll lies on a gemmed tray before the throne of the Lamb who has been sacrificed on the altar of the cross. Originally twenty four elders of Revelation 4:4 and 5:9 flanked the Lamb as well as the seven golden lamps and the four evangelists. All sang praise and worshiped the redeeming Lamb worthy to open the seals of the book (scroll). The Lamb symbolized Christ's divine glory and his future return at the Second Coming (*parousia*) which each Mass anticipates. The book of Revelation "had long been assimilated into the western liturgy, the Eastern Church had not yet accepted the book as part of its canon of scripture."[135] The West could thus more easily assert an eschatological dimension to the Lamb symbol, setting it in the totality of scripture and the fulfillment of human redemption. The human and divine in this image could thus be seen more clearly in balance than it could in the East.[136] After the death of Pope Sergius in 701 CE, canon 82 was observed even in Rome and the Agnus Dei symbol disappeared from Roman monuments for almost a century.[137]

Iconoclasm and Eucharistic Art

Some thirty years after the Quinisext Council another, yet more divisive, controversy broke out in the East. Late classical civilisation and

---

[135] Éamonn Ó'Carrágain, *Ritual and the Rood. Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (London, 2005), p. 254.

[136] *Ibid*., pp. 249–54. Plate 12 and figs. 46–48.

[137] *Ibid*., p. 255. The ancient juxtaposition of human and symbolic images of Christ continued, however, in early eighth-century Bernica (SW Scotland), first at Bewcastle (now in Cumbria) and a little later, in a more developed form, at Ruthwell. (These great crosses will be discussed later in this chapter.)

Fig. 18 Apse Mosaic, detail with the *Agnes Dei*, SS Cosmas and Damian (photo: author).

secular learning had been largely destroyed and Byzantium needed new authorities and to reorient itself. In times of war and disturbed social conditions people seem to have been increasingly comforted by images of Christ, the Virgin and saints.[138] These icons were usually non-narrative and in frontal poses, venerated not as art works but as "depictions of objective reality, and, as such were held to bring the very presence of the divine to the worshipper [...] having all the power of the personage represented."[139] Perhaps not by chance, at around the same time the cult of the Virgin Mary was also developing. In 726 the Byzantine Emperor Leo III's edict forbad images in religious worship, saying they were idols and ordering their destruction. It is important to recognize that the iconoclast controversy on the veneration of icons (ca. 725–842) was not concerned only, or even primarily, with idolatry, but rather more with ways of seeing images.[140] The rise of icons had come to prominence in the East at the same time as liturgical elaboration accompanied by exposition of a spiritualizing and mystical nature, as in the *Mystagogy* of Maximus the Confessor (ca. 580–662) and a focusing of attention on the meaning of the Eucharist. In the seventh century there was a shifting back to, a greater literal or historicizing realism nearer to Theodore of Mopsuestia and John Chrysostum. The debate about veneration of icons thus became entrammeled in wider issues of image, symbolism and realism.[141]

---

[138] In this period icons need not be portable images painted on wood, but might be fixed in mosaic, fresco, or on ivories or textiles. Averil Cameron, "The language of images: the rise of icons and Christian representation," in Diana Wood, ed., *The Church and the Arts*, Studies in Church History 28 (Oxford, 1992 reprinted 1995), p. 5.

[139] Cameron, "The language of images," p. 15.

[140] There were two stages to the controversy. In 787 the 7th Ecumenical Council (the second Council of Nicea) restored icons, defining their veneration. Persecutions recommenced in 815. In 843 iconoclasm was condemned and icons restored in a new ceremony to be repeated annually, the Triumph of Orthodoxy.

[141] During the period of the rise of icons the work of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (writing ca. 500) gained increasing importance. These writings aimed at a synthesis between Christian dogma and Neo-Platonist thought. Intimate union between God and the soul and the progressive deification of man is, he felt, to be obtained by a process of unknowing in which sense perception and intellectual reasoning are abandoned. Paradoxically Pseudo-Dionysius sometimes appeared to find the problems of verbal analysis so great that visual images might be suggested as the better way to reach the unknowable. Both iconoclasts and iconophiles claimed him in part their own. He certainly laid emphasis on the liturgy and sacraments as themselves signs pointing the way to truth.

Both sides, iconoclasts and iconophiles, drew on arguments from the preceding century including a renewed stress on the suffering of Christ. This led to the depiction of the dead Christ on the cross because Christ willingly suffered physically and not merely symbolically.[142] The Sixth Ecumenical Council of 680–81 had emphasised Christ's human nature. Patriarch Germanos I of Constantinople (715–30) argued fiercely that human representation was necessary to remind us of Christ's suffering and death.[143] The Eucharist was a memorial of his passion and death and the gifts at the Great Entrance signified the body of the dead Christ.[144] In 753 the Synod of Hieria rejected this type of argument declaring that icons depicted only the humanity of Christ and so risked dividing his unity with God, as the Nestorians were said to do, or confounding the two natures, as the Monophysites did.

For some God's created world provided signs through which he was recognized and represented. Some iconoclasts considered the cross, the scriptures, the Church and even sometimes water and candles and incense as signs by which God reveals himself. Some accepted the Old Testament signs like the burning bush or the Ark. These, they argued, were not symbols in the sense that one thing stands for another but were real "material signs of the presence of the spiritual world."[145] Most important of all was the Eucharist, long seen as the true image of God, and by the sternest iconoclasts as "the one true image" of God.[146] Even the iconoclast emperor Constantine V (741–75) reportedly claimed that because Christ commanded the disciples to transmit the bread and the wine as a visible reminder of his love this was an image of Christ's body that comes from Christ himself. This was the only "proper and possible image" for the body and blood of Christ. Only bread and wine consecrated by the priest figure Christ. Thus [bread and wine] made by human hands becomes something not made by human hands.[147] Interpreting the elements of the Eucharist and their

[142] *Ibid*. These images appear earlier in the East than in the West perhaps because of the iconoclast debate.

[143] PG 98 cols 80A, 81B.

[144] Cameron, "The language of images" p. 39.

[145] Cameron, "The language of images," p. 29, citing V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Cambridge 1957), p. 189.

[146] *Ibid*., p. 37 and n. 100 for sources. Ó'Carrágain, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 261.

[147] Thomas F.X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009), p. 95, on the complex transmission of Constantine's words.

mysterious transformation became an important part of the debate of symbolism against literalism.

Although the Iconoclast decrees affected the East more violently and directly than in the West, a real controversy about the relationship between physical seeing and spiritual insight also affected the West, at first in Rome then, particularly after 790, in the Carolingian realms.[148] There was controversy with the Byzantines but also, sometimes, between the papacy and the Franks, and amongst the Franks themselves. Not all the impetus in these debates was artistic or even religious.

In 726 Pope Gregory II rejected Leo III's decree banning images in worship and Pope Gregory III (731–41) formally condemned iconoclasm and excommunicated its adherents. On the Sunday before Easter 732 Gregory III inaugurated an oratory dedicated to all saints. It was "sumptuously decorated with mosaics, gold and jeweled icons" and was near the grave of St Peter. It "symbolized Rome's catholicity: all nations would now send back relics of their saints to this chapel" in St Peter's city.[149] New prayers were written for a Mass to be sung daily in honor of the saint of the day.[150] The new prayers were inscribed on stones in the oratory and thus were publicized even to the literate laity. The Mass was to be "in honour of the Saviour, of the Mother of God and eternal virgin Mary, our Lady; and of the holy apostles, martyrs and confessors of Christ, and of all the perfect and righteous."[151] These liturgical innovations implied that iconoclasm threatened public worship and the cult of the saints and their relics. Relics were unquestioned in the West, and iconoclasm was rejected not by "intellectual debate, but by liturgical acts."[152] In the "early 730s Rome defended images precisely by developing their liturgical use."[153] The papacy refused to be subservient to the new imperial iconoclast policy.

---

[148] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* gives a very detailed analysis.
[149] Éamonn Ó'Carrágain *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 258.
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] *Ibid.*, p. 258–59.
[152] *Ibid.*, p. 259.
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

Cross, Church, and Eucharist

When paganism and Islam swept over much of Europe, Ireland (which had never been part of the Roman Empire) remained a great Christian civilization with a unique ecclesiastical organization and a vigorous non-classical artistic tradition. From this far corner a sophisticated knowledge of the writings of the Fathers and a fervent belief would be spread into Northern Britain and eventually onwards into Western Europe.

In the early to mid-eighth century a number of great stone crosses were carved and erected in what is now South-West Scotland. Their dates, purpose and iconography have been fiercely debated. Éamonn Ó'Carrágain outlines the major trends, as well as his own compelling thesis on the development of early sculpted crosses. The Ruthwell Cross (*ca.* 730–60) "has the most extensive iconographic programme extant from any sculptural monument in early eighth-century Europe."[154] The iconography itself would suggest that it was probably designed for a small monastic community (Fig. 19). Ó'Carrágain, in a very detailed study, sets the cross in the context of the type of devotion to the cross developed in the seventh century, the Roman penitential Lenten liturgy and, particularly to the *triduum sacrum* of Easter.[155] The three themes were the Cross, Church and Eucharist. These themes were notably images acceptable even to iconoclasts. This was perhaps incidental as the iconoclast debates may not have been known at this point at Ruthwell.

The cross is now some seventeen feet high and inside the church, but was originally outside as were most of the many great stone crosses in Ireland and Britain made between the eighth and twelfth centuries. It has two broad sides and two narrow ones. On the latter a vine scroll, inhabited by beasts and birds feeding on the fruits, is enclosed on both sides by runic *tituli* from the text of an Anglo-Saxon poem which is either the ancestor or very closely related to *The Dream of the Rood*.[156] In this poem the cross tells how it was torn up by its roots and forced horrifically to become the Lord's killer. Agonizingly, it must do

---

[154] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[155] Ó'Carrágain convincingly shows Celtic, Northumbrian and Roman liturgies and theology co-existing and interacting in northern Britain. For earlier theories see pp. 54–58.

[156] This exists only in a late tenth-century MS written in southern England now at Vercelli. Cathedral MS CXVII. Ó'Carrágain, pp. xxii–xxiii and xxvi–xxvii, illustrates in figs 1 and 3 the vine scrolls and the runic *tituli*.

Fig. 19 Ruthwell Cross, stone, ca. 730–60, Ruthwell, Scotland (photo: Courtesy of E. John).

nothing to ease its Lord's pains or attack his enemies because Christ's had heroically, with both courage and humility, willed his own death. Heroism based on humility is startling and central.[157] The inhabited vine may be read as symbolizing Christ, the Church and the tree of life.[158] Life is shown as given to all both naturally and salvifically and confirmed by the eschatological reference. The runic *tituli* create a unified image with the vine scroll of Christ's passion.

On the broad sides of the cross each panel had its own scriptural inscription in Latin which could be chanted liturgically either individually or by a worshipping community. On the first broad side (moving round the cross sun wise with the cross on your right) the Lenten emphasis on penitence and redemption through the incarnation is shown. On the Cross head upper arm is an eagle pointing to St John who is identified by the inscription INP[RINCIPIO][{ERAT}[VER]BUM. The eagle was a symbol of the new life in Christ particularly in the context of baptism and the catechumenate. It looks forward longingly to the Eucharist.[159] The cross head lower arm shows an archer/preacher with a Gospel-book satchel symbolizing, in a multivalent image, the eschatological urgency of Lenten repentance.[160] Below on the shaft are the visitation; Christ blessing the woman who was a sinner (an image of repentance); Christ healing the man blind from birth (an image of conversion), the Annunciation; the Crucifixion.[161] The Annunciation and Crucifixion are juxtaposed on the Ruthwell Cross, as they had been on the oratory chapel of Pope John VII (705–7) in

[157] The Collect for the Sunday before Easter (later known as Palm Sunday) is "God who gave the human race a model of humility to imitate…" links to other liturgical emphases in Holy Week on humility and imitation. For details, see Ó'Carrágain, *ibid*., pp. 164–66.

[158] The Virgin was also associated through the rod/root/vine imagery of Isaiah 11:1–5 and the tree/wisdom imagery of Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 24:17–20.

[159] Ó'Carrágain, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 144–46, on the pregnant Church longing for the rebirth of her neophytes and Ambrose on the neophytes as eagles around the altar. The existing transom is a nineteenth-century replacement. It is possible that the missing transom presented an image of baptism.

[160] *Ibid*., pp. 141–3, referring to Augustine, Gregory the Great and Bede.

[161] The Ruthwell crucifixion panel (below the annunciation) was added some two generations after the cross was completed, perhaps to conform to the increased European emphasis on the crucifixion itself and to a "new emotional and mimetic concentration on Christ's death." Ó'Carrágain, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 180. The juxtaposition of annunciation/incarnation and crucifixion existed from the outset in that the monument is itself a cross.

Old St Peter's. The incarnation was a royal *adventus* into battle which culminated in victory at the Crucifixion.

On the second broad side the full redemptive process can be shown unfolding through the Eucharist to the Last Judgment. Yet again an eagle, this time on a vine branch, sits in the top arm of the cross-head. This, like the archer acts as a transitional images completing the first side and preparing for the eucharistic imagery of the second. The Gospel for the first Sunday in Lent was Matthew 4:1–11 on Christ's temptations in the desert. In the second temptation the devil had quoted out of context (Matthew 4:6) two verses of Psalm 90/91 ("Qui habitat"): "for he will command his angels . . . to guard you . . . on their hands they will bear you up . . ." This psalm said every night at Compline asserts trust in the protection of God. In verse four God is an eagle protecting man from the forces of evil. All the chants at the first Sunday in Lent are taken from this psalm, including that at the offertory when bread and wine were brought to the altar. The whole of Lent was a *sacramentum*, a time of repentance and reshaping of lives for all Christians, but especially at this period for the catechumen (and their God-parents) and public sinners.[162] All, in the spiritual desert, must aim to copy Christ's defeat of the devil before finally coming as liturgical pilgrims to Jerusalem and participating in the pascal Eucharist.[163]

The large panels on the second broad side are all connected with the Eucharist. It has been argued that there may once have been a nativity scene on the base. The altar-manger of the God-man in the house of bread would have linked both sides. The lowest panel shows Mary on a donkey with a partially remaining inscription of Mary and Joseph. The ass goes from right to left and so this is probably not the flight into Egypt but the return, recalling the Old Testament prophecy (Hosea 11:1) "out of Egypt I have called my son" (Matthew 2:15). Mary was bringing back the child whose body would become the spiritual

[162] *Ibid*., pp. 120–50 explores in detail the Lenten liturgical keys to the images on the first broad side.

[163] The Eucharist is central to Lent. On the fourth Sunday (the mid-point of Lent) the Pope as part of the stational visits (well known by Anglo-Saxon clerics) went from his cathedral, at the Lateran, to the nearby basilica called *Hierusalem* where Helena had brought back the relics of the True Cross. *Hierusalem* thus became seen as the Roman equivalent of Golgotha. The Gospel was the feeding of the multitude with loaves and fish John 6:1–14. The feeding in the Lenten desert would be fulfilled at Easter. *Ibid*., pp. 148–50. This prefigurement of the Eucharist was, as has been noted earlier, the chief visual image of the Eucharist for the early Church.

food of the Church and which was prefigured in the manna (Exodus 16) which had fed the people of Israel making the same journey.

The body of Christ would become the new Temple and Christ the new High Priest when the veil was rent at his death. When the soldier pierced Christ's side, he fulfilled the prophecy of Ezechiel 47:1–2 that salvation would flow from the Temple. It has already been noted that the blood and water were the source of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist and of the Church. From the sixth century this crucial relationship between the salvific death, the Church and the sacraments was reconfirmed at each of the solemn papal Vespers of Easter week as '*vidi aquam*' ("I saw water coming forth from the temple, from its right side, Allelluia; and all those to whom that water came were saved…") was chanted.[164]

In the panel above, the *Meeting of Saints Paul the Hermit and Anthony* (both named in the inscription), shows the saints breaking a large loaf between them. This depicts Jerome's story of how Anthony visited Paul in the desert and recalls how the raven, who had miraculously fed Paul half a loaf daily for sixty years, brought a full loaf. Paul insisted Anthony the guest should have the honor of breaking the bread; Anthony demanded that Paul as senior do so. Eventually they agreed to break it between them. In the Ruthwell panel, unlike Jerome's story, the saints standing and in ecclesiastical robes, break bread. The phrase "*fregerunt panem*" in the *titulus* suggests the liturgy and may recall the revelation of the Emmaus meal. It may also refer to a courteous tradition at Iona whereby guest priests, even if junior, were asked to join the priest-abbot at the altar and break the eucharistic bread before communion with him. The fraction symbolized the breaking of Christ's body and, when the particle was put into the chalice, his resurrection. The raven (unlike other insular depictions) is not shown and this concentrates attention on the recognition of Christ's presence in the Eucharist.[165]

The recognition of Christ is central to the Paul and Anthony panel and also to the two panels above. The upper one shows John the Baptist, cradling the Lamb of God in his left arm and pointing to the haloed lamb with his right index finger. John stands on two globes. This may be to show that he spanned two worlds, those of the Old

[164] Ó'Carrágain, pp. 150–51.
[165] *Ibid.*, pp. 153–60.

and New Testaments, and also to show his association with apocalyptic visions of Christ or the Agnus Dei in Majesty. St John, in a long robe, participates in the heavenly liturgy and as a messenger he warns onlookers to prepare for the Second Coming of Christ. As has been previously noted, from the beginning of the eighth century the Roman rite had the *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi*…as a plea for mercy to accompany the breaking of the bread for communion. The Agnus Dei may have been sung at Ruthwell since it was sung at Mass at Wearmouth-Jarrow (only about one hundred miles away) where Bede wrote of our daily sins being washed away by Christ's blood at communion.[166] The damaged inscription says "we adore, so that not with…." This may reflect an awareness of the iconoclast debate and a determination to defend images by developing their liturgical use, probably not at the cross for the Mass, but perhaps for individual or group contemplation of ideas interconnected in text and visual image.

Ó'Carrágain argues that the English verse narrative and the Ruthwell iconography reflect aspects of Good Friday celebrations at Ruthwell, perhaps resembling or recalling parts of the Roman liturgy known in this area. The second runic *titulus* tells how the cross bows down to present the dead Christ to his followers which they have come to receive and contemplate. The eucharistic implications of seventh-century devotion to the cross are notable.

In Rome on Good Friday the bishop, as on the fourth Sunday in Lent, processed to Hierusalem, leading the people in pilgrimage to Golgotha. The first lesson was Hosea 6:1–6. It was penitential but interpreted also as a looking forward to the Resurrection and Second Coming. It was followed by the responsory chant *Domine audivi* from the Canticle of Habakkuk 3:1–19 one of the most ancient Roman chants taken from the Old Latin text.

> Lord, I heard your tidings and was afraid.
> I considered your works and grew fearful.
> Between two living things you will become known,
>
> [*In medio duorum animalium innotesceris*]
> When the years draw nigh you will become known;
> When the time comes, you will be revealed." etc.[167]

---

[166] Bede, *Homiliae, Book 1, Homily 15*, CCSL 122 pp. 105–6, lines 18–28; trans. Martin and Hurst 1991, 1, p. 149. Ó'Carrágain, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 160–64.

[167] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

The whole canticle was familiar being sung each Friday, but at the ninth hour on Good Friday its very familiarity would place it within the total context of Christ's victorious *adventus*, the mission of his Church and his Second Coming. The second lesson was Exodus 12:1–14 or on some accounts Deuteronomy 16. The pascal lamb preparations also invited the congregation to look forward to Easter. The second responsory chant was *Qui habitat* based on psalm 90/91 which each night provided an image of Christ's victory over darkness and on Good Friday became "a comforting lullaby for a dead hero."[168] This was followed by the Passion in John 18–19. A heroic action was accomplished, life in Paradise was restored, and solemn prayers followed. There could be no Mass, but from the late seventh century elements of the adoration of the cross and the kissing of the cross before the reception of pre-consecrated Eucharist (although not in the papal ceremony) were introduced.[169]

The Ruthwell panel of *Christ Acclaimed by Two Animals* can be understood through the combination of *Domine audivi* and *Qui habitat*, (which were paired only on Good Friday). An imposing Christ, robed and haloed, raises a hand in blessing and grasps a scroll in the other. His feet rest on the snouts of two similar but unidentifiable beasts. They do not look like dragons which appear in the inscription which reads "Jesus Christ the judge of fairness: beasts and dragons recognized in the desert the Savior of the world." The animals cross their inner paws with each other. The cross is a clear reference to the *Chi* symbol. In *Qui habitat* Christ's triumph was symbolized by his treading on "the asp and the basilisk…the lion and the dragon." At Ruthwell (and at Bewcastle) the beasts have been converted from evil to good. The verb *cognoverunt* in the *titulus* recalls *Domine audivi*; Christ will become known between two living things. The panels of the second side show the humanity and divinity of Christ made known on the Cross and in the Mass.

The designer of the cross probably worked after the outbreak of iconoclasm in 726 CE. The Ruthwell community may or may not have known of the Roman reaction to the Quinisext Council or to Eastern iconoclasm but, as Ó'Carrágain shows, they "produced a rich and coherent meditation, unique in Europe, on the proper place of graven

[168] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[169] *Ibid.*, pp. 189–201, gives considerable detail.

images within the liturgical life of a Christian community…food for joyful rumination on what it meant…to be members of, and partake in, the body of Christ."[170]

Conclusion

Visual imagery, from a range of genres, reveals aspects of some of the key directions of eucharistic theology and practice in the West from the third to the eighth century. The complexities and controversies of the Christological and Trinitarian disputes also affected the development of eucharistic iconography. Symbols from the earliest Christian art were interwoven with later images, notably the throned or crucified Christ, and with developed and elaborated images, like the Agnus Dei, to provide an exegetical allusive exploration of the mysterious nature of the Church, the body of Christ, offering on the altar the salvific body of Christ.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Hamburger Jeffrey F. and Anne-Marie Bouché, eds., *The Mind's Eye. Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, 2006.
Herbert L. Kessler. *Spiritual Seeing. Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia 2000).
Jennifer O'Reilly. "Early Medieval Text and Image: The Wounded and Exalted Christ," in *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–8), pp. 72–118.
Matthews, Thomas F. *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art,* Princeton, 1993; 2nd rev. 2003.
Ó'Carrágain, Éamonn. *Ritual and the Rood. Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition*, London, 2005.
Saxon, Elizabeth. *The Eucharist in Romanesque France*, Woodbridge, UK, 2006.
Spier, Jeffrey. ed., *Picturing the Bible. The Earliest Christian Art*, New Haven, 2007.
Weitzmann, Kurt. *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York, 1977.

[170] *Ibid*., p. 261.

PART TWO

THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE AND LITURGY IN THE CAROLINGIAN ERA

Michael S. Driscoll

A symbiotic relationship exists between ecclesiastical architecture and the worship that takes place within its walls. In a sense architecture becomes the skin of the liturgy and a dialogue exists between the building and ritual. This is especially true of the Eucharist since it is the most important and most frequently enacted ritual within a church. The following essay attempts to demonstrate the relationship between architecture and liturgy in the Carolingian period. Although there is a paucity of churches that survive from this era, documentary evidence can aid in reconstructing what these churches looked like and how the liturgy, especially the Eucharist, took place within them. The placement of the altar in relationship to the gathered assembly as well as its elevation above the floor level contributes to the manner in which the Eucharist was celebrated and apprehended. Architectural elements that reveal or hide the action at the altar also contribute to the awesome rites. Finally attention must be paid to artistic elements, be they mosaic, bas-reliefs or statuary since they create the ambience in which the sacrifice of the Mass is enacted. The church building can feel intimate or have great majesty; it can draw the faithful close to the sacramental action or keep the assembly at a reverential distance. Although the Mass might be the same text prayed in varied ecclesiastical buildings, its enactment can speak in a wide variety of ways due to the structures in which the Eucharistic liturgy is celebrated.

Christmas Day 800 AD marked a watershed for the empire of the Romans. When Charlemagne was crowned in Rome it marked that imperial power was now re-emerging onto the world stage and signaled a new beginning after the long decline due to the barbarian invasions. But by 842 the newly acquired power had declined due to fratricide within the royal family. This chapter is dedicated to the reigns of Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious, a period that runs roughly from 770 until 840, and the scope is the liturgy created for the ecclesial architecture built or planned during this time. Royal patronage in cooperation with bishops and abbots is a major factor for the emergence of important churches and monasteries. Voices such as

Bishop Theodulph of Orléans and Abbot Angilbert of Saint-Riquier were important in the shaping of ecclesiastical structures. But this is also a time for renovation and reform, particularly in the monastic life. Thus, Benedict of Aniane played an important role in the renewal of monasticism that included physical monastic structures. This essay does not attempt to be exhaustive in the study of early medieval architecture.[1] Rather it will look at representative church buildings during the Carolingian era in relationship to the liturgies that were celebrated within these structures.

Theology in Stone

A number of scholars, including Richard Kieckhefer in his book *Theology in Stone*,[2] have explored theological meaning in church architecture. The difficulty, of course, is to know how to read a building theologically or to uncover what were the pressing theological issues of the day that had any effect on a building program. This chapter will attempt to uncover some of the theological questions in Carolingian architecture by looking at writings from the period of notable monarchs, bishops, abbots, and monastic reformers with a view to reconstruct the theology that is embedded in the design of selected church buildings. Direct quotes from writings of the time will be employed with commentary about them.[3] Some of the individuals who had influence on church building projects include Charlemagne, Theodulph of Orléans, Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, Benedict of Aniane and Louis

---

[1] See Günter Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*, trans. Kendall Wallis (New York, 2005); Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1979); *ibid*., "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture, "*The Art Bulletin* 24 (1942), 1–38. Especially noteworthy is Charles McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600–900* (New Haven, 2005). This award-winning book (Haskins Medal from the Medieval Academy of America, 2008) is rich in floor plans, illustrations and architectural descriptions.

[2] *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkeley* (Oxford, 2004), p. 16. Kieckhefer is heir to the scholarly legacy of art historians like R. Krautheimer, O. Pächt, and G. Bandmann, who pioneered in the 1940s–50s, and have many successors. As a theological historian, however, Kieckhefer maintains a sharp focus on theological meaning and liturgical uses of churches, consecrating the first four chapters of his book to establishing theological principles.

[3] I am particularly indebted to Caecilia Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art: 300–1150* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971) for her fine translations of Carolingian texts, unless otherwise noted.

the Pious. Of particular interest are writings from the Carolingian period that describe how the liturgy unfurled in these ecclesial spaces. Some of these churches still exist, some have been greatly modified or destroyed over time, and some only existed in the minds of the planners. Yet all were designed to be houses of prayer and help to measure the symbiotic relationship between architecture and liturgy.

Architecture of the Carolingian period was greatly indebted to the classical architecture of ancient Rome.[4] Although there was a synthesis with Germanic culture and Byzantine influences, Roman architectural forms dominated the period but without a great sense of monumentality. The churches of the Carolingian period were intended for relatively small numbers of people. This was not a time of great urban monuments as the classical period of the Roman Empire had been. Few cities approached a million inhabitants and they were mostly in the south and east. By contrast the cities within the geographical boundaries of the Carolingian empire (to the north and west of Europe) were small and the countryside was sparsely populated. Although the European continent had undergone the ravages of the barbarian invasions, the architectural solutions developed in late antiquity were still sufficient. If there was any interest in novel architecture at all, it came from within monastic circles. This was ostensibly due to the popularity of monastic life with the attendant problem of how to house so many monks under one roof.

Monasticism came to the Carolingian period already deeply imbued with Roman tradition. St. Benedict of Nursia (*c*. 480–543) applied Roman grandeur in his Rule that he compiled for his monastery at Montecassino about 529. One cannot overestimate the role played by monks in the Carolingian *renovatio*. Even before Charlemagne's time, during the reign of Pepin III, monks played a key part. When Gallican liturgy was prohibited and replaced by Roman liturgical practice in the Frankish kingdom, monks also were placed under the uniform Benedictine rule in 789 as a way to insure that the empire would be Roman in spirit. Charlemagne both contributed to and benefitted from the monastic reform inaugurated by Benedict of Aniane. Monks

[4] See Kenneth John Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800–1200* (The Pelican History of Art) (New York, 1979): the author chooses to speak of Carolingian architecture as Romanesque meaning imitating the architecture of Rome, but since this term refers specifically to the art historical period of the 11th and 12th centuries, one might refer to Carolingian architecture as simply Roman-like.

were essential in his school initiative and liturgical reform. Charlemagne's project was furthered by his son, Louis the Pious who built Cornelimünster for Benedict of Aniane to regularize monastic life in the Holy Roman Empire. Although monks were individually vowed to poverty, the monastic communities enjoyed great wealth with gifts of land and endowment. Monastic industry laid the foundations for economic recovery in northern Europe after the barbarian invasions. Central to the monastic life is the liturgy and prayer, therefore building adequate churches was of major concern. Given all these factors, it is not surprising that some of the most significant churches of the Carolingian period were attached to monasteries.

Charlemagne and Aachen

According to Einhard, Charlemagne's biographer, Charles, in addition to enlarging his kingdom and conquering foreign nations, was successful at many building projects within his realm. One of the most successful was the great church of the Holy Mother of God at Aachen, "which is a really remarkable construction."[5] He also built two palaces, one not far from Mainz near the town called Ingelheim, and the other at Nimeguen on the River Waal. "More important still was the fact that he commanded the bishops and churchmen in whose care they were to restore sacred edifices which had fallen into ruin through their very antiquity, wherever he discovered them throughout the whole of his kingdom; and he instructed his representatives to see that these orders were carried out."[6]

Aachen became the ritual center of the Holy Roman Empire with Charlemagne's church at the center (Fig. 20). But why Aachen? Again according to Einhard, Charlemagne "took delight in steam-baths at the thermal springs and loved to exercise himself in the water whenever he could. He was an extremely strong swimmer and in this sport no one could surpass him. It was for this reason that he built his palace at Aachen and remained continuously in residence there during the last years of his life and indeed until the moment of his death."[7] Swimming was surely not the only reason for Charlemagne to choose Aachen. It

[5] Einhard, *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer: Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (New York, 1969), p. 71.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Fig. 20 Palatine Chapel, Interior, Aachen Cathedral, Aachen, Germany (photo: Asa Mittman, *Peregrinations* Photo Bank).

was an old Roman site that contributed to its imperial association and it contained a stone quarry which would play an important role in his building projects. The baths left behind by the Romans would also play a symbolic role in establishing this place as the site of Christian cleansing and regeneration. But Aachen was central (*in media Francia*) for governing the new empire. It was accessible to the Meuse and Maastricht to the west and the Rhine and Cologne to the north-east. Although Aachen was situated on a minor Roman road, it was militarily crucial for Charlemagne's campaigns in Saxony and by the time of the emperor's death in 814 Aachen is described as a city thronged by litigants, visitors, beggars and prostitutes–telltale signs of an economic and political center.[8]

Turning our attention to the church that Charlemagne built, the earliest reference to it comes in a letter written to Charles by the Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin of York in 798. Alcuin having just retired from the court in Aachen as scholar-in-residence mentions his discussion with a lady at the court about the columns that have been erected in the most beautiful and wonderful building of the church. Sometimes called a chapel, it was in reality a parish church staffed by secular clergy and serving the neighborhood community in addition to the court. Therefore it was a public space and, since it was not monastic, it was open to women. Dedicated to the Mother of God the building measures 144 feet from end to end constructed in an octagonal shape, modeled after the Byzantine church of San Vitale in Ravenna or perhaps after Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Each section of the octagonal structure is 18 ft. making it 144 ft. in total. The height is 48 ft. to the top of the side walls with 12 ft. more to the point where the roof joins the central lantern, which is a further 48 ft. high. The 12 ft. matrix is derived from chapter 21 of the Book of Revelations, which describes the heavenly city. The octagon is strong enough to support a dome and the wide first-floor gallery, and large enough to accommodate almost as many people as the ground floor. The marble columns adorned with Corinthians capitals are *spolia* from classical antiquity. Looking upwards from the central space into the dome, one sees a

[8] See Christoph Keller, *Archäologische Forschungen in Aachen: Katalog der Fundstellen in der Innenstadt und in Burtscheid* (Mainz, 2004); Axel Hausmann, *Aachen im Mittelalter: königlicher Stuhl und kaiserliche Stadt* (Aachen, 1997); Josef Keppels, *Karl der Grosse, Heilkunde, Heilkräuter, Hospitalitas: eine medizingeschichtliche Betrachtung der Karolingerzeit in Aachen* (Aachen, 2005); Wolfgang Richter, *Kunststadt Aachen* (Photos, Hermann Weisweiler, English tran. Barry Jones) (Cologne, 1977).

Einhard: The Palace Church at Aachen

Charlemagne practiced the Christian religion with great devotion and piety, for he had been brought up in this faith since earliest childhood. This explains why he built a cathedral of such great beauty at Aachen, decorating it with gold and silver, with lamps, and with lattices and doors of sold bronze.[9] He was unable to find marble columns for his construction anywhere else, and so he had them brought from Rome and Ravenna.[10] As long as his health lasted he went to church morning and evening with great regularity, and also for early-morning Mass, and the late-night hours.[11] He took the greatest pains to ensure that all church ceremonies were performed with the utmost dignity, and he was always warning the sacristans to see that nothing sordid or dirty was brought into the building or left there. He donated so many sacred vessels made of gold and silver, and so many priestly vestments, that when service time came even those who opened and closed the doors, surely the humblest of all church dignitaries, had no need to perform their duties in their everyday clothes. He made careful reforms in the way in which the psalms were chanted[12] and the lessons read. He was himself quite an expert at both of these exercises, but he never read the lesson in public and he would sing only with the rest of congregation and then in a low voice.[13]

mosaic depicting the twenty-four elders of Revelations, each offering his crown before Him who sits on the throne.

The throne of Charlemagne, an image of hierarchy and community, situated in the west section of the first floor gallery is approached like that of Solomon by six steps (Fig. 21). In front of it, in the gallery is the original bronze railing. From the gallery of the emperor there is a

[9] These doors are still to be seen in the great church at Aachen.

[10] A letter from Pope Hadrian I authorized Charlemagne to move marbles and mosaics from the palace in Ravenna to help him with the construction in Aachen, *Codex Carolinus*, letter 67, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (hereafter *MGH*), *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. W. Gunlach (Berlin, 1892), 1: 614.

[11] In addition to morning Mass, Charlemagne attended morning, evening and late-night Hours.

[12] Care for liturgical matters, particularly the correct singing of the psalms, was undertaken from the mid-700s onward. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz (742–766), for example, went to Rome in 753 and according to Paul the Deacon, subsequently introduced the *cantilena romana* and the *Ordo romanae ecclesiae* at Metz. See Paul the Deacon, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, ed. Georgio Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores* (Hannover, 1852), 10:540. Remedius, another fervent admirer of the Roman liturgy, also went to Rome in 760 to examine the liturgy and brought back Simeon, the *secondus* of the papal *schola cantorum* to Rouen to instruct his clergy in Roman chant. See *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. W. Gunlach, *MGH, Scriptores* (Berlin, 1892), 1:553–554.

[13] Einhard, *Two Lives*, pp. 79–80.

Fig. 21 *Throne of Charlemagne*, located in the Palatine Chapel gallery, Aachen Cathedral, Aachen, Germany (photo: Asa Mittman, *Peregrinations* Photo Bank).

little gate that opens to give a view directly across to the altar of the Savior in the gallery's east side, and to the altar of the Virgin on the ground floor. Thus the monarch, invisible to the congregation below, had direct proximity to God. It was here at the altar of the Savior, after an assembly in the atrium, that Charles in 813 crowned his son and heir, Louis the Pious, as his successor. Just beneath the entrance, under the church's west door, Charles was buried on the day of this death, January 28, 814. The Roman marble sarcophagus in which his body was placed is preserved today in the treasury of the church, having been returned by Napoleon in 1815 after being taken to Paris by French revolutionaries in 1794. Even after Aachen had lost its political

importance it remained the ritual center of the empire tracing its origins to Charlemagne. In the treasury is found a bust reliquary of Charlemagne, the cathedral's most illustrious occupant and builder.

Charlemagne began the construction of the palace at Ingelheim in 787. The poet Ermoldus describes it as he saw it in 825–26. Little is known about the palace during the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, but evidence points to the absence of a palace church. Thus, Ermoldus description seems to indicate a parish church in the vicinity, perhaps that of St. Remigius, which was large enough to serve the imperial court. It was probably in this church where the regional synods took place as late as 948. The church is decorated with scenes of the both the Old and New Testaments, that are arranged opposite one another on facing walls. We know from Mass commentaries and allegorical interpretations of the liturgy dating from the Carolingian period that the Old Testament was mined liturgically for typologies as ways to interpret the meaning of the liturgical offices.[14]

Ermoldus Nigellus: The Church at Ingelheim

This place [Ingelheim] lies on the fast-flowing Rhine
Where rich fields and orchards abound.
Here stands the large palace, with a hundred columns,
With many different entrances, a multitude of quarters,
Thousands of gates and entrances, innumerable chambers
Built by the skill of masters and craftsmen.
Temples dedicated to the Lord rise there, joined with metal,
With brazen gates and golden doors.
There God's great deeds and man's illustrious generations
Can be reread in splendid paintings.
The left recalls how in the beginning,
Placed there, as I believe, by the Lord, men inhabit you, O paradise![15]
And how the perfidious snake tempts Eve of the innocent heart,[16]
How she tempts Adam, how he touches the fruit,[17]
How, when the Lord comes by they cover themselves with fig leaves,[18]

[14] See. J.M. Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcope opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1948–1950), #138–140.
[15] Gen. 2.
[16] Gen. 3:4–5.
[17] Gen. 3:6–7.
[18] Gen. 3:8.

How, because of their sin, they then labored on the soil.[19]
Out of envy over the first offering a brother murdered a brother[20]
Not with a sword but with his own wretched hands.
After that the paintings traces innumerable events,
According to the order and manner of the Old Testament account:
How deservedly the flood came over the whole world,[21]
How it rose higher and finally swept away all living creatures,
How the Lord in this mercy saved a few in the Ark,
Also what the raven did, and your deed, O dove![22]
Thereupon the history of Abraham and his progeny are depicted,[23]
And the deeds of Joseph and his brothers and of the Pharaoh.[24]
How Moses frees the people from Egyptian servitude,[25]
How Egypt perishes and Israel wanders[26]
And the Law, given by the Lord, written on twin tablets,[27]
Water from rock,[28] quail falling down for nourishment,[29]
And the long promised foreign land which was given
As soon as Joshua appeared, a leader for his people.[30]
And then the large crowd of prophets and kings
Is depicted, whose equally famous deeds shine brightly,
And the works of David[31] and the deeds of powerful Solomon,[32]
The temples built by divine effort,
Then the captains of the people, who and how many,
And the most exalted priests and princes.
The other side commemorates the earthly deeds of Christ
Which he offered after his Father sent him down to earth,
And how first the angel descends to tell Mary,
And how Mary answers, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord,"[33]

---

[19] Gen. 3:17–19.
[20] Gen. 4:8.
[21] Gen. 7.
[22] Noah released a raven and a dove from the Ark. The raven never returned, whereas the dove did, carrying an olive branch, thus symbolizing the end of the flood and God's peace. Gen. 8:6–11.
[23] Gen. 11–25.
[24] Gen. 27–50.
[25] Exod. 3–13.
[26] Exod. 14–18.
[27] Exod. 19–31.
[28] Exod. 15.
[29] Exod. 16.
[30] Joshua.
[31] I Kings 16; III Kings 2.
[32] III Kings 3–11.
[33] Luke 1:26–37.

How Christ is born, announced long before by holy Prophets,[34]
How the Lord is bundled in diapers,[35]
How the shepherds receive the divine commands of the Thunderer,[36]
And then how the Magi were worthy to behold God,[37]
How Herod rages, fearing Christ might succeed him,
And has killed the children who he thought deserved death,[38]
How Joseph fled into Egypt and brought the child back,[39]
How the child grew and obeyed his parents,[40]
How he, who came to save all those long condemned with his own blood,
Desired to be baptized,[41]
How Christ fasted like a man,[42]
How he confounded the Tempter with his wisdom,[43]
How he then through the world taught of his Father's gentle yoke,
And mercifully gave back to the sick their former occupations,
How he even restored dead corpses to life,[44]
And how he disarmed demons and drove them far away,
How, betrayed by one of his disciples and by the wild and savage people
God himself chose to die like a man,[45]
How, rising, he appeared to his disciples,[46]
And how he, for all to see, rose to the heavens and reigns over the world.[47]
These are the things with which the art of painting and the artist's subtle hand have filled the Church.
The royal palace as well gleams with painting and sculpture,
And celebrates the great and spirited deeds of man.…[48]

---

[34] Luke 1:38.
[35] Luke 2:7.
[36] Luke 2:8–18.
[37] Matt. 2:10–11.
[38] Matt. 2:16–18.
[39] Matt. 2:13–14, 18–20.
[40] Luke 3:51–52.
[41] Matt. 3; Luke 3:20–22; Mark 1:9–11; John 1:29–34.
[42] Matt. 4:1–2; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–2.
[43] Matt. 4:3–11; Mark 1:13; Luke 4:3–13.
[44] There are many accounts of Jesus' miracles where Jesus heals the sick and drives out evil spirits. But there are only three cases where he raises the dead to life: Lazarus (John 11:1–44), Jairus' daughter (Matt. 9:18–26; Mark 5:22–26; Luke 8:49–56), and the widow's son (Luke 7:11–16).
[45] Matt. 27; Mark 15; Luke 23; John 19.
[46] Matt. 28; Mark 16:1–18; Luke 24:1–50; John 22–23.
[47] Mark 16:18–20; Luke 24:50; Acts 1.
[48] Ermoldus Nigellus, *In Honorem Hludowici Imperatoris*, 4.181–283, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* (Berlin, 1884), pp. 63–66.

Theodulph and Germigny-des-Prés

Theodulph, the bishop of Orléans, was a writer skilled in poetic forms and a learned theologian. We do not know in which city in Spain he was born, only that it was in about 760 and that he was of Visigothic descent. Possibly he was a part of the *Hispani* who took refuge in Septimania to escape the Moorish invasions. Around 794 he became a member of the court of Charlemagne, where next to Alcuin he was the most distinguished and learned person. Around 798 Charlemagne granted him the bishopric of Orléans and several abbeys. He was successful in his diocese as a reformer both of the clergy and people, as is demonstrated by his two Capitularies and the establishment of schools. In 798 he was sent, with Bishop Leidrad of Lyons, as a royal messenger (*missus dominicus*) to the southern part of France. In his poem, *Versus contra judices* he complains of the severity of Frankish law and addresses earnest warnings to the judges. He gives an account of his experiences while on this mission. As a theologian he took part in the dispute over the term *Filioque* (the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father) and defended this doctrine at the request of Charlemagne in the treatise *De spiritu sancto*. He also wrote at the wish of the emperor *De ordine baptismi*, a description of the ceremonies at baptism. He is most probably the author of an exposition of the Holy Mass and of the Creed and he occupied the first place among the poets of the Carolingian period distinguishing himself by spirit and skill. Particularly interesting are the letters which he wrote in the form of poems giving an animated picture of life at court. He also composed texts for liturgical use—his hymn *Gloria, laus et honor*[49] for Palm Sunday being the most famous composition still used today. He is also known as a patron and lover of art. He was still in favor at the beginning of the reign of Louis the Pious, but later, being accused of sharing in the conspiracy of King Bernard of Italy, was consequently deposed in 818 and exiled to Angers.[50] Theodulph was himself a scholar, well read both in secular and religious literature. He had also a taste for architecture, and restored many convents and churches and built the splendid church at Germigny-des-Prés, which was modeled after that at Aix-la-Chapelle in Aachen.

---

[49] *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Clemens Blume and Guido Maria Dreves, 55 vols. (1886–1922; repr. New York, 1961), 50:160 sq.

[50] See the works of Theodulph collected in *PL* 105:187–380.

In 787 the Empress Irene convened the Second Council of Nicaea which put an end to the iconoclast crisis. Once again images (icons) could be used as objects of veneration. The Acts of the Nicaea II were then transmitted to Pope Hadrian, who had them translated and sent to Charlemagne. However, the translation was fraught with errors. Thus Charlemagne believed that the Byzantines adored images rather than simply venerated them. He decided to respond in his *Capitulare de imaginibus*, otherwise known as the *Libri Carolini*. For a long time, Alcuin was thought to be the author of this work, but now scholars believe that Theodulph wrote the *Libri Carolini* between 791 and 794 at Charlemagne's request. This judgment is based upon textual parallels with Theodulph's other writings and Visigothic liturgical texts.[51] The philosophical underpinnings in this *capitulare* are Augustinian, sharply juxtaposing truth and fiction while emphasizing the abyss between God's works and those of humans. The *Libri Carolini* attacks images as tools for religious instruction, because visual arts are not adequate to convey a truth transmitted in language. Thus, this document attacked the council for approving of images as the handmaids of orthodoxy and criticized artists who can just as easily depict pagan themes as much as Christian ones with equal skill.

The Caroline Books: A Frankish Attach on Iconodules

Truth preserving always pure and undefiled is one. Images, however, by the will of the artist seem to do many things, while they do nothing. For, since they seem to be men when they are not, to fight when they do not fight, to speak with they do not speak, to hear when they do not hear, to see when they do not see, to beckon when they do not beckon, to touch when they do not touch and other things like this, it is clear that they are artist's fictions and not that truth of which it is said: "And the truth will make you free." That they are images without sense and reason is true; that they are men, however, is false. And if someone affirms that images according to a logical trick can be called men, as, for example, "Augustine was a very great philosopher," and, "Augustine ought to be read," and "a painted Augustine stands in the church,' And "Augustine is buried there," let him realize, that although all these things come from one source, that is from Augustine, he alone is the true Augustine who is called "a very great philosopher." Of the others, however, one is a book, one is an image, one

[51] See Ann Freeman, "Theodulph of Orleans and the *Libri Carolini*," *Speculum* 32 (1957), 663–705; *idem*, "Further Studies in the *Libri Carolini*," *Speculum* 40 (1965), 203–89.

is a buried corpse. The principal difference between a true and a painted man is that one is true and the other is false, and they have nothing in common except the name. For since he is true of whom it can be said that he is an animal, rational, mortal, capable of laughter and pain, then one must necessarily consider him false who has none of these attributes, and if he who lacks all these things is not false then neither is he who possesses all of them true…

And when somebody says: "Images are not contrary to Holy Scripture," while many things are being painted by painters about which Scripture says nothing and which can be shown to be completely false not only by learned by also by unlearned men, must one not grant, that what he says is not only extremely ridiculous but downright false? Does he not know that it is contrary to Scripture to fashion the sea as a man pouring forth a large stream of water? And is it not certainly contrary to Scripture if the earth is depicted in human form, either as arid and sterile or as overflowing with fruits? And is it not obvious that it is contrary to Scripture if one depicts rivers and streams and their confluence as men pouring water out of urns? And if the sun and the moon and the other adornments of the sky are depicted in human form, their heads crowned with rays, does not all of this run quite contrary to Holy Scripture? And if one credits each of the twelve winds with a different shape according to its strength or gives a different appearance to each of the months according to the time of the year, so that some appear naked, other half naked, others clad in various garments, or if one depicts the four seasons as four different figures—either verdant with flowers as spring, or scorched by the heat and loaded with grain as summer, or bent under the load of wine vats and grapes as autumn, or now freezing in the cold, now warming himself at a fire, or feeding animals or catching birds, which are exhausted by the cold, as winter—does one not recognize that these things are contrary to Scripture, which does not contain any of them?

How is it, then, that Scripture is not contradicted by painters, who frequently follow the vain fables of the poets? They fashion sometimes events which have actually happened, but also incredible inanities on other occasions. What neither has happened nor can ever happen they depict: what is understood mystically by the philosophers, venerated superstitiously by the pagans, and rejected rightfully by the Catholics. And although all these things are contained in pagan literature they are nevertheless utterly alien to Scripture.…

And what does it mean when one says: "Painters do not contradict Scripture," if not that they cannot paint anything that would seem opposed to Holy Scripture? In Holy Scripture, however, nothing vicious, nothing unsuitable, nothing impure, and nothing false can be found, except where Scripture records what the wicked said and did. But in painting, much that is false, wicked, foolish and unsuitable can be found, and to pass over particular examples, almost everything either possible or impossible has been depicted by learned painters. By establishing these facts we have exposed the babbling of John the priest and Eastern legate on this subject, as on

> others. Let the prudent readers take note of how false and inane is this declaration of the same priest: "Whatever Scripture treats, painters can represent." For how can all the commands of Divine Law, given by God through Moses, like that, "Hear O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God," and other things of this sort, in which there is nothing that can be painted, be represented by painters? For is painting in its vanity able to represent all the words of the prophets in which doctrines, exhortations, arguments, considerations, warnings or other like things are contained? In them one often finds, "Thus says the Lord," or "God commanded," or things similar to these which may be expressed by writers rather than painters. For which single word of the Lord and the apostles can be represented by painters? Painters therefore have a certain ability to remind one of things that have happened. Such things, however, as are understood by reason and expressed in words can be expressed not by painters but by writers through verbal discourse.[52]

As one of Charlemagne's most trusted counselors and a major figure in the Carolingian royal court, it was not surprising that Theodulph was appointed Bishop of Orléans as well as abbot of the nearby Abbey of Fleury (the present day Abbey of St-Benoit-sur-Loire). Theodulph set up a country residence in Germigny-des-Prés, which is close to both, on the site of a Roman villa. Not long after journeying to Rome for Charlemagne's coronation as emperor, Theodulph commissioned a private chapel for his Germigny-des-Prés residence. The architect may have been Odon from Armenia, but this is not certain. The chapel was completed in 805 and dedicated on January 3, 806 (the precise date comes from an inscription). The chapel was dedicated to "God, the Creator and Savior of All." Theodulph carried out his many duties from his quiet base in Germigny-des-Prés from 806 to 816, which included developing educational programs, maintaining and expanding the library at Fleury (which was the largest in Europe at the time), training clergy, and administering justice.[53]

Charlemagne died in 814 and Theodulph was at first accepted by Louis the Pious, but in 816 he was accused of treason and imprisoned in an Angers monastery until his death in 821. The villa of Theodulph continued to be used for royal business, hosting King Charles the Bald at least once. A regional synod was held in the church in 843. The church survived the 9th century mostly intact, despite two

---

[52] *Caroli Magni Capitulare de Imaginibus*, 1. 2; 3.13, ed. H. Bastgen, *MGH, Legum Sectio III, Concilia*, 2. Supplement (Hannover, 1924) pp. 13, 151–53.

[53] See Ann Freeman, *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne's Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Burlington, VT: Variorum, 2003).

Norman invasions (856 and 865) and at least one fire (854). The oratory became a parish church around 1065, at which time the western wall and apse were removed to make way for a traditional Latin nave. That Romanesque nave was in turn replaced by the present larger one in the 15th or 16th century.

The oratory of Germigny-des-Prés is important and interesting not only as a rare Carolingian survivor in France, but also for its unique architectural influences (Fig. 22). The chapel's style is unique among Carolingian architecture in several ways, mainly because it is not inspired as much by old Roman buildings (as in most other Carolingian architecture) as by contemporary Visigothic, Moorish, Byzantine and even Armenian work. Oriental influences can most obviously be seen in the horseshoe shape of the arches and the magnificent mosaic in the apse, but the ground plan is also from the East—particularly Armenia.

The original oratory was built on a Greek-cross plan enclosed within a square, which measured 32 feet on each side.[54] Each arm of the cross is completed with an apse (three survive today) and two smaller apses (now destroyed) flanked the one at the east end. A fine view of the east side of the building can be had from a small garden at the back of the church. Above the door under the side porch there is an original transcription, which translates: "I, Theodulph, have dedicated this temple to the glory of God. All you who come to this place, remember me."

The interior is not immediately impressive from the western entrance, as the actual nave dates from only a few centuries ago. But after walking forward towards the crossing, the original Carolingian architecture becomes apparent. The weight of the square oratory is supported on the outer walls and four pillars in the center, on which rests a lantern tower with high windows. On the northeast pillar is an original inscription, which reads: "This church was dedicated on the third of January." The inscription continues on the opposite southeast pillar ("in the year of the incarnation 806, under the invocation of saints Genevieve and Germain") but this part is thought to be a 19th-century copy. The interior was richly decorated with frescoes and stucco reliefs, culminating in a magnificent apse mosaic in the east end (Fig. 23). This beautiful and unique composition has no parallel

[54] For a more detailed architectural description and photos, see Xavier Hardy, *Saint-Benoît sur-Loire et Germigny-des-Prés*. Photos by G. Franceschi (Paris: Editions Alpina, 1961).

Fig. 22 Oratory, Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret, Orléanais), Carolingian, c. 800, France (photo: S. Blick, *Peregrinations* Photo Bank).

Fig. 23 Apse mosaic of the Ark of the Covenant, c. 806, from the oratory at Germigny-des-Prés built by Bishop Theodulf of Orléans (photo: William J. Smithers, *Peregrinations* Photo Bank).

in France and was almost certainly done by an artist from the East; probably he had fled west to escape the iconoclasts of that period. The mosaic is made of glass cubes and colored stone, primarily in the colors of gold, black and blue. Its composition is highly symmetrical and quite beautiful. The style shows similarities with mosaics in Greece, Jordan and the 5th-century Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (which, notably, Theodulph had visited just a few years earlier).

The subject of the mosaic is unique, centering on the Ark of the Covenant. At the top center is a small area of starry sky, from which the hand of God descends but God is not visible. Two large angels flank the scene. Their flowing robes waving in the wind, they enclose the starry sky with their joined wings and look down at the Ark. Two smaller cherubim stand lightly atop the Ark, also looking and reaching down to it. The Ark of the Covenant is shown as a gold box with side rails for carrying. Along the bottom of the mosaic is a Latin text, which reads:

> ORACLUM SCM ET CERUBIN HIC ASPICE SPECTANS ET TESTAMENTI
> EN MICAT ARCA DEI
> HAEC CERNENS PRECIBUSQUE STUDENS PULSARE TONANTEM
> THEODULPHUM VOTIS IUNGITO QUAESO TUIS[55]

It is rather surprising to find any images whatsoever in this oratory, particularly if Theodulph had authored the capitulary against images for Charlemagne. But the soberness and simplicity of the apse mosaic depicting the arc of the covenant with no human images, save the angels that surround it, may indicate an influence of the *Libri Carolini*. The decorative program is austere, even severe. The image of the Ark of the Covenant appearing directly over the altar could have dogmatic and symbolic meaning, indicating the centrality of Word over Image, a typical concern for Theodulph. This chapel stands in sharp contrast to the sumptuously decorated church at Ingelheim described by Ermoldus Nigellus (see above). But the stronger influence of the capitulary may be the centrally-planned church, which seems to have been borrowed from the East where the iconoclastic controversy occurred.

---

[55] "See and contemplate the holy oracle with its cherubim and the resplendent ark of the divine testament. Before this spectacle, strive to touch the Master of Thunder with your prayers; and, I pray of you, remember Theodulph in your prayers," translation by David Hanser, *Architecture of France* (Westport, CT, 2006).

Angilbert and St. Riquier

Once an important center in Charlemagne's empire, the abbey of Centula[56] (founded in the 7th century) became the property of his son-in-law, Angilbert, the poet and 'Homer of the Palatine.' As a member of Charlemagne's court, Angilbert served on several occasions as the Emperor's envoy (*missus dominicus*). When he rebuilt the monastery, which had been founded in the first half of the seventh century by St. Richarius, he acted most probably as Charlemagne's agent. He succeeded in turning it into one of the largest and most imposing monasteries of the medieval period (Fig. 24). Covering a triangular area several times the size of Cluny during its apogee in the twelfth century, it was from the beginning intended to house three hundred monks and one hundred pupils in the attached monastic school. Its landmarks were three churches connected by the houses for the monks. Nothing remains of the abbey from that period. Instead, the chief interest is the amazing church dedicated to the Virgin. The original seventh-century monastery of Centula contained only one church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Angilbert replaced this with a large main basilica dedicated to Saint Richarius and the Holy Savior, a second smaller twelve-sided church dedicated to Holy Mary Mother of God and the Apostles, and a third smaller chapel dedicated to Saint Benedict and the Holy Regular Abbots. The large main church had a double function. Its eastern part rose over the grave of St. Richarius; its western part sheltered the altar of the Savior, the main altar of the church, standing in an upper story of the western ante-church[57] whose ground floor served as an entrance to the nave which led to the grave of St. Richarius. The tower-like shape of the ante-church was echoed by an eastern tower placed over the grave of the saint. Both towers were flanked by smaller round towers, which gave access to galleries. Arcades connected the churches and served as arched and covered walkways. These arcades gave the entire complex the shape of a triangle, with the basilica of the Holy

[56] See Susan A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995), especially pp. 111–37.

[57] German architectural historians were among the first to study this architectural feature which they called the *Westwerke*. See A. Fuchs, *Die karolingischen Westwerke und andere Fragen der karolingischen Baukunst* (Paderborn, 1929); subsequently Carol Heitz, the Hungarian architectural historian who taught for many years in Paris, picked up on this feature which he explored as "église-porche" in his monograph *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1963).

Fig. 24 Abbey Church of Saint-Riquier, monastery of Centula, France, dedicated ca. 790; 1612 engraving by Paul Petau for *De Nithardo*, from an 11th-century manuscript illumination (photo: Bibliotheque nationale de France, Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library International).

Savior and Saint Richarius at the north or the apex, the Mary chapel at the bottom southwest corner, and the chapel of Saint Benedict at the southeast corner. Centula's monastic influence was not very widespread, but architecturally it set the standard for later medieval church construction. It survived without major changes into the eleventh century, when Hariulf, the chronicler of Centula, saw and described it. Hariuf describes the three churches and their basic orientation. But the cloister in his drawing was small, dense, irregularly shaped, and four-sided.

For these reasons, his description must be questioned. The excavations carried out between 1965 and the late 1980s by Honoré Bernard[58] have revealed the actual relationship of the churches and the size of the cloister. St. Riquier resembles strongly the Palatine Chapel at Aachen both in plan and building materials. According to Honoré Bernard, the excavations reveal that the nave of the abbey church of St. Riquier was enclosed between two octagons identical to the one in the Palatine Chapel. With Hariuf's description and Bernard's research we are able to better situate how the liturgies unfurled at St. Riquier.

Hariulf: An Eleventh-Century Description

With great preparations, extraordinary industry, and superb lavishness, the construction of the monastery was begun and the building of the church dedicated to the Savior and St. Richarius was completed.[59] It was among all other churches of its time the most famous. It has behind the screen toward the east a very high tower and behind the vestry toward the west another tower equal to the first. The eastern tower is close to the sepulcher of St. Richarius. The latter is arranged in such a way that the saint's altar stand above his feet and the altar of St. Peter by his head. The eastern tower with the chancel and the area around the sepulcher (*buticum*) is dedicated to St. Richarius. The western tower is especially dedicated to the Savior.... In the pavement of the choir one sees even today marble-work so beautiful and unusual that whoever looks at it affirms the work to be incomparable....

[58] See Honoré Bernard, "Les fouilles de l'église de Notre Dame à Saint-Riquier," *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* n.s. 1–2 (1965–1966) 25–47; *ibid.* "Saint-Riquier: les fouilles de la Tour du Sauveur," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1988) 66–71; *ibid.*, "Saint-Riquier: une restitution nouvelle de la basilique d'Angilbert," *Revue du Nord* 71(1989) 307–361.

[59] The church of St. Richarius was dedicated in 799.

> Since the old church built by St. Richarius had been dedicated to the Virgin, the venerable man Angilbert built her another one, so that the Mother of God should not appear to be less honored. This church stands to the present day, located on the near side of the river. He also built one church for St. Benedict, the abbot, which he placed on the far side of the same river. If one surveys the place, one sees that the largest church, that of St. Richarius, lies to the north. The second, somewhat smaller one, which has been built in honor of our Lady on this side of the river, lies to the south. The third one, the smallest, lies to the east. The cloisters of the monks are laid out in a triangular fashion, one roof extending from St. Richarius' to St. Mary's, one from St. Mary's to St. Bendict's and one from St. Benedict's to St. Richarius'. This is the reason that while the buildings are joined, the middle ground under the open sky is of a triangular shape. The monastery is so arranged that, according to the rule laid down by St. Benedict, all arts and all necessary labors can be executed within its walls. The river flows through it, and turns the mill of the brothers.[60]

The most important of the churches was the basilica style church of the Holy Saviour and Saint Richarius (Fig. 25). The western end (*Westwerke*) of the basilica consisted of an atrium, a porch with three doors, and the polygonal tower, which was very similar in structure to the Mary church. People entered through the atrium, which Angilbert called *paradisus*, which had three portals. Each of these portals contained a chapel with an altar dedicated to one of the three Archangels. That of the Archangel Michael was directly opposite the front of the church itself.

Centula may have had around-the-clock prayer (*laus perennis*) like other monasteries founded by Merovingian kings, thus its three hundred monks spent most of their waking hours in common prayer and processions. For these offices Angilbert established a minute and elaborate schedule, whose complexity matched that of the architectural setting in which they were to be enacted.

[60] Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de SaintRiquier*, 3.3, ed. Ferdinand Lot, *Collection des textes pour server à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire* (Paris, 1894) pp. 54–56.

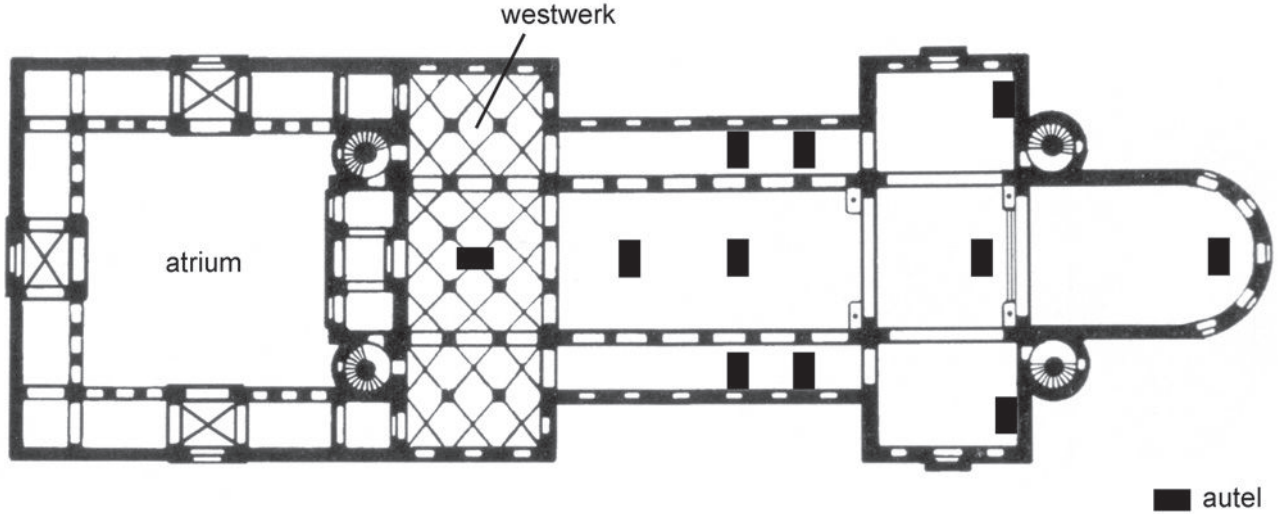


Fig. 25 Plan of the abbey church of Saint-Riquier, ca. 880. Former Benedictine Abbey near Abbeville, France (photo: public domain).

Angilbert: Liturgical Instructions

On the sequence in which the altars are to visited: When the brethren have sung Vespers and Matins[61] at the altar of the Savior,[62] then one choir should descend on the side of the holy Resurrection, the other one on the side of the holy Ascension,[63] and having prayed there the processions should in the same fashion as before move singing towards the altars of St. John and St. Martin.[64] After having prayed they should enter from both sides through the arches in the middle of the church and pray at the holy Passion.[65] From there they should go to the altar of St. Richarius.[66] After praying they should divide themselves again as before and go to the altars of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence[67] and from there go singing and praying to the altar of the Holy Cross.[68] Thence they should go again to the altar of St. Maurice and through the long gallery to the church of St. Benedict,[69] as has already been described above.[70]

On special feast days the liturgies took place in locations associated specifically to the day. Most important were the liturgies of Holy Week that took place in the church of the Holy Savior and St. Richarius. On Palm Sunday the vigil offices were sung as usual in the basilica church but the monks sang the office of Terce at the Mary chapel where palms and branches were distributed. The monks would then greet the local people outside the monastery and escort them through

[61] The evening and morning offices of the monks.

[62] The altar of the Savior stood in the upper story of the western ante-church and the monks had to go downstairs to reach the nave.

[63] In both the southern and northern parts of the church there are stucco reliefs representing the resurrection and ascension of Christ alternately.

[64] The two processions now move eastward on both sides of the church to the altars of St. John and St. Martin.

[65] A stucco relief representing the Passion of Christ situated near the center of the church.

[66] The processions have now joined and move together to the east to pray at the altar by the grave of St. Richarius.

[67] There are two altars in the northern and southern portions of the church.

[68] The altar of the Holy Cross probably stood in the center of the nave.

[69] The joined processions leave the church through an entrance on the south side, and then move through a passage which had been built along the monastic building situated between the churches until they reach the church of St. Benedict, which marked the easternmost point of the triangular claustral area of Centula.

[70] *Rapport d'Angilbert sur la restoration de Saint Riquier et les offices qu'il y a institué*, 20.18 (*De circuitu orationum*), Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint Riquier, Collections de textes pour server à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*, ed. Ferdinand Lot, (Paris, 1894), pp. 305–6.

the portal of St. Michael. Then they would stop at the Nativity station praying there before entering the central portal and climbing the south tower to the basilica of the Holy Savior where Mass was sung. On Good Friday the monks and boys were divided into four choirs in the basilica for the celebration of the *orationes solemnes* and the *adoratio crucis*. One choir stood before the altar of the Holy Cross, a second of boys stood in the east at the throne of St. Richarius, of a third there is no record, and the fourth stood at the altar of the Holy Savior. The adoration of the cross involved three crosses: one at the altar of the Holy Cross for the monks, the second before the altar of St. Quintin for the local people (*populus vulgaris*), and the third before the altar of St. Maurice for the school boys. The Holy Saturday liturgy was restricted to the monks and school boys and it took place entirely in the basilica church. Following Vespers, the choirs sang the litany of the saints and prayers *ad fontes* (baptismal font). On Easter morning the monks celebrated a special procession, Mass and office. The townspeople attended Mass and participated in communion. Within the basilica of the Holy Saviour and St. Richarius Mass could take place at different places on specific occasions. For example, on Palm Sunday Mass was celebrated at the western transept in the Church of the Holy Savior. On Good Friday the *adoratio crucis* took place in the center of the nave between the two reliefs of the Resurrection and the Ascension in front of the Passion relief. On other major feasts, like Christmas and Easter, Mass was celebrated at the high altar at the east end.

The Church dedicated to Mary was the liturgical setting for feasts associated with the Theotokos. The monks would sing their office there on all Marian feasts, such as the Annunciation, the Assumption, the Nativity of the Virgin, and the Purification of Mary. On Holy Thursday all the offices were sung there but most important was the celebration of the Mass and the Offices on the feast of Pentecost which was the only day that the Eucharist was celebrated there. This church was reserved for use on Holy Thursday and Pentecost because the Scriptures mention that these two events took place in the Upper Room. Thus there was an association of this church with the Upper Room.

In 831 a general inventory of the treasury of Centula was compiled, consisting of objects of gold, silver, and other precious materials. This list gives an impression of the splendor with which the monastery, especially the main church, was endowed. One is struck by the large

number of liturgical objects, including eight thuribles,[71] and a liturgical fan (*flabellum*).[72] The liturgical use for most of the objects is readily explainable, except the four silver knives.

The Treasury of Centula

The principle churches are three in number.[73] The main church is dedicated to the Savior and to St. Richarius, the second to the Virgin, the third to St. Benedict. In the main church are three altars,[74] the altar to the Savior, the altar of St. Richarius, the altar of the Virgin. They are made of marble, gold, silver, gems and various kinds of stones. Over the three altars stand three canopies of gold and silver, and from them hang three crowns, one for each, made of gold and costly stones with little golden crosses and other ornaments. In the same church are three lecterns, made of marble, silver and gold. Thirty reliquaries, made of gold, silver and ivory, five large crosses and eight smaller ones, twenty-one altar knobs which belong to standards made of silver and gold. Fifteen large candlesticks of metal with gold and silverwork, seven smaller ones. Seven circular chandeliers of silver, seven of gilded copper, six silver lamps, six lamps of gilded copper. Thirteen hanging vessels of silver, two shell shaped pendants of silver, three large ones of bronze and three small ones. Eight censers of gilded silver and one of copper. A silver fan. Sidings around the head end of the shrine of St. Richarius, and two small doors made of

[71] A censer or thurible is a metal vessel suspended from chains, in which incense is burned during worship services. The altar server who carries the thurible is called the thurifer. The word *thurible* comes from the Old French *thurible*, which in turn is derived from the Latin term *thuribulum*. The Latin word *thuribulum* has the root *thur*, meaning incense. The Latin *thur* is an alteration of the Greek word *thuos*, which is derived from the term *thuein*, meaning to sacrifice.

[72] A *flabellum* (pl. *flabella*), in Catholic liturgical use, is a fan made of metal, leather, silk, parchment or feathers, intended to keep away insects from the consecrated Body and Blood of Christ and from the priest, as well as to show honor. *Flabella* were in use in both pagan rituals and in the Christian Church from very early days. *The Apostolic Constitutions*, a work of the fourth century, state (VIII, 12): "Let two of the deacons, on each side of the altar, hold a fan, made up of thin membranes, or of the feathers of the peacock, or of fine cloth, and let them silently drive away the small animals that fly about, that they may not come near to the cups." Flabella were originally used in the West as well as the East, but their use was discontinued in the Latin Church about the fourteenth century.

[73] The ancient study of numerology entered Christian symbolism in the form of sacred numbers associated with Scripture and liturgy: 3, 7, 10, 12, and 40. In this description there is much ado made about three churches. Elsewhere in the description of St. Gall, the number 40 is omnipresent.

[74] Of the fourteen altars of the main church which were consecrated in 799, the inventory mentions only those three ornamented with precious metals.

silver, gold and precious stones, six small doors made of gold and silver around the foot of his shrine, and six others which are similar. Before the altar of the Saint stand six large copper columns with gold and silver work, carrying a beam also made of copper with gold and silver work. There are three other smaller beams around the altar, made of copper with gold and silver work. They carry seventeen arches made of gold and silver work. Underneath these arches stand seven bronze images of beasts, birds and men.... One gospel book, written in gold and its silver box set with jewels and gems.[75] Two other boxes for gospel books, of silver and gold, and a folding chair made of silver, belonging to them.[76] Four golden chalices, two large silver chalices and thirteen small ones. Two golden patens, four large silver patens and thirteen smaller ones, one brazen paten, four golden offertory vessels or chalices, sixty silver ones, and large one of ivory with gold and silver work. One large silver bowl, four small silver bowls, one brass bowl, four knives of silver, two silver pitchers with hand bowls. One silver drinking vessel. One silver bucket, two of copper and metal, one with silver work. One silver can, one lead can. One ivory tablet set in gold and silver, two large ivory tablets, two small ones, one cypress tablet with silver work. Two silver keys, one brazen and gilded. One golden staff, fitted with silver and crystal. One crook of crystal.[77]

Benedict and Aniane

Benedict of Aniane, named after Benedict of Nursia, the sixth-century founder of western monasticism, was born about 745–750. Benedict, originally known as Witiza, son of the Goth, Aigulf, Count of Maguelone in Southern France, was educated at the Frankish court of Pepin, and entered service to the emperor. He took part in the Italian campaign of Charlemagne (773), after which he left his imperial leader to enter religious life, and was received into the monastery of St. Sequanus (Saint-Seine near Dijon). He gave himself most zealously to practices of asceticism, and learned to value the Rule of St. Benedict as the best foundation for the monastic life, demonstrating the universality of the Rule. Benedict of Aniane most probably compiled the Supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary, formerly was attributed

[75] This is probably the famous gospel book that Angilbert gave to Centula. It is now in the city library of Abbeville.

[76] The folding chair was probably used to exhibit the gospel during certain ceremonies.

[77] Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, 3.3, ed. Lot, *Collection des texts*, pp. 86–88.

to Alcuin of York.[78] Returning home in 779, he established on his own land near the little river of Aniane a new monastic settlement, which soon developed into a great monastery, under the name of Aniane, and became the model and center of the monastic reform in France introduced by Louis the Pious. He was the emperor's chief adviser and the general adoption of the Rule of St. Benedict in the monasteries of the Empire was the most important step towards the reform. Benedict took a prominent part in the synods held in Aachen in 816 and 817, the results of which were embodied in the important prescriptions for the restoration of monastic discipline. He was the enthusiastic leader of these assemblies, and he himself reformed many monasteries on the lines laid down in the ordinances promulgated there. In order to have him in the vicinity of his royal residence, Louis had founded on the Inde, a stream near Aachen, the Abbey of Cornelimünster, which was to be an exemplar for all other abbeys, and to be under the guidance of Benedict. He was involved in the dogmatic controversy over adoptionism,[79] under the leadership of Felix of Urgel, assuming the orthodox position. To promote the monastic reforms, he compiled a collection of monastic rules.[80] A pupil of his, the monk Ardo, wrote a biography of the great abbot. Benedict died at Cornelimünster in 821.

Ardo: St. Benedict's Aniane[81]

In the meantime the number of his disciples started to increase and the fame of his piety grew, slowly at first among neighbors and then rapidly extending itself to far-away regions. Because the valley in which he first lived was very small, he began after a while to construct a new monastery outside it. And he himself either worked with the brethren or cooked meals for them and even busied himself with writing books while in the kitchen. Together with his disciples he always logged the timber with his own shoulders because there were few oxen. There was in that place, where they toiled to found a monastery, a building, which they enlarged

[78] Jean Deshusses, "Le Supplément au sacramentaire grégorien: Alcuin ou S. Benoît d'Aniane?" *Archivfür Liturgiewissenschaft* 9 (1965), 48–71.

[79] See John Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul 785–820* (Philadelphia, 1993).

[80] *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum, PL* 103:393–702; *Benedicti Anianensis Concordia regularum*, 2 vols., ed. Pierre Bonnerue (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis) 168–168A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

[81] Aniane is the old name of the river Corbière in southern France (Languedoc) where Benedict established a monastic community on his own property.

and dedicated to Mary the Holy Mother of God. From all directions came those who asked to submit themselves to Benedict's teachings, so that the construction of the monastery was quickly achieved and the place increased in wealth, since all of them contributed whatever they had. He, however, insisted on simple walls and the use of straw to cover the roofs instead of decorated walls and reddish tiles and paneled ceilings covered with paintings. And it is true that the more the number of brethren increased, the more he strove for simplicity and humility. Therefore he received whatever anybody wanted to give of his possessions to the monastery, but he refused attempts to attach servants and maids to the monastery and he did not tolerate that during his time anybody should be handed over to the monastery, but ordered them to be set free. Moreover, he did not allow the vessels, which received the body of Christ to be made of silver; at first they were made of wood, later of glass, and finally he consented to having them made of brass. He refused to use a silken chasuble. If somebody gave him a present, he lent it immediately to others.…

Up to now we have spoken about the life of the holy father, how he, illumined by divine love, left the world and how he went into the country of the Goths and build a new monastery. Now, with Christ's help, we shall clearly describe how, at Charles' command, he built another monastery in the same place.

In the year 782, the fourteenth year of the reign of King Charles the Great, he began with the help of dukes and counts to construct once again another very large church in honor of our Lord the Savior and also other new cloisters, with very many marble columns, which were located in their porticos; now he did not cover the buildings with straw but with tiles. And with such grace was that place endowed that whoever came with faith to pray for something, and did not doubt in his heart but believed, was quickly granted what he had asked. Since this church abounded with wonderful grace, we think it advisable to disclose something about its arrangement for future readers.

The venerable Father Benedict, having been prevented by pious thoughts from dedicating it to any saint, had decided as we have already said, to dedicatee this church to the Divine Trinity. In order to make this clearly visible he resolved to place underneath the main altar three steps, which were intended to signify the three persons of the Trinity. And through this ingenious arrangement he expressed in the three stone steps the three Persons, and in the one altar the unity of the Godhead. The altar itself is closed outside but hollow inside, being thereby reminiscent of the altar that Moses built in the desert.[82] In its back it has a small door, in which on appropriate days reliquaries with diverse relics of the fathers are placed. This is enough about the altar. Let us proceed to deal briefly

[82] The altar of holocaust was hollow inside, where the hearth was located (Exod. 28:7).

with the furnishings of the church, and in what order and number they are arranged. All the utensils, which are in that church are known to be consecrated to the number seven. There is a seven-branched candelabra beautifully fashioned of metal, from whose main stem proceed branches, spheres, and lilies, with rods and bowls shaped liked almonds, made in the likeness of the one which Beseleel fashioned with great labor.[83] Before the altar hang seven most wonderful and beautiful lamps, cast with inestimable labor, which are said by experts, who desire very much to see them, to have been put together with Solomonic wisdom. An equal number of silver lamps hang in the choir; they are shaped like crowns and have all around them small cups; it is customary to fill them with oil and light them on high feast days, so that the church by their light is refulgent all night as well as in the day. Three altars have been dedicated in the same church, one to St. Michael the archangel, another to the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, the third to the benevolent proto-martyr, Stephen. In the first church, that of Mary the blessed Mother of God, St. Martin[84] and St. Benedict[85] have their altars. That church which stands in the graveyard is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the greatest among those born of women, according to Christ's testimony. One should consider with what reverence and holy fear that place protected by so many princes should be regarded. The Lord Christ indeed is the prince of all princes, the king of kings and the lord of lords; the holy Mother of God Mary is believed to be the queen of all virgins; Michael is the highest of the angels; Peter and Paul are the heads of the apostles; Stephen the proto-martyr holds first rank among the witnesses; Martin is a star among bishops; Benedict is the father of all monks. And so in seven altars, in seven candlesticks, and in seven lamps the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are represented.[86]

Aniane in nearly all respects is the opposite of St. Riquier at Centula. From the outset, Centula was intended to shelter an extremely large group of monks, whereas, Aniane, where Benedict went to live in 779–80, rose from humbler beginnings. Centula was laid out according to the grandiose plans of Angilbert, whereas the building plans for Aniane were far simpler. Yet both Angilbert and Benedict carefully arranged the daytime hours of the monks with an emphasis on communal prayer that left little time for manual work or devotional

[83] Exod. 27: 17–22.

[84] St. Martin, Bishop of Tours (370–97).

[85] St. Benedict of Nursia (480–550), founder of Montecassino and the great figure of western monasticism.

[86] Ardonis sive Smaragdis, *Vita Benedicti Abbatis Anianensis etIndensis*, 5, 17, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores*, 15, 1 (Hannover, 1887), pp. 203–206.

prayer. This did not pose any problems for Centula with its hundreds of laymen who worked the land and maintained the abbey. But for Aniane, since Benedict did not allow any serfs to be handed over to the monastery, this posed major problems for the monks who had to juggle prayer with work. Even the abbot was obliged to chip in and chop trees and help in the kitchen. But as the prestige of Benedict grew, he could not maintain the extreme austerity that marked the initial phase of his monastic reform. When the new church was built in 789, there were seven altars and its furnishings were fine albeit spare, being fashioned after those objects described by the Old Testament. Nevertheless, Aniane stands in stark simplicity to Centula. Benedict gained great influence under Louis the Pious and his revision of the rule of St. Benedict was officially approved and recommended at the Synod of the Frankish church in 817. Implementation of this decree was not totally successful. There are some grounds for thinking that the famous plan to St. Gall with its efficient and economic layout was based upon an ideal plan for a monastery elaborated in connection with this synod and related to the Aniane monastic reform.[87]

Louis the Pious and St. Gall

Louis the Pious (778–840) was the King of Aquitaine from 781 and co-emperor (as Louis I) and King of the Franks with his father, Charlemagne, from 813. As the only surviving adult son of Charlemagne, he became the sole ruler of the Franks after his father's death in 814, a position which he held until his death, save for the period 833–34, during which time he was deposed. He was in his villa of Doué-la-Fontaine, Anjou, when he received news of his father's passing. Hurrying to Aachen, he crowned himself and was proclaimed by the nobles with shouts of *Vivat Imperator Ludovicus*. In his first coinage type, minted from the start of his reign, he imitated his father Charlemagne's portrait coinage, giving an image of imperial power and prestige in an echo of Roman glory. He quickly enacted a "moral purge," in which he sent all of his unmarried sisters to nunneries, forgoing their diplomatic use as hostage brides in favor of the security of avoiding the entanglements that powerful brothers-in-law might bring. He spared

[87] See CTLO (Centre "Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium"), *Thesaurus Benedicti Anianensis, Concordia regularum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

his illegitimate half-brothers and tonsured his father's cousins, Adalard and Wala, shutting them up in Noirmoutier and Corbie, respectively, despite the latter's initial loyalty. One of his chief counselors was Benedict of Aniane to help him reform the Frankish church. One of Benedict's primary reforms was to ensure that all religious houses in Louis' realm adhered to the Rule of Benedict, named for its creator, Benedict of Nursia (480–550). In 816, Pope Stephen V, who had succeeded Leo III, visited Reims and again crowned Louis. The Emperor thereby strengthened the papacy by recognizing the importance of the pope in imperial coronations.[88]

Initially Louis admired his father's love for pagan antiquity. The revival of early Christian architecture and iconography in Carolingian Rome was in part a turning away from the memories of the city's more immediate Byzantine past. When the *Libri Carolini* insisted that painting must treat classical themes as well as Christian ones, this was an attack on the Byzantine concept of religious icons. But the number and size of monastic churches built in Charlemagne's time reaped much criticism for their ostentatious display of wealth. Ratgar (802–817), one of the most powerful abbots of Fulda and architect of its grandiose western church brought imperial criticism upon himself. In his attempt to copy the transept and apse of St. Peter's basilica in Rome, he used monks and serfs of the monastery for building. The monks were so fatigued that they began to complain about him to the Emperor beginning in 812 and again in 817. While Charlemagne had encouraged great church building programs despite monastic protest that they were unduly burdensome, Louis the Pious reversed the policy. In 816–817 the synods of Aachen reformed monastic practice and programs. When Louis the Pious ratified the election of Ratgar's successor Eigil in 818, he seized the occasion to exhort him not to continue in excessive building projects. This letter was sent a year after the Synod of Aachen when general monastic reforms were mandated and Benedict of Aniane emerged as the reformer of western monasticism. This synod is a major turning point for Louis who turns from grandiosity to simplicity. Louis fostered the famous monastic reform of Benedict who advocated for simpler and more efficient monasteries.

---

[88] See Peter Godman and Roger Collins, eds. *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (New York, 1990).

Candidus: An Imperial Admonition to the Abbot of Fulda

But you, my Father, try to maintain the younger monks according to God's will with all zeal and wisdom, so that, persevering in that holy harmony, they may deserve to attain Him, who descended from heaven solely in order that the world should be reconciled through him to the Father. Since I talk to men well versed in the Law of God, I admonish you only in this, that you may, according to the possibilities which God provides, turn words into deeds. Reduce to the minimum, however, Father, immense building projects and unnecessary undertakings, which tire the servants outside the monastery as well as the monks within, and remember how complaints about such excesses have constantly troubled my father's ears as well as mine. For this purpose has divine providence called me, however unworthy, into the imperial office, to be an eye to the blind and a foot to the lame, and a father to the poor, and to investigate carefully causes of which I am ignorant. Therefore I cannot be silent in a matter which touches the interests of religion. St. John Chrysostom says of those who build *martyria* and decorate churches luxuriously: "Look at those who build *martyria* and adorn churches and seem to do good works. If indeed they observe the law of God also in other respects, if the poor are gladdened by their alms, if they do not appropriate what belongs to others either by violence or fraud, then they certainly build for God's glory. But if they do not observe the Law of God, if the poor are not gladden by their alms, if they appropriate what belongs to others by fraud or violence, then who is so blind as not to realize that they do not build these churches in honor of God but for their own vainglory? And is it not right to say that they build *martyria* in which the poor, which have been martyred by them, will testify against them? The martyrs do not rejoice when they are honored by riches gained through the tears of the poor. What justice is that, to honor the dead and rob the living, to take the blood of the wretched and offer it to God? That is no a sacrifice to God, but an attempt to make Him an accomplice in one's crime, as if he, by freely accepting the wages of sin, should acquiesce in the sin. Do you want to build the house of God? Then give to God's poor, so that they may live, and you build him a suitable house. Indeed men live in houses but God lives in holy men. What kind of people are those, who rob men and build houses for the martyrs, who construct houses for men and wreck the houses for God? The possessions of the monastery, my Father, which are in your hands, I admonish you not to waste in a reckless and imprudent fashion, nor to give unjust orders and rules, as if you had unlimited powers. Jerome teaches you in his letter to Paulinus not to squander what belongs to the poor. "What use are walls blazing with jewels when Christ in His poor is in danger of perishing from hunger?" he says, "Your possessions are no longer your own but a stewardship is entrusted to you."[89]

[89] Candidus, *Vita Eigilis abbatis Fuldensis,* 10, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores*, 15, 1 (Hannover, 1887), pp. 227–28.

Along the same lines of grandiose designs for new monasteries is the famous Plan of St. Gall (Fig. 26).[90] It is the earliest preserved and most extraordinary visualization of a building complex produced in the Middle Ages. Ever since the Plan was created at the monastery of Reichenau sometime around 830 it has been preserved in the Monastic Library of St. Gall, Switzerland. Drawn and annotated on five pieces of parchment sewn together the plan of St. Gall is 112 cm × 77.5 cm and includes the ground plans of some forty structures as well as gardens, fences, walls, a road, and an orchard. The buildings are clearly identified by more than three hundred annotations. Of course, primary among the buildings is a church with its scriptorium, sacristy, lodgings for visiting monks, and reception rooms. There is also a monastic dormitory, privy, laundry, refectory, kitchen, bake and brew house, guest house, abbot's residence, and an infirmary. Finally, there are numerous buildings associated with the specialized economic operations of a complex community of over 110 monks and some 150 servants and workers.[91]

Why the Plan was created and who was responsible for its design remain the great mystery. What is clear from one of the inscriptions on the Plan itself is that it was designed for Gozbert, the abbot of St. Gall (816–837) and the person responsible for building the monastery's great Carolingian church in the 830s.[92] The monastic church was to be 200 feet long with the nave 40 feet wide and the side aisles both 20 feet wide (Fig. 27). Columns in the nave were to be spaced every 12 feet and the piers at the western end 10 feet apart. This monumental church would have been the fourth largest building in the Frankish realm after the cathedral of Cologne and the abbey churches of Fulda

[90] See Lorna Price, *The Plan of Gall in Brief* (Berkeley, 1982). An on-line inter-university project between the University of Virginia and the University of California, Los Angeles can be found at http://www.stgallplan.org/.

[91] See Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery* (Berkeley, 1979).

[92] In the upper right hand corner of the ms. one finds a dedicatory inscription that reads thus: "For thee, my sweetest son Gozbertus, have I drawn out this briefly annotated copy of the layout of the monastic buildings, with which you may exercise your ingenuity and recognize my devotion, whereby I trust you do not find me slow to satisfy your wishes. Do not imagine that I have undertaken this task supposing you to stand in need of our instructions, but rather believe that out of love of God and in the friendly zeal of brotherhood, I have depicted this for you alone to scrutinize. Farewell in Christ, always mindful of us, Amen." The salutation, "my sweetest son," implies that the author is of higher rank than the receiver. See Lorna Price, *The Plan of St. Gall: In Brief* (Berkeley, 1982), iii.

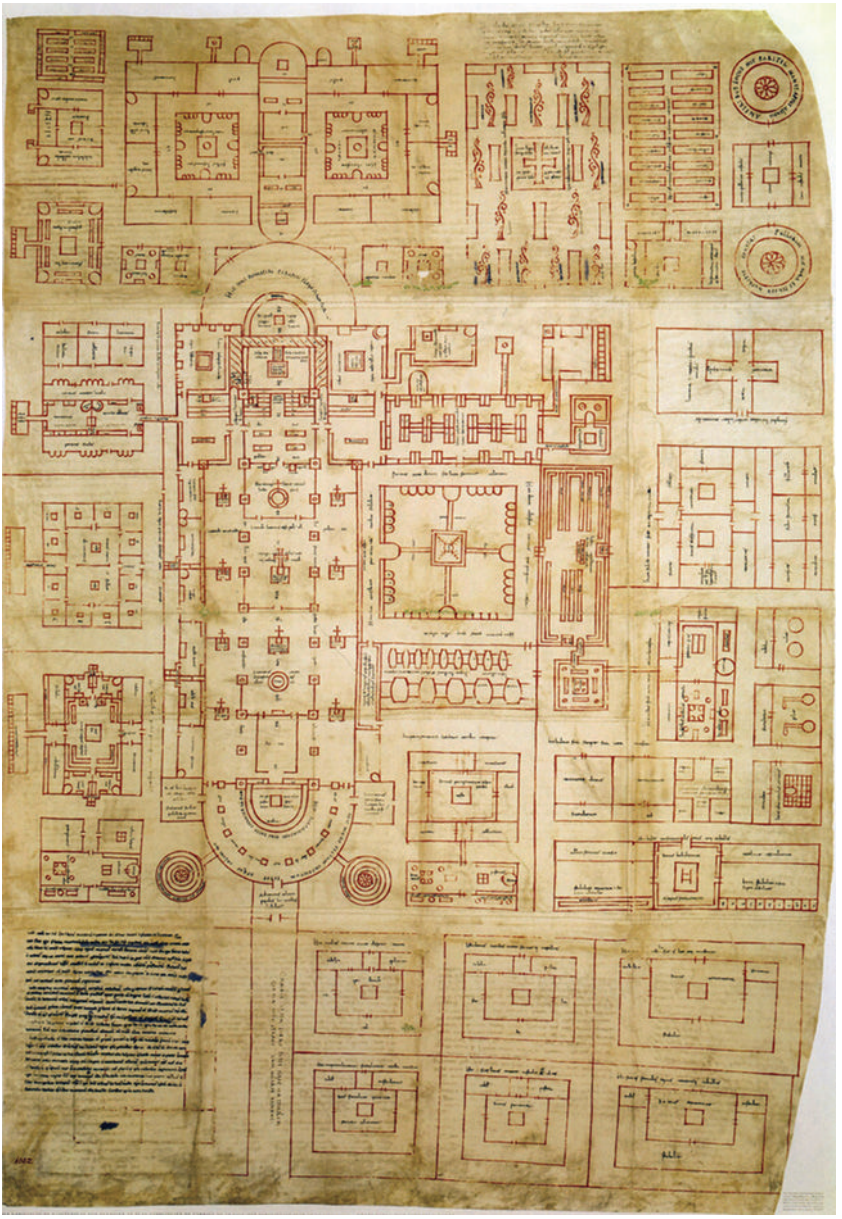


Fig. 26 Plan of the Monastery of St. Gall (photo: public domain).

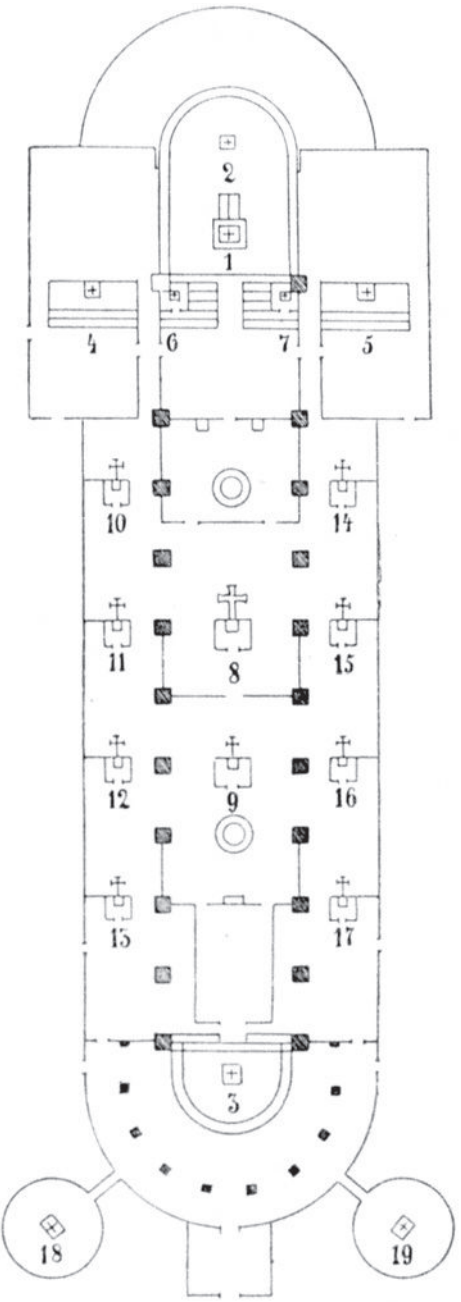


Fig. 27 Plan of the Church at St. Gall. Each cross represents a side altar that would have been a part of the stational processions within this building (photo: public domain).

and Hersfeld. It follows the T-shaped pattern of Roman basilicas and clearly was among the main accomplishments of the Carolingian *renovatio*. Similar to St. Riquier, the church is aisled and cruciform in layout with an apse at both the East and West ends symbolizing paradise. Two detached towers flank the entrance on the *Westwerke*.

This grandiose basilica structure would have expressed the great alliance between the Frankish empire and the See of Rome. In contrast to early Christian metropolitan churches that had one altar served by a few priests and a nave and aisles to house the assembly of worshippers, the church of the Plan reflects centuries of elaboration in liturgy and monastic life. At least eleven crosses indicate additional altars that dot the interior of the building (eight in the side aisles each one screened off to separate worshippers) and three in the nave on the principal east-west axis. Only about one sixth of the interior of the church was accessible to serfs, pilgrims and guests. A question arises as to the growing number of altars in addition to the main altar in the east apse. One solution is that more and more monks were being ordained to the priesthood necessitating more altars for private Masses. Another solution is related to the system of stational liturgies that was the hallmark of urban communities like Jerusalem and Rome.[93] In Jerusalem at the historical center of where Christianity was founded from the fourth century onwards the bishops surrounded by ministers and faithful would move on specific feasts from church to church, sites that were associated with the life of Christ. In Rome there was a similar practice of moving to various churches on specific feasts, but the sites were marked by their association with early Roman martyrs. This kind of movement from station to station works well in an urban environment, but how can the practice be adapted to a monastic community in a rural setting? One solution is to map the city onto a monastery. If the monastery has three churches like St. Riquier, then the monks could process among the church buildings on specific days

[93] See John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta) 228 (Rome, 1987). In his book *The Liturgical Year*, Dom Prosper Gueranger, Benedictine Abbot of Solesmes, observed that the practice of the stational churches constituted a core Lenten practice in the monastic life of the Middle Ages: "Particularly on the Wednesdays and Fridays, processions used frequently to be made from one church to another. In monasteries, these processions were made in the cloister, and barefooted. This custom was suggested by the practice of Rome, where there is a 'Station' for every day of Lent which, for many centuries, began by a procession to the stational church," "Mystique du Carême," *L'Année Liturgique: Le Carême* (Paris, 1905), p. 36.

as Angilbert had designated. In a situation like the church designed for St. Gall, the city could be mapped onto a single building. Each altar having relics embedded in it would represent a *statio.*

The structure that was ultimately built at St. Gall does not entirely reflect the design of the church on the Plan and the monastery complex foreseen by the Plan could not, in any case, have been fit onto the actual terrain of St. Gall. These facts have caused scholars to see the Plan less as a blueprint commissioned by Gozbert for St. Gall than as a generic solution developed by Carolingian monastic authorities for the ideal, or typical monastery that could be built anywhere in Europe. The surviving Plan thus records an architectural concept of innovative integrity.

While it is difficult to pinpoint either the author of the Plan or his motivation, the conclusion that it was not created for a specific time and place paradoxically makes it more valuable. The Plan might be fairly characterized as a two-dimensional meditation on the ideal early medieval monastic community, an "objective correlative" of the Rule of St. Benedict, created at a time when monasticism was one of the dominant forms of political, economic, and cultural power in Europe.

Some scholars[94] have opined that the Plan may have been a consequence of the famous monastic reform of Benedict of Aniane.[95] However, this does not seem plausible given that in 830, the date of the Plan's creation, the reform of Benedict had already failed. Benedict was already dead for nine years and his followers were dispersed. Emperor Louis the Pious who had supported the reform was weakened due to unfavorable political developments, especially the rebellion of his sons in that same year. Moreover there seems to be no rapport between the Plan of St. Gall and the central reformed monastery of Cornelimünster where Benedict lived and died.[96] Additionally, if the Plan had ever been realized, the church would have surpassed the abbatial

---

[94] Most notably Walter Horn, *The Plan of St. Gall*, held the opinion that the plan was created around 820, having been traced from a master plan drawn up at the Aachen Synods of 816 and 817. Werner Jacobsen, on the other hand, concluded that the Plan is a unique document dating to 830 in response to a plea from Abbott Gozbertus. See Jacobsen, "Altere und neuere Forschungen um den St. Galler Klosterplan," *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler* 34 (1983), pp. 134–51.

[95] Jacobsen, "Benedikt von Aniane und die Architektur unter Ludwig dem frommen zwischen 814 und 830," *Riforma religiosa e arti nell'epoca carolingia*, ed. Alfred Schmid (Bologna, 1983), pp. 15–22.

[96] *Ibidem*, "Nouvelles recherches sur le Plan de Saint-Gall," *Le Rayonnement spirituel et culturel de l'abbaye de Saint-Gall*, (Centre de recherches sur l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Âge) 9 (Paris, 2000), p. 16.

church at Reichenau and would have been one of the largest buildings in the Carolingian realm. It would have meant the total abandonment of the Aniane reform and a return to monumental architecture more characteristic of Charlemagne.

As Charles McClendon correctly notes: "The Plan of St. Gall, however, does not mark the end of this development [architectural sophistication]. Abbey churches would continue to be built in a variety of shapes and sizes contingent structures would be arranged depending upon the requirements of individual sites and local customs."[97] Nevertheless St. Gall is of capital importance demonstrating the tight integration of abbey church and cloister at the heart of the monastic complex. It ultimately prevailed and remained the standard throughout the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

"A church is a machine for worshiping in," writes Colin Morris. He goes on to describe the distinctive architecture of the Carolingian great churches as "double-enders."

> The apses, altars, and towers of the east were matched by parallel provisions for worship in the west, and the more closely associated the building was with the imperial court, the more truly doubly ended the building appeared to be. The strong imperial connection has long been stressed by scholars, but it does not exclude the special liturgical functions associated with the distinct parts of the building… There is no very satisfactory name for the striking architectural feature: it is most usually called a westwork, sometimes a porchchurch or ante-church, but these terms underestimate its status. It was essentially a separate but equal facility parallel to the eastern section. Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen provided the model for most of these western buildings, but Saint-Riquier is the best record we have of a functional system of worship incorporating the church at the west end.[98]

If Morris is correct in his assessment of Carolingian liturgy, then attention must be paid to Jerusalem as well as to Rome to understand how the architecture served the liturgy. Holy Week services were the apogee of the liturgical year. Carolingian liturgy with its special memorials of

---

[97] Charles McClendon, *The Origins*, p. 172.

[98] Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005), p. 115.

the sepulcher of Christ may be an echo of early Jerusalem practice. The liturgical practices of St. Riquier, for example, with the processions to various stations that mark the passion and resurrection of Christ may be a witness to this liturgical practice. Moreover the feature of the *Westwerke* may hearken to the Constantinian basilica of the Holy Sepulcher with the Anastasis Rotunda containing the tomb of Christ (*edicula*)[99] outside the western entrance to the main basilica.

From this brief treatment, it is clear that the liturgical development in the Carolingian period goes hand in glove with the architectural development. A symbiotic relationship exists between the church building and the liturgies that take place in and around the church structure. It is also clear that the general direction of the liturgy towards greater complexity was indebted to imperial, episcopal and monastic influence, in spite of efforts to simplify the liturgy during periods of monastic reform.[100]

Suggestions for Further Reading

Baldovin, John F. *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, #228) (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987).

Carol Heitz, Carol. *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963).

Horn, Walter & Ernest Born. *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkeley* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

McClendon, Charles. *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600–900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

Vogel, Cyrille. *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (rev. & trans. by William G. Storey & Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986).

[99] For recent archeological evidence about this site, see Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, 1999).

[100] See Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931–1961). Fifty *ordines* dating from the mid-eighth to the tenth centuries give ritual details for multiple ecclesiastical and sacramental rites and are a witness to the gradual and growing complexity of the rites.

THE EUCHARIST IN EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Celia Chazelle

In 843 or 844, Pascasius Radbertus, a monk of the Carolingian royal monastery of Corbie and its abbot from 843 to c. 847, presented King Charles the Bald (d. 877) with a special gift: a treatise about the Eucharist that Pascasius had written for Corbie's mission house of Corvey between 831 and 833.[1] Located in the eastern Carolingian territory of Saxony, Corvey had been founded from Corbie in 822 to help cement Christianity, and with it Carolingian rule, among the Saxons whom Charlemagne (d. 814) had forcibly converted from paganism around the turn of the ninth century. Pascasius must have recognized the significance of his gift's timing, made either at Christmas (843) or at Easter (844).[2] One of the key precepts expounded in this work, the first Latin treatise specifically on the Eucharist, is that through the Mass, bread and wine are inwardly, mystically changed into the historical flesh and blood of Christ. The sacrament that the king received in the feast honoring the incarnation (Christmas) or resurrection (Easter) was holy food and drink, the source of eternal salvation, because it contained the very body born of Mary in Bethlehem and crucified in Jerusalem.

Pascasius wrote *De corpore et sanguine Domini* ("On the Lord's Body and Blood") in the midst of the rebellion of the three older sons of Emperor Louis the Pious (d. 840). By 843, the civil strife this unleashed had torn the Carolingian Empire apart;[3] when Louis' youngest son,

---

[1] I am very grateful to numerous friends and colleagues for generously sharing their knowledge and offering advice on earlier drafts of this article. My thanks especially to Michelle Brown, Helen Foxhall Forbes, David Ganz, Gary Macy, Rosamond McKitterick, and Craig Rubano, and to John Munns and Alan Thacker for arranging opportunities to speak at Emmanuel College Cambridge and the University of London, in February 2009. A special thank-you to Fr. Joseph Hlubik for pushing me to write this essay, and for much helpful bibliography and information on ancient and modern eucharistic practices.

[2] David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Beihefte der Francia) 20 (Signmaringen, 1990), pp. 14–35, esp. 25–26, 28 (on Corvey's founding), 31 (on Pascasius' gift to Charles).

[3] The civil strife caused problems for Corbie: *Pascasius Radbertus De corpore et sanguine Domini cum appendice epistola ad Fredugardum*; CCCM 16, pp. vii–viii, 3–4; see Ganz, *Corbie*, pp. 29–30.

Charles, visited Corbie, the Treaty of Verdun dividing the Carolingian provinces between him and his half-brothers, Lothar and Louis the German, had been signed for less than a year. Lothar held the imperial crown, a dream that Charles only realized for himself toward the end of his life, in 875.[4] Pascasius' presentation to Charles of a treatise composed at Corbie, a monastery under the king's protection, for its sister monastery of Corvey in the realm of Louis the German, was perhaps also meant to recall Corbie's spiritual bonds with the eastern kingdom and the loss of imperial unity. Seen from this perspective, the presentation aligned the treatise's proclamation of unity between the Eucharist and Christ's incarnate body, the foundation, according to Pascasius, of the unity of Christ's body the Church, with hope for the restoration of unity in the political sphere.

Probably a decade or so later, Ratramnus, also a Corbie monk, sent Charles a copy of his own treatise on the Eucharist. This begins by thanking the king for the question that allegedly prompted its composition and praises him for wanting faith to be unified. All Christians should hold the same truths, Ratramnus notes, yet "some people" wrongly believe that Christ is physically and visibly present in the bread and wine, whereas others disagree, and the quarrel has caused "great schism."[5] Without identifying Pascasius he goes on to argue that, while the Eucharist is indeed Christ's body and blood, its contents are spiritual, not physical, and thus different from the incarnate blood and flesh.

---

[4] Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992), pp. 132–35, 242.

[5] Ratramnus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* 2; ed. J.N. Bakhuizen Van Den Brink, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1974), p. 43: "Dum enim quidam fidelium, corporis sanguinisque christi [misterium] quod in ecclesia cotidie celebratur dicant, quod nulla sub figura, nulla sub obvelatione fiat, sed ipsius veritatis nuda manifestatione peragatur, quidam vero testentur quod haec sub misterii figura contineantur, et aliud sit quod corporeis sensibus appareat, aliud autem quod fides aspiciat, non parva diversitas inter eos esse dinoscitur. Et cum apostolus fidelibus scribat, ut idem sapiant et idem dicant omnes, et scisma nullum inter eos appareat, non parvo scismate dividuntur, qui de misterio corporis sanguinisque christi non eadem sentientes elocuntur." Translation in *Early Medieval Theology*, ed. and trans. George McCracken (Library of Christian Classics) 9 (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 109–47. The same volume contains a partial translation of Pascasius' treatise (pp. 90–147). Ratramnus' concern that Christ is believed to be visibly present in the bread and wine is tied to the doctrine, discussed below, that his body and blood change into bread and wine. See Ratramnus, *De corpore* 2; ed. Van Den Brink, p. 43. Cf. Pascasius, *Ep.ad Fredugardum*; CCCM 16, p. 147 ll. 66–70 (expressing a similar concern).

Several Carolingian writings discuss the nature and meaning of the Eucharist, a few addressing at some length the issue of whether the sacramental presence is identical with the incarnate, historical body and blood of Christ. Among the most important of these additional works to survive, in terms of articulating clear theological perspectives on the sacrament, are a treatise by Gottschalk of Orbais and a portion of a second;[6] the commentary by John Scottus Eriugena on the *Celestial Hierarchy* of the Pseudo-Dionysius;[7] and a treatise on vices and virtues written for Charles the Bald by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims, who was possibly with the king when he visited Corbie in 843/44.[8] Two further writings by Pascasius defend his doctrine that the eucharistic bread and wine spiritually or inwardly become the historical flesh and blood, implying he was aware of criticisms.[9] Ratramnus says little in his treatise to indicate when it was written; yet all the other texts noted were completed around the middle of the ninth century or in the following two decades, and I would tentatively suggest, therefore, that he probably wrote near 850 or perhaps in the following few years. By then, a number of Carolingian theologians were expressing divergent opinions on the eucharistic presence, a circumstance reasonably seen as one aspect of the "schism" to which Ratramnus refers. Although he may be referring to a quarrel internal to Corbie, it seems more likely from the wording of his comment that he has in mind a wider controversy extending beyond the monastery.[10]

These texts testify to the first known period of sustained theological speculation on the Eucharist in the Latin Church. Many modern studies have analyzed the doctrines set out in this literature, especially by Pascasius and Ratramnus, traced antecedents in patristic and post-patristic sources, and discussed its contributions to later doctrinal

---

[6] Gottschalk, *De corpore et sanguine Domini, Item de corpore et sanguine Domini*, in *Oeuvres théologiques et grammaticales de Godescalc d'Orbais*, 23, ed. D.C. Lambot (Louvain, 1945), pp. 324–37.

[7] John Scottus Eriugena, *Expositiones in Ierarchiam Coelestem*; CCCM 31.

[8] Hincmar, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis*, ed. Doris Nachtmann (MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters) 16 (Munich, 1998).

[9] The passage on the last supper in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, written after 849, and a letter of the early to mid-850's sent to Fredugard, probably a monk of St.-Riquier: *Pascasii Radberti Expositio in Matheo libri XII*; CCCM 56B (*In Math.* 26:26–29), pp. 1288–98; and *Ep.ad Fredugardum*; CCCM 16, pp. 145–73.

[10] See Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 211–13, although I now feel less confident about dating Ratramnus' treatise than when I wrote this book.

developments such as the eleventh-century controversy over the teachings of Berengar, scholastic treatments of transsubstantiation, and post-Reformation Protestant and Catholic theologies.[11] There is no doubt we have learned much from this scholarship. Yet as Rachel Fulton has recently observed, the common tendency to treat Pascasius' treatise as if it were a contribution to the dispute that only began, it seems, in the mid-ninth century, and pay little attention to the circumstances in which he wrote his work seventeen or so years earlier, has obscured significant features of its thought.[12]

The motivation to write "On the Lord's Body and Blood," Pascasius states in the prologue, came from his former student, Warin, who had requested help teaching his own monk pupils at Corvey the "necessary things" about the Eucharist. The prologue refers to Warin's students as "unlettered," implying they were novices in the early stages of acquiring Latin literacy.[13] Most or all of them likely came from Saxony, and some or all may have been young oblates. A range of sources shed light on the rapid development of liturgical studies in the principal monastic and cathedral schools of the Carolingian Empire, in the late eighth and ninth centuries, and on the centrality of the Eucharist and the Mass to this interest.[14] There are several factors behind this development, but one with a particular bearing on Corvey is the changing pastoral role of male religious. Western European monasteries and convents had

[11] The controversy had an echo in tenth-century England: Charles L. Wrenn, "Some Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Theology," in *Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later*, ed. E. Bagby Atwood and A.A. Hill (Austin, 1969), pp. 182–89.

[12] Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York, 2002), pp. 9–59, esp. 13–16. Although my reading of Pascasius' treatise and its background differs from Fulton's, I have drawn enormous inspiration from her study, which so far as I know is the first to try to connect his teachings to the situation in contemporary Saxony.

[13] Pascasius, *De corpore*, *Prologus*; CCCM 16, pp. 4–5: "Quod ideo placuit communius stilo temperari subulco et ea quae de sacramento sanguinis et corporis tibi exigis necessaria tui praetextatus amore ita tenus perstringere, ut ceteri quos necdum unda liberalium attigerat litterarum, uitae pabulum et salutis haustum planius caperent ad medelam et nobis operis praestantior exuberaret fructus mercedis pro sudore, quia pecunia uerbi, sicuti plenius nosti, quantos repleuerit suis sumptibus auditores, tantis copiosius in sese amplificatur meritorum opibus."

[14] On aspects of this development with references to earlier literature, see Christopher A. Jones, *A Lost Work by Amalarius of Metz: Interpolations in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, Ms. 154* (London, 2001); Celia Chazelle, "Amalarius's *Liber Officialis*: Spirit and Vision in Carolingian Liturgical Thought," in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 327–57; see Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 27–28, 151–53.

long been centers of spiritual life for Christian laity in the early Middle Ages (ca. 500 to ca. 900 CE), but beginning in the eighth century, monasteries in Frankish or Carolingian regions increasingly took on the responsibility to offer votive Masses, often on behalf of lay benefactors. The proportion of monks ordained as priests grew, and altars multiplied in the churches of the larger houses, allowing several members of one community to perform Masses simultaneously.[15] To the extent that convents were not associated with the offering of Masses, it has been argued, their prestige as pastoral centers diminished.[16] The training of male oblates led with increased frequency to priestly ordination, and among other consequences, this created a new imperative to teach them carefully about the meaning and nature of the Eucharist.[17] Perhaps nowhere during the civil conflicts that began in the early 830s was this concern more strongly felt than in Saxony, where, since the reign of Charlemagne, the drive to extend and deepen Carolingian rule was so closely tied to efforts to spread the Christian faith.[18]

Like most Carolingian theologians, Pascasius borrows frequently from patristic authors to express his ideas, yet as will be discussed later in this essay, he shapes this material in new ways to assist Warin in instructing his students. Despite Charlemagne's program of forced conversion of the Saxons, the Carolingian Christianization of Saxony was thereafter a gradual process, but the Corvey novices must have come from communities and (probably noble) families that, by the early 830s, had basically accepted the new faith.[19] Educated clergy like Pascasius and Warin—who was part-Saxon—knew, however, that the hold of Christian ritual and doctrine, as they interpreted them, was

---

[15] Mayke de Jong, "Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II c. 700–c. 900* (Cambridge, 1995) (henceforth *NCMH 2*), pp. 622–53, at pp. 647–49.

[16] Gisela Muschiol, "Men, Women and Liturgical Practice in the Early Medieval West," in *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Julia M.H. Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 198–216, at 209–10.

[17] Ganz, *Corbie*, p. 84.

[18] Peter Johanek, "Der Ausbau der sächsischen Kirchenorganisation," in *799 Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1999), 2:494–506; Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 251–56.

[19] Christopher Carroll, "The Bishoprics of Saxony in the First Century after Christianization," *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999), 219–45, esp. 224–26. Also see, indicating a fairly deep penetration of Christianity in Saxony in the second quarter of the ninth century, David Appleby, "Spiritual Progress in Carolingian Saxony: A Case from Ninth-Century Corvey," *The Catholic Historical Review* 82 (1996), 599–613.

tenuous in this formerly pagan region.[20] By and large, early medieval Europe lacked strong centralizing institutional structures, religious or secular; even the main exception, the Carolingian government, had difficulty making authority felt at the lower social levels.[21] As recent histories have shown with new clarity, throughout the early Middle Ages groups at those levels, especially when living at some distance from the principal cathedrals, monasteries, and courts—in the households of rural nobility away from the centers of elite power and wealth, on the lands they controlled, in small towns and peasant settlements—developed their understanding of Christianity to a large extent independently of the prevailing ideologies in elite circles.[22] Attitudes were shaped by some exposure to learned doctrine, for instance through itinerant clergy, but they also owed much to conversations among neighbors, their local experiences of custom and belief, and the interpenetration at the local level of a wide variety of Christian with non-Christian conventions.[23] These situations affected belief and practice among not only laity in such communities but innumerable clergy, monks, and nuns with limited Latin literacy and little access to books, who were drawn from the same populations and provided the laity with their principal pastoral care.

Pascasius and Warin, I think, recognized that the Corvey novices came from a cultural environment roughly comparable to what I have just sketched, and Pascasius seems to have meant his treatise to address problems—in his view—that this heritage posed for their understanding of the Eucharist. We can acquire new insight into his teachings and how he presents them if, before discussing the treatise

---

[20] Pascasius knew this from not only his contacts with Corvey but life at Corbie, where some monks were Saxon: Ganz, *Corbie*, p. 28; Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, p. 12.

[21] Janet L. Nelson, "Kingship and Royal Government," and Chris Wickham, "Rural Society in Carolingian Europe," in *NCMH 2*, pp. 383–430, 510–37.

[22] See Julia M.H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History, 500–1000* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 40–50; Mayke de Jong, "*Imitatio Morum*: The Cloister and Clerical Purity in the Carolingian World," in *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York, 1998), pp. 49–80, esp. 52–53. On the reach of "popular" beliefs and practices in early medieval societies, across social class, see the wonderfully rich and insightful study by Bernadette Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature* (Toronto, 2005).

[23] James C. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation* (New York, 1994); Smith, *Europe after Rome*, esp. pp. 231–39.

further, we take a fresh, careful look at the evidence for early medieval thought and ritual pertaining to the Eucharist outside the ranks of his intellectual peers. One of my aims here is to show, on the basis of some of this material, how slippery were the concepts of "Eucharist" and "Mass" for many early medieval Christians, including probably Warin's students.

It is important to note that there are major obstacles, greater than faced by historians who study later centuries, to investigating religious thought or practice in the non-elite populations of early medieval Europe. Not only do fewer sources of any kind—textual or non-textual—survive from this period than the later Middle Ages; what the extant writings most directly convey are the viewpoints of the learned monastic and clerical authors and scribes who produced almost all the written material. Wherever they claim to describe ideas or practices outside the circles of their peers, we must remember that we are reading through a filter created by them and perpetuated by similarly educated copiists and authors who preserved their work in later centuries. The answers we can propose to questions about Christian spirituality in more "ordinary" early medieval populations—questions, for example, about what *they* viewed as acceptable belief and practice—thus remain tentative and often fragmentary. Yet the difficulties should not distract us from the evidence that does exist, sometimes partially hidden beneath the surface rhetoric of our texts.[24]

When Is a Ritual a Mass?

It is best to begin with what the monastic and clerical elites thought other Christian faithful *should* understand and be taught about the Eucharist, as indicated by surviving written sources. First and most obviously, a great variety of early medieval writings—commentaries on the New Testament, liturgical texts, poetry and hymns, expositions

[24] For studies that show us how much can be learned by careful handling of the sources, see Mayke de Jong, "Religion," in *The Early Middle Ages*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (The Short Oxford History of Europe) (Oxford, 2001), pp. 131–64; Yitzhak Hen, "Converting the Barbarian West," in *Medieval Christianity*, ed. Daniel E. Bornstein (A People's History of Christianity) 4 (Minneapolis, 2009), pp. 29–52, esp. 48–52; Julia M.H. Smith, "Religion and Lay Society," in *NCMH 2*, pp. 654–78; Lesley Abrams, "Germanic Christianities," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 3 Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 107–29.

of the Mass, and other works—provide clear evidence of a consistent basic definition of "Eucharist," though allowing more room for variation than historians sometimes seem to realize.[25] Different terms are used to designate the sacrament (sacrifice, Eucharist, oblation, communion, the Lord's body and blood, etc.); yet there seems universal acceptance of the principle that the prayers and actions of Mass liturgies effect a transformation such that bread, bread and wine, or wine mixed with water are in some sense Christ's body and blood. We will consider the language in which this change is described further shortly, but for now it should be noted that while bread seems invariably an ingredient of the sacrament, wine was not always considered necessary. Written Mass liturgies commonly refer to the cup or chalice, but not its contents,[26] and stories of miraculous transformations of water into wine or the miraculous increase of wine may be clues that churches and monasteries, particularly in northern regions, found it hard to maintain their supply.[27] In some cases, water or another drink was substituted. A church ruling from the seventh-century Spanish peninsula condemns priests who replace the wine with grapes or milk.[28] A sixth-century decree from Auxerre forbids eucharistic drinks of water mixed with honey; the tenth-century scholar Regino of Prüm warns against the use of honey and milk.[29] And *The Heliand*, a ninth-century

[25] The classic studies of early medieval eucharist theology are Henri Cardinal de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages, Historical Survey*, trans. Gemma Simmonds (London, 2006); J.A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, 2 vols. (New York, 1951); Josef Geiselmann, *Die Eucharistielehre der Vorscholastik* (Paderborn, 1926). The best surveys of early medieval liturgical sources are Cyrille Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge*, rev. ed. (Spoleto, 1975), and Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Minnesota, 1998). Other scholarship and primary sources are cited below.

[26] This is in accord with Jesus' words over the cup in the New Testament Last Supper narratives: Matthew 26:27, Mark 14:23, Luke 22:17, 1 Cor. 11:25.

[27] Adamnan, *Vita S. Columbani*, 2, PL 88, cols 725–66, at 743; Adamnan implies that the community used water in these circumstances. For other, similar miracles, Giselle de Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower: Studies of Imagination in the Works of Gregory of Tours* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 112–13. On wine in early medieval trade: Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001), esp. pp. 653–54, 609, 699. Donald Bullough notes the problems in northern England obtaining olive oil for chrism and wine: *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), p. 161 and n. 96, p. 310.

[28] Concilio de Braga 3 (a. 675), in *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, ed. José Vives (Barcelona, 1963), p. 372.

[29] Synodus Autissiodorensis a. 561–605, c. 8, *CCSL* 148A, ed. C. de Clercq (Turnhout, 1963), p. 266; Regino, *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 62, p. 53 [thanks to

poem on the life of Christ in Old Saxon, refers to fruit or apple wine (*thiu scapu uuârun lîdes alârid*) at the feast of Cana. The poet uses the term wine (*uuin*) for the last supper, but the implication is that alternatives to grape wine were accepted in his milieu, as well.[30]

As for the bread, certain Carolingian statutes restrict its preparation to clergy; yet this was customarily women's work, and a few writings imply that their bread-making was an integral part of the ritual of confecting Christ's body and blood. In a "first" stage, it seems, women turned wheat into bread; in a second stage, men—the clergy—were responsible for effecting body and blood from, or in, bread or bread and wine.[31] Those who brought the bread usually carried it forward to the altar during the offertory with other oblations, additional gifts

---

Ian Levy for the reference to Regino]. The source of the milk and honey traditions lies at least partly in the notion of four paradisal liquids: milk, honey, wine, and oil. See Jennifer O'Reilly, "The Hiberno-Latin Tradition of the Evangelists and the Gospels of Mael Brigte," *Peritia* 9 (1995), pp. 290–309, esp. pp. 293–95. Also note the close relationship between blood and milk in medieval thought; see Caroline W. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 269–76. The substitutions for wine just noted are discussed in an important, as yet unpublished essay by Gary Macy, "Bloody Marvelous: Discussions of the Wine in Medieval Eucharistic Theology." My thanks to him for kindly permitting me to reference his work.

[30] *Heliand und Genesis* (henceforth *Heliand*) 24, 26, ed. Otto Behaghel (Tübingen, 1958), ll. 2015–16, 4633, pp. 72, 160.

[31] Gisela Muschiol, *Famula Dei: Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern* (Münster, 1994), p. 195 and n. 23 quotes a rule for nuns that permits the preparation on Saturday of the "oblation" (*oblacio*) for Sunday. The ruling suggests a similar view of the relation between the bread baking and the eucharistic consecration as the unpublished commentary on the Mass in Munich, Clm 6398, fols 68r–68v. The Munich text implies a smooth transition, as if these are two parts of a single process. My thanks to Christopher A. Jones for sending me the text of the Munich exposition with drafts of his translation and commentary; he is preparing the commentary and edition for eventual publication. The passage reads, "Precor fraternitatem tuam ut ea quae scripsi pridem recolens quæras locum illum, ubi de pane sacramenti dominici dixi eum, cum coquitur, hoc designare, quod per mortem nobis transeundum est ad illum panem caelestem. Notesque diligentius locum quia aliud tunc dixi quam intellegi uellem. Nam cum coquitur igne signum est quod in baptismo spiritu sancto exsiccatur ab omni amara aqua quo ante inundauit ut appareat arida. Cum uero in sacrificio frangitur, hoc mortem corporis uniuscuiusque designat. Unde et pars mittitur in calicem, hoc est anima ad deum, pars uero sumitur /68v/ a nobis qui terra sumus et uel hoc significat, quod caro terrae redditur, aut quod hic remanet illius panis semper usque ad finem mundi pars, quae illuc secutura est." On the Carolingian restrictions, Arnold Angenendt, "Das Offertorium," in *Zeichen-Rituale-Werte*, ed. Gerd Althoff unter Mitarbeit von Christiane Witthöft (Münster, 2004), pp. 71–150, at pp. 82–85. On other Carolingian reforms that increased restrictions on women's participation in the Mass, see Suzanne Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 143–48.

to God that could include a variety of foods, as well as money and other items.[32] An eleventh-century ordeal ritual stipulates that the accused should eat bread and cheese—presumably both brought in the offertory—that were distributed from the altar in the midst of the Mass ceremony; the judicial process and the Mass liturgy are so tightly intertwined that they seem to involve the same bread (and cheese).[33] Earlier writings indicate that at the conclusion of Masses, any extra gifts should be divided into portions for the clergy, the upkeep of the church, and the poor.[34] Since Masses were often celebrated in conjunction with feasts, some of the offered food and drink might be consumed in those gatherings. The ninth-century Carolingian scholar Walafrid Strabo, tutor to the young Charles the Bald, condemns the presentation of gifts besides the bread and wine, and in particular the custom of laying lambs—presumably killed—under or near the altar at the offertory to be blessed ("consecrated") during the Easter liturgy and then eaten before the start of the following festal meal.[35] Some sacramentaries contain special prayers of consecration for Mass offerings besides bread or wine, such as grapes and beans.[36] The boundaries

[32] Ganz, "Giving to God in the Mass: The Experience of the Offertory," in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 18–32, with references to earlier literature; Angenendt, "Das Offertorium," pp. 78–82, 88–94. My thanks to David Ganz for providing me with a copy of his article prior to its publication. Walafrid Strabo in the ninth century and Burchard of Worms in the tenth century note prohibitions on offerings other than bread and wine and list a variety that were evidently customary: Walafrid, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, 19, ed. Alice Harting-Correa (Leiden, 1996), pp. 106–08; Burchard, *Decretum*, 5.8; PL 140:754 (my thanks to Gary Macy for the Burchard reference).

[33] The Anglo-Saxon ordeal by *corsned* is referenced in the laws of Ethelred II (d. 1016): "Corsned," *Oxford English Dictionary,* 2nd ed. *(Oxford, 1989).* For the ritual, see Nos. 238–39, *A Source Book for Mediaeval History*, ed. and trans. Oliver J. Thatcher, Edgar H. McNeal (NY, 1905), pp. 409–10 (MGH LL 4to, 5, pp. 691, 630–31). The bread and cheese ordeal, like the use of milk as the eucharistic drink, echoes ancient bread and cheese eucharists. See Andrew McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists: Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 95–107.

[34] Ganz, "Giving to God," pp. 30–31; Angenendt, "Offertorium," pp. 97–98.

[35] Walafrid, *Libellus*, 19; ed. and trans. Harting-Correa, pp. 108–09: "…quidam agni carnes in pascha iuxta vel sub altari eas ponentes benedictione propria consecrabant et in ipsa resurrectionis die ante ceteros corporales cybos de ipsis carnibus percipiebant, cuius benedictionis series adhuc a multis habebetur" ("…some people used to consecrate the flesh of a lamb with a special blessing at Easter, placing it near or under the altar, and on the Day of Resurrection received some of that flesh before other bodily foods. An offshoot of this blessing is still practised by many people….").

[36] Derek Rivard, *Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion* (Washington DC, 2009), pp. 51–53.

around bread and wine Eucharists were in a sense permeable, then; eucharistic consecration and communion could blend fairly smoothly into the offering, blessing/consecration, distribution, and consumption of other food and drink.[37]

Still, the extant literature indicates a consensus on the ideal, at least, that the Eucharist consists of bread or bread and wine, and that the Mass effects the presence in and through these elements of Christ's body and blood. What did educated monks and clergy expect less educated Christians to learn about the Eucharist besides this definition? To move toward an answer to this question, we should first consider the instruction offered them through the performance of Mass liturgies. Edward Schillebeeckx's observation concerning the Eucharist today holds for the early Middle Ages, as well: it acquires meaning not in isolation, but through ritual speech and actions.[38] The learned monks, nuns, and clergy of early medieval Europe wanted other Christians to experience the sacrament within the context of Masses as they did, and to draw meaning from that experience.[39] All Christians, no matter how little Latin they understood, would have been expected to grasp something of what transpired in the liturgy from participating in it and listening to the clergy's explanations.

In trying to gain a sense of these experiences, though, especially at lower levels of society, we need first to recognize the diversity of the forms for early medieval Masses reflected in extant writings, particularly in liturgical manuals. A few sacramentaries and missals giving Mass prayers, ordinaries outlining ritual, and biblical manuscripts with liturgical references survive from the seventh and eighth centuries, along with a much larger number of sacramentaries, missals, lectionaries, and other liturgical codices from the ninth-century

[37] A decree in the fifth-century Gallican *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* forbidding excommunicated monks (who could not receive the Eucharist) from bringing oblations in the offertory also suggests the closeness of meaning: *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, 49 (93), in *Concilia Galliae a. 314–506*, ed. Charles Munier, CCSL 148 (Turnhout, 1963), p. 174; Ganz, "Giving to God", p. 21. Note, too, the fluid transition from offertory to consecration in the Gelasian Scramentary, as if these involve the same act of gift-giving: "post haec offert plebs et confitiuntur sacramenta": *Liber sacramentorum Romanae aecclesiae ordinis anni circuli*, ed. L.C. Mohlberg, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1981), p. 59.

[38] Edward Schillebeeckx, *The Eucharist* (London, 1968), pp. 144–45.

[39] Louise P.M. Batstone, "Doctrinal and Theological Themes in the Prayers of the Bobbio Missal," in *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 168–86, at 186.

Carolingian Empire.[40] These guides again point to certain basic norms consistent across time and place. Masses, they indicate, included both fixed prayers and actions and variable prayers, readings, and music special to the different observances of the liturgical calendar. Typically, as represented in these sources, the ceremony began with the clergy's ritual entrance or procession to the altar, then a series of prayers with readings from scripture, the church fathers, or hagiography, then possibly a homily.[41] Another set of prayers was recited until the offertory, and then catechumens and penitents, who would not receive communion, were separated from the rest of the congregation. After this came additional fixed and variable texts to complete the consecration of the bread and wine, leading up to the Lord's Prayer;[42] this section of the liturgy is conventionally known as the canon. Then the bread was broken, communion was distributed, and the service ended with a final prayer or prayers.

But there is a notable variety again within this frame. Not only do the variable prayers in the surviving sacramentaries and missals change to fit the different observances; we need to be mindful of the tremendous local and regional diversity.[43] Throughout the early Middle Ages, Rome's prestige was significant and liturgical books written outside the papal city often imply emulation of its customs; but even Carolingian sources show diversity, despite strong expressions of the ideal of unity

[40] Palazzo, *History*, pp. 38–56; Vogel, *Introduction aux sources*, pp. 31–187.

[41] Yizhak Hen notes the "fondness of Merovingian liturgists for apocryphal texts" for the readings: "The Liturgy of the Bobbio Missal," in *Bobbio Missal*, ed. Hen and Meens, pp. 140–53, at p. 149. This missal is published in *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book (Ms. Paris lat. 13246),* ed. E.A. Lowe (Hentry Bradshaw Society) 58, 61 (Woodbridge, UK, 1920, 1924).

[42] On the absence of the institution narrative from some Mass liturgies, see below.

[43] The Bobbio Missal, for instance, contains seventy-six different *Contestationes* (one of the variable prayers) for sixty-two Masses: Batstone, "Doctrinal and Theological Themes," p. 176. The Old Gelasian Sacramentary contains 289 different Masses: Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul To the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001), p. 31. As Batstone remarks concerning the Merovingian material, "The diversity that existed in the liturgical traditions of local churches and the church more widely was a feature of the liturgy that was both accepted and expected. Gaul's Catholic church was a champion of local traditions and responded keenly to local situations": "Doctrinal and Theological Themes," p. 186. A good sense of the regional variety is gained from the articles in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01394a.htm): "Ambrosian Rite," "Gallican Rite," "Mozarabic Rite," "Celtic Rite."

and adherence to Roman norms.[44] Those individuals who witnessed Masses celebrated in different churches, even close by one another, according to the directives of different liturgical guides, would have noticed dissimilarities. Monasteries and churches conducted different votive Masses and observed different saints' feast days.[45] Manuscripts were revised as they changed hands to suit local needs; the Stowe Missal, an Irish service book probably written originally for an itinerant cleric in the early ninth century, shows substantial alterations to the order of the Sunday Mass when a different community acquired it not long after its completion.[46] Other books assign the same variable prayers and readings to the Masses of different days, or different texts to the same liturgical event.[47] Narrative sources make clear that individual clergy and centers had their own arrangements for processions, seating, music, utensils and vessels, and other ritual features.[48]

Even regarding the "narrative of institution," a supposedly fixed element of western liturgies based on the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper, there were divergent practices. The narrative itself comes in different versions, and although its inclusion in varying forms can be traced back to the ancient church,[49] a few early medieval guidebooks for Masses leave it out entirely. Most notably, it is lacking in most manuscripts of Mozarabic liturgies.[50] In his exposition of the Mass, the seventh-century Spanish bishop, Isidor of Seville makes no mention

---

[44] Hen, *Royal Patronage of Liturgy*, esp. pp. 42–95; Felice Lifshitz, "A Cyborg Initiation? Liturgy and Gender in Carolingian East Francia," in *Paradigms and Methods in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Celia Chazelle and Felice Lifshitz (New York, 2007), pp. 101–17, esp. p. 102. I discuss a case of creative adaptation of Roman materials in a forthcoming article, "Art and Reverence in Bede's Churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow," in *Intellektualisicrung und Mystifizierung mittelalterliche Kunst*, ed. Martin Büchsel and Rebecca Müller (Berlin, 2010), pp. 79–98.

[45] On the Merovingian situation, Hen, "Liturgy of the Bobbio Missal," passim.

[46] Sven Meeder, "The Early Irish Stowe Missal's Destination and Function," *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005), pp. 179–94, at 181–85.

[47] Hen, *Royal Patronage*, pp. 28–33.

[48] Muschiol, "Men, Women, and Liturgical Practice," pp. 203–13. Another notable example of creative ritual is discussed in Susan A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995).

[49] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:194–201.

[50] E.g. London, British Library, Add. 30844, Add. 30845, and Add. 30846, analyzed in Rose Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain* (London, 1998), pp. 154–73, see esp. 161–62; see Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabs* (1912; repr. Rome, 1995), pp. 108–10 (xx–xxii). Walker maintains that the words of institution were omitted either because they were known by heart or too sacred to be written, but it is possible the manuscripts reflect an older tradition in which they were not recited. Some Syrian liturgies also evidently lacked the narrative: Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:194–95 n.1. On

of the narrative and implies that in the tradition familiar to him, the consecration moves smoothly through a series of prayers culminating with the Lord's Prayer.[51] In a letter to Bishop John of Syracuse, Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) maintained that consecration with the Lord's Prayer alone was the practice of the apostles. Although early medieval Roman Masses included some version of the words of institution, Gregory's comment is ambiguous, and one can imagine some medieval readers of his letter believing it to mean that he followed the supposedly apostolic custom.[52] Thus it is possible that some clergy outside Rome, perhaps relying on books like the Mozarabic missals just noted or on Isidor's outline of the liturgy, celebrated Masses with no institution narrative, in which the culminating formula of consecration was the Lord's Prayer. In so doing, they may have thought they were following Roman or Gregorian norms.[53]

---

variants in the narrative itself, Raúl Gómez-Ruiz, *Mozarabs, Hispanics, and the Cross* (Maryknoll, NY, 2007), p. 62.

[51] Isidor, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 1.15, CCSL 113, ed. Christopher M. Lawson (Turnhout, 1969), pp. 17–18.

[52] Although Gregory refers to his usage of a "canon," he does not describe its content in the letter and makes no reference there specifically to an institution narrative. The passage seems best translated as follows: "We say the Lord's Prayer immediately after the prayer [the context indicates Gregory means the "canon"], since it was the custom of the apostles that they would consecrate the oblation at the Lord's Prayer alone. And certainly it seems to me unsuitable that we should say some prayer composed by a scholar over the oblation and not say the tradition which our Redeemer composed [ie., the Lord's Prayer, a prayer 'handed down' and thus traditional vs. newly composed] over his body and blood." ("Orationem uero Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent, et ualde mihi inconueniens uisum est, ut precem quam scolasticus composuerat super oblationem diceremus et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit super eius corpus et sanguinem non diceremus.…") Gregory, *Registrum*, *Ep*. 9.26, CCSL 140A, ed. Dag Norberg (Turnhout, 1982), p. 587.

[53] Gregory's letters were read outside Rome by the eighth century. Bede was one of their early readers and in a number of his writings stresses the importance of emulating both the apostles and Gregory's Rome, the period, in his belief, of the height of papal virtue. The classic study of this aspect of Bede's thought remains Paul Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great* (Jarrow, UK, 1964). In his letter to Egbert, Bede comments that all clergy should know the Lord's Prayer by heart, in the vernacular if they do not know Latin: Bede, *Ep. Egberti*, 5, in *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam ecclesiasticam gentis Anglorum, Historiam abbatum, Epistolam ad Ecgbertum, una cum Historia abbatum auctore anonymo*, 2 vols., ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896), 1:408–09. The Council of Clofesho (747) issued a similar ruling: "English Church [Council of Clovesho, AD 747]," 2.10, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–71), 3 (1871), 366; see Catherine Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 850* (London, 1995), pp. 99–100. On later discussions of the Lord's Prayer and Gregory's letter, Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (New

As this should indicate, it is also critical to recognize that experiences of Masses varied more than is revealed in the surviving liturgical texts. Here we need to give thought to the overall scarcity of such guides. Liturgical manuscripts and manuscript fragments make up a sizable portion of extant early medieval writing in any genre, and there have obviously been huge losses over the centuries; many more books were produced than have come down to us.[54] None of the early manuscripts, though, presents a complete set of the materials needed to perform the Masses outlined—readings, prayers, and directions for ritual. Further, regardless of losses, the number of available books was certainly small, especially before the ninth century, and there must have been discrepancies in access. The largest monasteries and cathedrals, elite centers of learning and wealth, would have been well-equipped, whereas many smaller monasteries, convents, and churches would have had few liturgical manuals and incomplete sets of scripture, a situation that limited the choice of biblical lections.[55] Whether or not clergy had correctly memorized Mass rituals and fixed prayers, such as the Lord's Prayer, the lack of guides almost certainly meant diverse practices for variable prayers.[56] In many cases, they must have been recited imperfectly from memory, improvised, or omitted.

Another factor to consider is that the contents of those books that were available probably varied more than is apparent today from the survivals. Although the manuscripts we have are diverse, the ones preserved were usually valued for some reason in later centuries; books containing liturgical forms eventually judged to be incorrect were

---

York, 2008), pp. 44–46. If the letter inspired this understanding of the "Gregorian" Mass, one aim behind the diffusion of so-called Gregorian sacramentaries in the Carolingian Empire may have been to offset such ideas.

[54] Vogel, *Introduction aux sources*, pp. 1–2, estimates that about ten percent of all surviving early and later medieval manuscripts are liturgical.

[55] Patrick McGurk, "The Oldest Manuscripts of the Latin Bible," in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1–23; on the situation in early Anglo-Saxon England, Richard Gameson, "The Royal 1.B.vii Gospels and English Book Production in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," *ibid.*, pp. 24–52, esp. 43–52.

[56] See below, on legislative rulings that bishops examine their clergy for their knowledge of the Mass prayers. The penitential ascribed to Theodore of Canterbury stipulates that Christians should not receive communion from priests who cannot correctly recite the Mass prayers and lessons: "Penitential of Theodore," 2.10, *Medieval Handbooks*, p. 200.

likely discarded.[57] The decree of Charlemagne's *General Admonition* (789) complaining that prayer is sometimes based on "uncorrected" books and enjoining diligence in the copying of missals hints at these conditions.[58] Some Mass prayers of Frankish (Merovingian) sacramentaries declare their liturgies to be "legitimate," a term that Louise Batstone has plausibly argued reflects a strong desire, in the face of such circumstances, to assure correct ceremonial.[59] Also deserving of note are the rulings that clergy should be properly appointed and educated, including about Mass ritual, and should conduct the liturgy correctly, or that condemn "false" priests and bishops. These directives count among the evidence of repeated disagreements over who held clerical status and the right to perform liturgies, and, again, over what constituted proper liturgical conduct.[60] So, too, do the sources reflecting efforts to suppress women ministers. A letter from three sixth-century Gallican bishops objects to the female *conhospitae* ("housemates," possibly wives) of two Breton priests, noting that the women administered the chalice, and a few other early medieval writings that condemn women ministers imply they celebrated Masses or concelebrated with men.[61] We should bear in mind that the targets of all these condemnations had supporters who saw these liturgies and their celebrants as legitimate.

Moreover, whatever the availability of "correct" liturgical books and "properly" appointed or trained clergy, most early medieval Christians probably had limited exposure to such Masses, however "imperfectly"

---

[57] As Macy notes regarding sources for women's ordination: *Hidden History*, pp. 50–53.

[58] *Admonitio generalis* (henceforth *AG*) 72, MGH *Leges* 2, *Capitularia* 1, ed. A. Boretius (Hanover, 1883) (henceforth MGH *Capit*. 1), pp. 59–60.

[59] E.g. *legitima eucharistia*: Batstone, "Doctrinal and Theological Themes," pp. 181–82.

[60] *Concilium Germanicum A. 742*, Praef., 1, 3, 4, MGH *Leges* 3, *Concilia* 2, ed. Albert Werminghoff (Hanover, 1906) (henceforth MGH *Conc*. 2), pp. 2, 3; *Concilium Francofurtense A. 794*, 29, MGH *Conc*. 2, p. 169; *AG* 2, 53, 54, 70, 72, MGH *Capit*. 1, pp. 54, 57, 59; *Concilium Arelatense A. 813*, 3, 4, MGH *Conc*. 2, pp. 250–51; *Karoli Magni capitulare primum (c. 769),* 8, MGH *Capit*. 1, p. 45; "Council of Clovesho," 2.10, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, 3, p. 366. The correspondence of St. Boniface contains numerous references to problematic clergy and ritual actions: *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. M. Tangl, MGH *Epistolae* 1 (Berlin, 1916), English translation in, *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. Ephraim Emerton, with a new introduction and bibliography by Thomas F.X. Noble (New York, 2000).

[61] *Les Sources de l'Histoire du Montanisme*, ed. Pierre de Labriolle (Collectanea Friburgensia, n.s.) 15 (Fribourg, 1913), pp. 227–28. See Macy, *Hidden History*, pp. 61–63.

conducted, and less opportunity than we might expect to grow familiar with their rituals and prayers. Until the eighth century, monasteries and convents, centers of pastoral care not only for their residents but for lay communities, gave less weight to Masses than to the office, which did not require priests.[62] The Rule of St. Benedict is ambivalent about the admission of priests into monasteries and the appointment of resident monks to the priesthood, implying fear that the position encouraged arrogance; priests—and hence regular Masses—were by no means thought necessary for a well-ordered house.[63] Benedict nonetheless stipulates that monks should receive communion every Sunday, yet the Eucharist could have been reserved from Masses performed earlier by visiting clergy, and there is evidence that bread may have been brought to the monasteries already consecrated.[64] The rule of the eighth-century Irish movement of the Céli Dé (Clients of God) also implies that Masses were a minor concern in the monks' devotion: it instructs that brothers be admitted to communion gradually, progressing from reception of the bread alone once a year, to weekly communion only after seven years.[65]

The increase, from the eighth century, in the offering of votive Masses in Frankish monasteries, and accordingly in monks ordained to the priesthood, expanded the opportunities for both monks and laity living nearby to hear Masses and receive communion. By the

---

[62] Angelus A. Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier: Eine Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte der Messhäufigkeit* (Münster Westfalen, 1973), pp. 30–31, 156–59.

[63] *Regula sancti Benedicti* (henceforth *RSB*) 60, 62.

[64] See *RSB* 17, 38. The meaning of *missa* changed over time; early usages (*missa, missae*) have sometimes been misconstrued as necessarily references to Masses. *RSB* 17 calls for *missae* at every canonical hour, but only in the reference to Sunday (*RSB* 38) is the term combined with a notice that the monks should receive communion. It is only in the eighth century that the term clearly began to be used specifically for the eucharistic service: Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass: An Historical, Theological, and Pastoral Survey* (Collegeville, MN, 1975), pp. 64–65. The meanings of *communio* and related words seem to have similarly evolved. Muschiol sometimes assumes the references are to Masses and Eucharists when this seems unlikely from the contexts: *Famula Dei*, pp. 192–93 and n. 4, 197–98. Penances for dropping consecrated hosts on the ground or allowing them to get dirty or decay, or be eaten by beasts, suggest they were carried from church to church and, probably, stored for later services: "Preface of Gildas," 21, "Penitential of Theodore," 12.6, 8, "Penitential Ascribed by Albers to Bede," 14.2, 3, *Medieval Handbooks*, pp. 177, 195, 230.

[65] Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 35–38, 125–30.

ninth century, daily Masses and daily reception of the Eucharist by monks were likely standard in the larger Carolingian monasteries; but nuns would have heard Masses less often. As for laypeople, nobles with churches on their property had the easiest access to Mass liturgies,[66] whereas many rural peasant settlements probably received only occasional visits from itinerant clergy like the original owner of the Stowe Missal.[67] Conciliar decrees note that the faithful should come to churches on Sundays and receive the Eucharist at least a few times a year, but the need to rule about this implies attendance was generally less frequent. Writing in the early 730s, Bede suggested that three times a year was the norm among "more religious" (*religiosiores*) laity. The ninth-century abbot of Fulda and later archbishop of Mainz, Rabanus Maurus, among other early medieval authors, wrote of the dangers to the soul of communion in a state of sin.[68] The preaching of this idea may well have discouraged laity from attending Masses and perhaps also explains the reluctance of certain priests, too, according to the *General Admonition*, to receive the Eucharist.[69] If enforced, the various injunctions that women should not enter churches or take communion if menstruating or after childbirth, and that they should never approach the altar, further limited their participation.[70]

When lay men or women did come to churches, judging by condemnatory texts, they might pass the time socializing, telling stories, and singing songs, and sometimes stayed for only a portion of the Mass.[71] Walafrid Strabo accuses lay people of roaming from church

---

[66] Janet L. Nelson, "Church Properties and the Propertied Church: Donors, the Clergy and the Church in Medieval Western Europe from the Fourth Century to the Twelfth," *English Historical Review* 124 (2009), 355–74. Church legislation sought to curtail the performance of Masses and other Christian rituals in homes, probably in part because the home was a major site of traditional, non-Christian ("pagan") religious activity. See Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, pp. 211–15.

[67] According to Willibald, itinerant clergy inspired the young St. Boniface: *Vita S. Bonifacii*, PL 89:603–34, at PL 89:605. Bede describes the journeys of Cuthbert into remote areas in *Historia Ecclesiastica* (henceforth *HE*) 4.27, ed. Plummer, pp. 269–70.

[68] Rabanus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres,* 1.31, ed. Detlev Zimpel (Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte) 7 (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), p. 331; Bede, *Ep. Egberti*, 15, ed. Plummer, p. 419. On lay reluctance to receive communion, Smith, "Religion and Lay Society," pp. 661–63.

[69] *AG* 6, MGH *Capit*. 1, p. 54.

[70] Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 208–10; *idem*, "Men, Women, and Liturgical Practice," pp. 206–07.

[71] *Conc. Baiuwaricum* 3, MGH *Conc*. 2, p. 52; "Council of Clovesho," 2.12, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* 3, p. 366. Further sources noted in Smith, "Religion and Lay Society," pp. 663–64.

to church, remaining only for the offertory in each, since, he claims, they want to make numerous oblations of their own, believing them more important than receiving the sacrament.[72] The frequent blending of Masses with other ritual may have left some witnesses unsure where one ceremony ended and the other began. The processions of the relics of Saints Marcellinus and Peter described by the ninth-century Carolingian courtier, Einhard, flowed into and out of Masses celebrated before crowds in churches and the open air.[73] Bede cites Gregory the Great approvingly for the idea that when pagan animal sacrifices coincide with the feasts of martyrs, Christians, too, may sacrifice animals if the intention is to honor the saints, and—presumably after the Mass—the meat can be eaten.[74] A Frankish decree of 742 implies similar customs when it condemns sacrifices for the dead, along with "prophecizing, divinizing, auguries, incantations, and animal sacrifices…by stupid men in pagan ritual near churches, in the name of saints, martyrs, or confessors."[75]

On the other hand, many early medieval Christians may have encountered the Eucharist more often outside the Mass than within a "Mass" liturgical frame—in other ritual settings that would have lent the bread and wine a different range of meanings. By the eighth century, the custom of a Good Friday "Mass of the presanctified elements" is attested, a communion service with bread and wine held over from the Thursday Mass, or previously consecrated bread mixed with unconsecrated wine.[76] Two eleventh- or twelfth-century Italian manuscripts contain orders for communion services led by female celebrants (nuns) that likely had antecedents in earlier centuries. The orders imply the use, again, of previously consecrated elements; they lack the words of institution, and the prayers ask God's blessing on the participants rather than the bread and wine. In other respects, though, they so closely recall written Mass liturgies that one can wonder if such

---

[72] Walafrid, *Libellus*, 23, ed. Harting-Correa, pp. 138–41, 148–49. Some rules for nuns set penalties for arriving late or leaving early: Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 199–200.

[73] Einhard, *The Translation and Miracles of the Blessed Martyrs, Marcellinus and Peter*, e.g. 1.12, 14; 2.6; 3.1, 4, in *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard*, ed. and trans. Paul E. Dutton (Petersborough, ON, 1998), pp. 81–82, 89, 92, 94.

[74] Bede, *HE* 1.30, ed. Plummer, pp. 65–66.

[75] *Conc. Germanicum*, 5, MGH *Conc*. 2, pp. 3–4; see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977), p. 120.

[76] Gerhard Römer, "Die Liturgie des Karfreitags," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 77 (1955), pp. 39–93, at 86–93.

rituals were not sometimes used in convents as "Masses" when priests were unavailable.[77]

The Eucharist was also consumed at baptisms and in deathbed rites, which many Christians must have attended far more frequently than Masses. The *viaticum*, the communion given to the gravely ill or dying, and sometimes, evidently, to the "half dead," seems typically to have consisted of previously consecrated bread.[78] Baptisms were traditionally performed during the Easter and Pentecost vigils, just before the festival Mass when the newly baptized would receive communion; but already prior to the Carolingian period, it became customary to baptize the ailing and infants on other days of the year, and give them communion as soon as possible after their anointing. The baptismal orders generally do not refer to the celebration of a Mass.[79] And what was done in urgent situations—in birthing rooms, say, with dying babies and mothers, where only women were usually present? Although the sources are silent on this issue, it is reasonable to think that in circumstances like these, too, given the fluidity and variety of practices already seen, rites of communion or "Eucharist" might be performed to comfort the dying and ease their transition to the next life.[80]

Finally, we should note that the eucharistic bread and wine and aspects of Mass ceremonial are mentioned in supposedly "magical" contexts. These practices, too, provided early medieval Christians with

---

[77] Jean Leclercq, "Eucharistic Celebrations Without Priests in the Middle Ages," *Worship* 55 (1981), 160–68; André Wilmart, "Prières pour la communion en deux psautiers du Mont-Cassin," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 43 (1929), 320–28.

[78] See Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1990), pp. 39, 75. As Caedmon lay dying, he asked if the Eucharist was at hand, and the bread was quickly brought to him; no Mass is mentioned. Those attending him imply that only someone about to die would ask for the sacrament, suggestive of the infrequency of lay communion: Bede, *HE* 4.24, ed. Plummer, pp. 261–62; also see *HE* 4.14, ed. Plummer, p. 235. On the *viaticum* for the "half-dead," see "Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung," ed. Bernhard Fehr, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa* 9 (Hamburg, 1914), *Briefe* 1, 3, pp. 19, 150–51; cf. Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, p. 33, on the Roman practice of placing a coin in the mouth of the dead. The Christian practice evokes the medieval view of the transition from life to death as gradual and the boundary between the two states as indefinite, in contrast to our own, more "binary" views. My thanks to Joseph Hlubik for this insight and Helen Foxhall Forbes (February 2009) for references to Aelfric.

[79] Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, 2002). On the shift to infant baptism throughout the year, 1:156–58, see 2, passim, for the orders.

[80] I am very grateful to Michelle Brown for emphasizing this to me (February 2009).

alternative frames of reference, different from "standard" Mass liturgies, for understanding what the Eucharist was and its significance.[81] Women are often associated with magic in early medieval literature; whether or not their interest indeed surpassed that of men, it may have been encouraged by the restrictions on their roles in the liturgies our sources define as Christian. The preponderance of the evidence (magic + Eucharist or elements of the Mass) comes from the eleventh and later centuries, but a number of writings of earlier centuries refer to divination by gazing into chalices, altars used as sites of judgment, bread ritually endowed with magical powers, potions containing consecrated wine, incantations incorporating scripture or liturgical prayer, and so on.[82]

Preaching and Teaching

For early medieval faithful who did regularly witness some version of the Mass liturgies indicated in the surviving liturgical guides, and had some understanding of the Latin prayers or received explanations from the clergy, the visual and aural tapestries of these ceremonies must have exerted a profound influence on their thinking about the Eucharist. Interwoven with the ritual actions of procession, offertory, blessing, consecration, and communion, the spoken and sung texts would have reminded them of Old Testament foreshadowings of the sacrament, Christ's triumph over death and Satan in his resurrection and ascension, and his future return in glory; but the biblical events

[81] As Paul Bradshaw has observed regarding the situation in ancient Christianity, "…the abstraction of the elements from the eucharistic action [of Masses] as a whole would inevitably encourage people to think of them as somehow special in themselves": *Early Christian Worship: A Basic Introduction to Ideas and Practice* (Collegeville, MN, 1996), pp. 58–59. My thanks to Joseph Hlubik for the reference.

[82] An especially rich source is the *Lacnunga*, a "magical" handbook of the ninth to eleventh century containing both Christian and seemingly non-Christian prayers and rituals. A good portion of the material would fit well into a sacramentary. The handbook is published in J.H.G. Grattan and Charles Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (London, 1952). Also see Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, pp. 122–23, 141, 243, 307–09; Jolly, "Medieval Magic," pp. 36–37; Valerie I.J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 149–50, 226–39, 254–55 and n. 4; and on women and magic, Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA, 2006), pp. 235–36 and n. 1. A Carolingian capitulary implies that bread made for magical purposes was being brought to churches for the offertory: *Capitula cum Italiae episcopis deliberata,* 3, MGH *Capit*. 1, p. 202.

most forcefully recalled were his Last Supper, passion, and death on the cross. Recorded Mass prayers fuse evocations of these episodes with thanksgiving and supplication, confirm the offer of sacrifice, and announce the presence of God's power. God assures that the great mystery and miracle sent from heaven to earth and mediated back to heaven through Christ is the same food enjoyed by the angels and saints, a foretaste of the heavenly feast, and a source of purification, eternal life, and unity with other faithful, the heavenly throng, and God.[83]

To any extent that early medieval monks and clergy tried to elucidate the significance of Masses for others in their care, a range of prose and poetical literature suggests additional likely themes of instruction. Besides the precept that the Mass prayers and actions create the presence of Christ's body and blood, three broad refrains are especially prominent.[84] One is the divine power miraculously revealed in and through the Eucharist: the omnipotence of God effecting the presence of body and blood and the sacrament's manifestation of this same spiritual power. Early medieval authors move easily among modes of conceptualizing the body of Christ; praise of the Eucharist merges with references to the incarnate, crucified, and resurrected body, the body of the Church or Christian community, the heavenly Christ, the Christ of the apocalypse and last judgment.[85] The sacrament, they announce, bestows divine grace, removes sins, wards off evil in the present, and brings the promise of future salvation to those who consume in faith, or judgment to anyone who receives in a state of sin or disbelief.[86] Verses by Theodulf of Orléans describe the Mass as a "sacred banquet" and "heavenly food and drink," the "blood and flesh of the lamb who brings fear to the dragon, conquers the lion, and bears away the world's ancient sins."[87] Prayers for the Easter vigil and Mass, in the sacramentary that Pope Hadrian sent Charlemagne, praise Christ's destruction of the chains of death, his victory over sin, death, and

[83] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 27–32, 139–42.
[84] See the index under "liturgy" and "Mass/eucharist" in Chazelle, *Crucified God*.
[85] De Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, pp. 13–36.
[86] E.g. Rabanus, *De institutione clericorum* 1.31, ed. Zimpel, p. 331; Walafrid, *Libellus* 18, ed. Harting-Correa, pp. 104–07; Candidus, *De passione Domini* 5, *PL* 106, col. 70A/B.
[87] Theodulf of Orléans, *Carmen* 58, MGH *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* 1, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin, 1881), p. 554.

the devil, and the return of light to the world.[88] In *The Heliand*, Jesus begins his blessing of bread and wine at the Last Supper by thanking the Creator, and then reminds the disciples that his body and blood "is a powerful thing" (*thit is mahtig thing*).[89] While certain texts imply that the bread and wine possess power because they are changed into Christ's body and blood, a large number of writings reverse the action and describe Christ's power to "transform," "transfigure," or "convert" his body and blood into bread and wine.[90] Some Mozarabic prayers imply that the transformation is a two-way process; through the Holy Spirit, the body and blood are "transformed" into bread and wine while—an idea echoed by Isidor of Seville—bread and wine are "conformed" to body and blood.[91]

Early medieval writers also frequently refer to the sacrament and the Mass as a sacrifice commemorating and re-presenting Christ's sacrifice and death on the cross. Although this theme grows more pronounced in ninth-century Carolingian literature, it is found in earlier prose and poetry, as well.[92] At times the imagery of humility is entwined with reminders of omnipotence, in other instances Christ's suffering and death are set in the foreground. Gregory's fourth *Dialogue* narrates a series of miracles illustrating the power of Masses to free both the living and the dead from suffering and sin, and he explains that this power is rooted in our sacrifice imitating that of Christ. Those who "celebrate the mysteries of the Lord's passion" should also offer themselves "in contrition of heart," in order "to imitate what we do; for then there will truly be a sacrifice for us."[93] According to Bede's commentaries on Luke and Mark, Christ's breaking of the bread at the last supper

---

[88] *Le Sacramentaire grégorien* 1, ed. Jean Deshusses (Spicilegium Friburgense) 16, 3rd. ed. (Fribourg, 1992), nos. 359–91, pp. 182–93.

[89] *Heliand*, 56, ed. Behaghel, l. 4645, p. 161; see Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. 47–48.

[90] Latin terms include *transformare, transfigurare, uertere, conuersio*, and variants. On both the Irish and other texts, Martin McNamara, "The Inverted Eucharistic Formula *Conversio corporis Christi in panem et sanguinis in vinum*," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 87C (1987), pp. 573–93.

[91] Isidor, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.15; CCSL 113, p. 17: "Porro sexta exhinc succedit confirmatio sacramenti, ut oblatio quae deo offertur sanctificata per spiritum sanctum Christi corporis ac sanguinis conformetur." For other texts, as well, see P. Rinaldo Falsini, "La 'Conformatio' nella liturgia mozarabica," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 72 (1958), 281–91.

[92] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 32–37, 142–64.

[93] Gregory, *Dialogus* 4.59; PL 77:428: "Sed necesse est ut cum haec agimus, nosmetipsos Deo in cordis contritione mactemus, quia qui passionis dominicae mysteria

signaled that his body would be broken because he willed it, just as he willed his resurrection.[94] In his allegorical commentary on the liturgy, the *Liber officialis*, the ninth-century Carolingian scholar Amalarius declares that the bread and wine place Christ's passion "on display";[95] for Amalarius' opponent, Florus of Lyons, Masses recall Christ's lowliness, since "unless he were humble, he would not be eaten or drunk."[96] The commentary on the Letter to the Hebrews by the ninth-century theologian, Haimo of Auxerre, recalls Melchisedech's offering of bread and wine as a prefiguration of Christ's sacrifice in the Eucharist, and the humanity of Christ's tears in Gethsemane and obedience unto death.[97]

A final, pervasive refrain of early medieval writing on the Eucharist to note is that the bread and wine signify and strengthen ecclesiastical and Christian unity.[98] According to Rabanus, the Mass is a "binding between God and men," when the priest, who has the "office of binding," offers the people's prayers to God.[99] An important vehicle of such ideas was feasting imagery. While we do not know how much bread and wine (or other drink) were generally consumed in early medieval Eucharists—the quantity likely varied and was probably often greater than is common today—and although other food could be presented in the offertory, the spartan character of the sacrament relative to other meals no doubt reminded many participants of fasting. Isidor of Seville asserts that the term *ceremoniae* for all liturgical rituals comes from *carendo*, and he links this to the Old Testament injunctions to

---

celebramus, debemus imitari quod agimus. Tunc ergo vere pro nobis hostia erit Deo, cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerimus."

[94] Bede, *In Lucam* 6.22, *In Marcum* 4.14; CCSL 120, pp. 378, 611.

[95] *Liber officialis* 3.25.1, in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia* 2, ed. John M. Hanssens (Vatican, 1948–50), p. 340: "In sacramento panis et vini, necnon etiam in memoria mea, passio Christi in promptu est." See also Chazelle, "Amalarius's *Liber Officialis*," pp. 344–45.

[96] Florus, *De expositio missae* 3; PL119:17: "Dominus itaque noster Jesus Christus in corpore et sanguine suo voluit esse salutem nostram. Unde autem commendavit corpus et sanguinem suum? De humilitate sua. Nisi enim esset humilis, nec manducaretur, nec biberetur."

[97] Haimo, *In Epistolam ad Hebraeos* 5; PL117:855–56.

[98] Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 20–21. On the interplay between the ideas of communion (building community) and expiation through sacrifice, Nancy Jay, *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 17–29.

[99] Rabanus, *De institutione clericorum* 1.32, ed. Zimpel, p. 338. See Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 160–61 for other Carolingian literature.

abstain from certain foods.[100] Rabanus' defense of the use of bread rather than "more honorable" food for the Eucharist implies concern about criticisms of its simplicity.[101] But in accordance with the basic liturgical identification of the Mass as a feast, expressions of the belief that it creates and celebrates community often allude to feasting. The commentary on John by Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon adviser to Charlemagne, to give one example, draws on Augustine to describe the union of the faithful with God and each other through the body that is the living bread from heaven. The Son of God descended from heaven to the cross in order to provide mortals with the source of eternal life. By "spiritually" eating and drinking his body and blood, the Christian is united with the savior who himself has two natures united in one person. Like the loaf of bread made from many grains and wine from many grapes, the shared food and drink of the Mass join faithful recipients together as members of the one body of Christ.[102] An implicit corollary is the exclusion from this community of non-believers, heretics, and penitents, who are not allowed to share the feast because of their separation from the body of Christ.

Responses

Assuming that early medieval monks and clergy (and probably nuns), even with limited education, taught other faithful along these lines, how might their audiences have responded to this instruction and thought about its relation to their own experiences of Eucharists, Masses, and other "eucharistic" rituals? Although the written sources do not offer straightforward evidence to assist with this question, we can make some plausible guesses if we reflect on a few ways that the ideas and practices outlined so far likely seemed, to early medieval Christians, in harmony with other customs and traditions perhaps more familiar to them than "correctly" performed Mass liturgies. Among these, we should first note some of the allegedly magical practices besides those that made use of the eucharistic bread and wine or Mass utensils and prayers. Particularly significant for understanding Pascasius' treatise,

---

[100] Isidor, *Etymologiae* 6.19.36–37; PL 82:255.

[101] Rabanus, *De institutione clericorum* 1.31, ed. Zimpel, pp. 328–29. Similarly, Walafrid, *Libellus* 17, ed. Harting-Correa, pp. 104–05.

[102] Alcuin, *Commentaria in S. Joannis Evangelium* 3.15; PL 100:834–37.

I think, was the prevalent belief, which clergy again condemned, that creatures could supernaturally change or "transform" (*transformare*) their physical forms through shape-shifting; the example best known to us is no doubt the werewolf.[103] Additionally, as Karen Jolly has observed, analogies can clearly be drawn between prayers, rituals, and the objects of Masses, on the one hand, and on the other hand non-Mass formulae that allude to the spiritual/supernatural presence of deities in effigies or idols or empowered food, drink, and talismans.[104] If Walafrid is correct that the laity attached more importance to their own oblations than to receiving communion, this was probably in part because they were so familiar with rituals—Masses and others—of votive offering and sacrifice. Access to Christian holy things like chrism, holy water, relics, and crosses may have reinforced ideas that the Eucharist is one type of spiritually empowered substance among others offering comparable benefits.[105] The three spells copied at the end of the Stowe Missal, at an uncertain later date, illustrate how early medieval clergy might regard Masses, Eucharists, and "magical" formulae and acts as elements of a common devotional sphere.[106]

Also relevant are the many writings, and some archaeological remains, that shed light on early medieval meal rituals. In a recent study focusing on Gaul, Bonnie Effros has beautifully demonstrated the symbolic complexity of feasts in early medieval communities and the multiple functions they served. Among other roles, feasts were the preeminent means to give thanks for abundance, honor the dead, and celebrate important life events. Like the "feast" of the Mass, they were a critical mechanism for preserving and building social bonds in a community and distinguishing its members from those on the outside—those excluded from the celebration or, if invited, ritually honored as guests.[107] The Anglo-Saxon epic poem, *Beowulf* says little

[103] Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, p. 50, quoting Burchard of Worms (who uses the verb *transformare*), also pp. 77 and 312–17 citing Regino of Prüm and Burchard, and other related sources. The tradition of mumming implies similar ideas: Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, pp. 156–62. For analogies in modern African popular culture, with reference to the Eucharist, http://www.csmonitor.com/2009/0706/p09s01-coop.html.

[104] Jolly, "Medieval Magic," pp. 36–37.

[105] An equivalent penance is imposed for losing any "consecrated" object, including incense, thuribles, and tablets, as well as consecrated bread, in "Penitential Ascribed by Albers to Bede," 15.1, *Medieval Handbooks*, p. 230.

[106] Meeder, "Stowe Missal," pp. 180–81.

[107] Bonnie Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul* (New York, 2002). See Christina Lee, *Feasting the Dead: Food and Drink in*

about the food served in the feasts described but tells at length about the songs and story-telling, gift-giving, speeches, and the women's carefully choreographed presentations of drink.[108] Other texts refer to feasts with Christian participants in which ritually killed meat was served. Whether or not the intention was to offer animal sacrifices, the clergy who condemned the events worried this was the meaning. The food of Christian-led feasts was customarily blessed; saints' lives recount miraculous multiplications of blessed food and drink to provision crowds, and the miraculous destruction of drinking vessels causing drunkenness when signed with the cross.[109] For many listeners, episodes like these, in literature that might be read aloud to audiences, must have recalled the power attributed to Mass liturgies, priests, and Eucharists. Some early medieval eating and drinking ceremonies, such as *agape* meals and the monastic drink ceremony of the *caritas*, were more overtly liturgical and thus Mass-like. An Anglo-Saxon decree of 787, probably reflecting in part a concern to distinguish Masses clearly from feasting rituals, forbids priests to wear secular dress when celebrating Masses (they should not have bare legs). It further warns that the laity should not bring crusts for the offertory, and horns should not be used to fabricate patens or as chalices "for sacrificing to God" because these things are "bloody"; the concern with blood suggests an association with animal sacrifice.[110] A number of texts imply that Christian

---

Anglo-Saxon Burial Rituals (Woodbridge, UK, 2007); Margorie A. Brown, "The Feast Hall in Anglo-Saxon Society," in *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (London, 1998), pp. 1–13. There are countless ethnographic and anthropological studies of feasting rituals in traditional societies that present interesting analogies. To note one example: *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*, ed. Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden (Washington, DC, 2001).

[108] *Beowulf: A New Verse Translation*, trans. Roy M. Liuzza (Peterborough, ON, 2000), ll. 491–661, 1008–1237. Cf. Hugh Magennis, "The Treatment of Feasting in the 'Heliand'," *Neophilologus* 69 (1985), 126–33, esp. 128–32.

[109] Effros, *Creating Community*, pp. 9–11, 13–17, 18. Individual blessings for meals appear e.g. in *Liber sacramentorum romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56) (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)* 86–87, ed. Leo C. Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer, and Peter Siffrin, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1960), p. 232; *Bobbio Missal*, p. 171.

[110] "English Church [Legatine Synods] AD 787," 10, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, 3, pp. 451–52: "Decimo capitulo: Ut ne quislibet ex ministris altaris, nudix cruribus ad missam celebrandam accedere audeat, ne turpitudo ejus appareat, et offendatur Deus.... Oblationes quoque fidelium tales fiant, ut panis sit, non crusta. Vetuimus etiam ne de cornu bovis calix aut patina fieret, ad sacrificandum Deo, quia sanguineae sunt." Condemning *agape* meals, Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* 3; PL 140:690 (Council of Laodicea); see Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, p. 215. But prayers for

laity sometimes held feasts deliberately emulating Mass ceremonial—or at least that is how they are described. Venantius Fortunatus notes that the sixth-century Merovingian Queen Radegund hosted meals for priests on Sundays at her convent in Poitiers. Those who served her the Eucharist were in turn served from her table.[111] Gottschalk opens one of his treatises on the Eucharist by recalling a banquet where his Bulgarian host offered a toast, "in love of the god who makes his blood from wine."[112] The tenth-century historian, Richer of Reims describes a dinner given by Duke Charles of Lorraine for his archbishop, Adalbero. In a reversal of their roles at the Palm Sunday Mass earlier that day, Charles presents the cup containing broken bread and wine to Adalbero. As he does so, the king reminds the archbishop of his earlier presentation of the Eucharist, and utters words recalling the warnings to sinners against reception of communion "to judgment." "Drink this as a sign that you will hold and keep faith," Charles says, "But if you do not mean to keep faith, do not drink, lest you repeat the horrible image of Judas, the traitor."[113]

Among the other differences, one distinction to emphasize between Masses and many other feasts lies in the roles of women. Although

---

agape rituals are found e.g. in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum mixtum*, ed. Klaus Gamber (Regensburg, 1973), pp. 74–75; and in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, ed. Mohlberg, pp. 205–06. A Frankish order, probably late eighth-century, outlines a complex "liturgy" for a monastic meal presenting analogies to Masses: *Ordo* 19, in *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, ed. Michel Andrieu, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931–60), 3 (1951), 217–27. On *caritas* drinking ceremonies and the decree of 787, see the very informative study by Carol Neuman de Vegvar, "A Feast to the Lord: Drinking Horns, the Church, and the Liturgy," in *Objects, Images, and the Word*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), pp. 231–56 (pp. 235–36 on *caritas* ritual). The horn cup or chalice also had magical connotations: *Lacnunga*, 5a, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, p. 99.

[111] Venantius, *Vita Radegundis*, 1.18; PL 72:657: "Venerabili vero omni Dominico die hoc habebat in canone vel aestate vel hieme, ut pauperibus collectis primo merum sua manu de potu dulci porrigeret, puellae postea committens, ut omnibus illa propinaret: quia ipsa festinabat orationi occurrere, quo et cursum consummaret, et sacerdotibus ad mensam invitatis occurreret, quos adhuc regali more ad propria cum redirent, sine munere non laxaret." The reference to priests implies the Sunday services were Masses.

[112] "…nam quondam in terra Vulgarorum quidam nobilis potensque paganus bibere me suppliciter petiuit in illius dei amore qui de uino sanguinem suum facit.…": Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, p. 325.

[113] Richer, *Histoire de France (888–995)*, ed. and trans. into French by Robert Latouche, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964, 1967), 2 (1964), 214–19; translated into English and discussed in Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1992), p. 118.

early medieval writers often describe the Mass as a symbol of unity, the roles of the actors in these liturgies could mirror the class divisions in lay society.[114] In terms of gender relations, however, Masses cut across social class. While early medieval women did sometimes minister in Masses and other eucharistic ceremonies, the surviving written sources generally condemn any behavior that implies they are priests. Only men should consecrate the Eucharist, the authors of these texts clearly believed. Beyond this, various penitentials and other writings note that women should not sit between priests during Masses, or even sometimes next to laymen, receive the sacrament in bare hands, or, as mentioned above, take communion at all when menstruating or after childbirth.[115] In contrast, women might sit at feasts near men of the same social rank, hold the food with bare hands, and serve, as in *Beowulf*.[116] Some early medieval churchmen sought to restrict feasting in convents, possibly in part because the actions of the nuns presiding over the meal rituals, blessing, and serving so closely resembled the prayers and actions of clergy performing Masses. And some nuns may indeed have perceived the rituals as comparable.[117] Similarly, we can speculate, along with the frequently expressed concerns for clerical sexual purity in early medieval literature, another worry behind the rulings against women living in the homes of clergy was possibly that meals and Masses (with women "concelebrating") might converge.[118]

It is obviously impossible to do full justice to the myriad beliefs about the Eucharist and the Mass among non-elite Christian populations in early medieval Europe, yet the foregoing considerations help

---

[114] Higher level clergy tended to come from noble families; the earliest Franco-Roman order, for the Easter Mass in Rome, notes that the pope is to receive the offerings of the aristocracy while lesser clergy receive gifts from those of lower social rank: *Ordo* 1, *Ordines Romani*, 2, ed. Andrieu, pp. 65–109, at 103–06.

[115] Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, esp. pp. 202–10; *idem*, "Men, Women and Liturgical Practice," pp. 204–07. The penitential attributed to Theodore decrees (7.1) that women should neither "stand among ordained men in the church, nor sit at a feast among priests." For this see *Medieval Handbooks*, p. 205.

[116] See Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages*, paperback edition (London,1998), pp. 99–101, 108–09; Dorothy Carr Porter, "The Social Centrality of Women in *Beowulf*: A New Context," *The Heroic Age* 5 (2001), http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/5/porter1.html.

[117] See Effros, *Creating Community*, pp. 16, 39–54.

[118] On the developing opposition to married clergy, Paul Beaudette, "'In the World but not of It': Clerical Celibacy as a Symbol of the Medieval Church," in *Medieval Purity and Piety*, pp. 23–46; on the Carolingian period, esp. de Jong, "*Imitatio Morum*" (above, n. 22).

us, I think, envisage a spectrum of possible attitudes. Most early medieval Christians probably had some experience of ceremonies they identified as Masses and of the teachings on the Eucharist outlined earlier. Probably, belief was widespread that through these rituals, bread or bread and wine or another drink become in some sense Christ's body and blood. When eaten and drunk, this body and blood provide spiritual protection against dangers in the present life, cleanse the faithful recipient of sins, and assist him or her to reach heaven in the next life. The idea that the Mass is a sacrifice or oblation to God commemorating the crucifixion and a feast strengthening the Christian community, and variants on these themes, I suspect, were also widely familiar. But most laity and a good number of less educated clergy, monks, and nuns probably situated the Mass and Eucharist, however understood, within a mental panoply encompassing a plethora of other "magical" and spiritual aids and rituals, as well—talismans, holy water, chrism, food offerings, amulets, love potions, and so on. And many, if not most Christians, probably received the Eucharist or participated in Masses much less often than they turned to other resources from this wide array of possibilities.

On the whole, this assessment is in line with a large volume of modern scholarship exploring popular culture and the fusion of Christian with non-Christian customs in early medieval Europe. Usually, though, in such studies, "Mass" and "Eucharist" are treated as if they are fixed, essentially unchanging categories, even when the many differences among Mass liturgies or the use of eucharistic elements and Mass prayers in non-Mass contexts are noted. Guided by the extant writings of early medieval clerical and monastic elites, we assume that the definitions of Mass and Eucharist in place by the end of the Roman Empire continued to prevail unchallenged through the early Middle Ages. For educated circles, this seems generally reasonable, despite the variety of beliefs and practices their writings accept as orthodox. But for the majority of Christians in this period, the categories of Mass and Eucharist were probably much more flexible and, at times, quite ambiguous or uncertain. Especially in places removed from centers of power and learning, there must have been situations in which ceremonies blended together, definitions were fuzzy, and opinions differed over which ritual signified what, how to distinguish them, and who could perform them. The clear dividing lines that the writers of our sources envisaged between Masses, communion services, feasts, and other food and drink rituals, between the Eucharist and food or

drink blessed in other ways, between correctly appointed clergy and so-called Arian clergy, false priests, women ministers, or others supposedly lacking legitimacy—were surely less clear to many faithful and occasionally, perhaps, actively resisted. Do bread and wine blessed in another ritual than a "Mass"—perhaps another kind of feast—but with similar prayers provide similar spiritual benefits? How much can a Mass deviate from the local understanding of "correct" liturgy before the bread and wine are not Christ's body and blood, or celebrants should be deemed Arians or magicians? If Mass prayers are said by laymen or women—whether *conhospitae*, nuns conducting meal ceremonies, or midwives attending mothers in childbirth—do they create the sacrament or impart another blessing to bread, wine, or other food? Such issues must have been differently resolved from one community to the next, often in ways that deviated from the definitions of correct practice and doctrine promoted in the surviving literature. Gottschalk's story of the Bulgarian feast—assuming the event is not fictional—illustrates the potential for divergent attitudes. Although he identifies the nobleman who invited him to drink "in love of the god who makes his blood from wine" as a pagan (*paganus*), it is reasonable to wonder if the host himself, presiding over the feast, saw it as a form of Christian Mass, the food as Eucharist, and his own position as that of a Christian priest.[119]

Pascasius Radbertus

Pascasius' treatise, "On the Lord's Body and Blood," was meant to help the Corvey novices understand the Eucharist by, in part, leading their thoughts away from this cultural and religious landscape of confluent and overlapping oblations, talismans, meal ceremonies, and the like. Perhaps because he shared some of the same cultural heritage, or perhaps as a strategy for instructing the monks, his language sometimes resonates with that wider arena of customs and attitudes. Yet a critical aspect of his teaching, which underscores the difference, for him, between the Eucharist and other feasts, votive offerings, and so on, is its unique place in the biblical narrative of salvation history,

[119] Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, p. 325.

a narrative that rejects the legitimacy of any other sacrifices after the crucifixion.

The opening chapter—the chapter headings may reflect questions Warin had heard from his students—discusses "why it must not be doubted" that the Eucharist is Christ's true body and blood.[120] Pascasius' insistence, throughout the treatise, that the bread and wine are spiritually, imperceptibly transformed into the historical flesh and blood probably mirrors both his and Warin's beliefs and the influence of their studies of patristic writers, especially Ambrose.[121] Since Christ is divine Truth, Pascasius stresses, his declaration that the bread "is my flesh for the life of the world" must have been perfectly true; the bread truly becomes his flesh.[122] But unlike the concept—possibly easier for some Corvey monks to accept—that Jesus changes his body and blood into bread and wine, taking on their physical forms, the doctrine outlined in the treatise clearly distinguishes the sacrament from notions of "shape-shifting" and the multiplicity of spiritually or supernaturally empowered objects likely familiar to the novices.[123] Whereas in shape-shifting, the agent acquires a different physical appearance, in the Eucharist, according to Pascasius, there is no alteration at the visible or material level, neither of Christ nor of the bread and wine. And yet Christ does not merely endow the bread and wine with spiritual force, since they are indeed, inwardly changed into entirely different entities from what they appear to be—not a new "body" and "blood," as if bodies could be repeatedly created, but the unique flesh and blood of the incarnation and crucifixion. To illustrate that God has the power to do this, Pascasius recalls the work of creation and then other divine

[120] Pascasius, *De corpore* 1; CCCM 16, p. 13: "Christi communionem uerum corpus eius et sanguinem esse non dubitandum. Quisque Catholicorum recte Deum cuncta creasse de [ex] nihilo corde credit ad iustitiam et ore confitetur ad salutem, numquam dubitare poterit ex aliquo aliquid rursus fieri posse quasi contra naturam aliud, immo iure naturae, quod necdum erat."

[121] Chazelle, "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy," *Traditio* 47 (1992) pp. 9–19; Celia Chazelle, "Exegesis in the Ninth-Century Eucharist Controversy," in *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, ed. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 167–187, at 172–74.

[122] Pascasius, *De corpore* 1; CCCM 16, pp. 15–16, 18.

[123] Only once is there a reference in the treatise to the idea that in the Mass, Christ changes his body and blood into bread and wine, and this occurs in a quotation from the sixth-century *Verba seniorum* added to a "fourth" edition of the treatise, probably not by Pascasius: Pascasius, *De corpore* 14; CCCM 16, p. 89, ll. 116–17. The oldest manuscript of the fourth edition is eleventh century. See Beda Paulus, "Einleitung," CCCM 16, pp. ix–xii, xxxv–xxxvi.

contraventions of nature reported in scripture: Old Testament miracles like the parting of the Red Sea, the incarnation, and Jesus' miracles. The faithful must learn, then, "to taste something other than what is sensed with the physical mouth, to see something other than what is shown to the eyes of the body."[124] Perhaps aware of interpretations of the "Roman" or "Gregorian" Mass in which the main consecrating oration was the Lord's Prayer, Pascasius also affirms that only at the words of institution, spoken solely by the priest, does God effect this transformation. No other words sung or said in the liturgy by clergy or laity have this consequence, he indicates, and he quotes the institution narrative so there is no doubt about which text he means.[125]

The other precepts expounded in the treatise develop from and confirm these core concepts. One is that since Christ cannot die again, having offered on the cross the unique sacrifice of his body for all history, the Eucharist replicates that oblation. Although adumbrated in Melchisedech's sacrifice and other Old Testament oblations and miracles, and in this regard part of a long sequence of such acts, it alone contains the truth that bestows eternal life. In the Eucharist, it is Christ's passion that "is handed over in mystery," removing the sins we daily commit after baptism.[126]

Second, through a variant on Hebrews 1:3 borrowed from Ambrose, Pascasius argues that because of the identity with the incarnate flesh and blood, the bread and wine are the "characters" of those entities and thus analogous to written letters or texts.[127] This line of thought would have held special appeal to the Corvey novices if, as it seems, they were just learning to read. Like the shadows of Christian truth given the ancient Jews, the sacrament visibly points to another reality,

---

[124] Pascasius, *De corpore* 8; CCCM 16, p. 42: "Unde, homo, disce aliud gustare quam quod ore carnis sentitur, aliud uidere quam quod oculis istis carneis monstratur."

[125] Pascasius, *De corpore* 15; CCCM 16, pp. 92–96.

[126] Pascasius, *De corpore* 5, 9; CCCM 16, pp. 31–34, 53, see 52–60: "Et ideo qui cotidie labimur, cotidie pro nobis Christus mystice immolatur et passio Christi in mysterio traditur, ut qui semel moriendo mortem uicerat, cotidie recidiua delictorum per haec sacramenta corporis et sanguinis peccata [peccata per haec corporis et sanguinis sacramenta] relaxet."

[127] Pascasius, *De corpore* 4; CCCM 16, pp. 27–31, esp. 29: "Unde Paulus de unico Dei Filio ad Hebraeos loquens ait: *Qui cum sit splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius portansque omnia uerbo uirtutis suae purgationem peccatorum faciens.*…Cum uero *figura uel caracter substantiae eius*, humanitatis designat naturam.…" See Celia Chazelle, "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body," pp. 1–36, esp. pp. 15–19, and correcting my argument, Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. 50–52.

different from its physical features, since the material features of bread signify body and those of wine signify blood. But the things of the Old Testament were nothing more than shadows, whereas the Eucharist, Pascasius teaches, is like a written character or letter that contains the truth designated through its external traits, much as Christ's humanity is the visible figure and hence character of his veiled divinity. As is true of writing, he claims, the bread and wine set hidden "strength and power and spirit" before the eyes. We need to recall that Pascasius wrote for monks who believed, as he did, that spoken and written words and signs, from Christian and non-Christian traditions, contain genuine spiritual power: scripture, prayers, charms, magical inscriptions, inscribed crosses, and more. But unlike these forms of sacred or magical writing or inscription, the Eucharist is empowered by the imperceptible presence of the incarnate flesh and blood of the divine Word.[128]

Finally to note, since the Eucharist spiritually contains Christ's historical body and blood, it is food and drink of a unique feast, one capable of uniting faithful recipients in both body and soul with Christ. Chapter 14, titled "That these things [flesh and blood] often appear in visible form," paraphrases an episode from the "Miracles of Bishop Nynian" about a priest, Plecgils, who celebrated Masses at the saint's shrine and prayed to see "the appearance hiding under the form of bread and wine."[129] His request was fulfilled through a miraculous vision in which the bread on the altar became the baby Jesus. The resulting "union" between Plecgils and Christ is notably physical: Lifting his eyes to the altar, we are told, the priest saw the baby whom Simeon had carried; led by an angel, he took the child into his arms, "joined Christ's own breast with his breast," then "kissed God," pressing "Christ's pious lips to his own lips." When he set the baby back on the altar, it "refilled Christ's table with heavenly food,"

[128] Pascasius, *De corpore* 4; CCCM 16, p. 29: "Quid enim aliud sunt figurae litterarum quam caracteres earundem, ut per eas uis et potestas ac spiritus prolatione oculis demonstretur?" Regarding the Eucharist, see *ibid.*, p. 30: "Est autem figura uel caracter hoc quod exterius sentitur, sed totum ueritas et nulla adumbratio quod intrinsecus percipitur ac per hoc nihil aliud hinc inde quam ueritas et sacramentum ipsius carnis aperitur."

[129] Pascasius, *De corpore* 14; CCCM 16, p. 85: "Quod haec saepe uisibili specie apparuerint."

the baby turning back into the bread.[130] Like Plecgils, other passages of Pascasius' treatise indicate, Christians who consume the incarnate body and blood in the Eucharist unite their own physical bodies with Christ's; this union means hope for both the salvation of their souls and the restoration of their flesh "to immortality and incorruption."[131] In the Eucharist, Christ becomes "our feast and the dinner guest;"[132] we receive the fruit of the new tree of life that is Christ, foreshadowed in the tree whose fruit was forbidden to Adam and Eve.[133] Because of the presence of his historical flesh and blood, eating and drinking the bread and wine of the Mass joins the church to the incarnate Christ "from his flesh and bones" and makes them "two in one flesh."[134]

While Pascasius' teachings do not mean that other feasts—or, for that matter, oblations, talismans, and such—have no value at all, his treatise was unprecedented in the clarity with which it defended the mystical transformation of bread and wine into body and blood, and beyond this, into the flesh and blood of the incarnation and crucifixion. Thus he provided an exceptionally forceful defense of the sacrament's status as *the* sacrifice and oblation of the crucifixion, *the* sacred "writing" of the incarnate humanity, *the* feast of the crucified blood and flesh. The ties to the biblical history of salvation put the Eucharist in a class by itself; it is impossible for any other sacrifice, written incantation, or other object or ritual to have the same importance. The treatise seems to have quickly gained popularity after its initial publication in the early 830s; most of the surviving copies—more than 120 are extant—contain the first edition sent to Corvey.[135] One reason the work was appreciated was no doubt that it seemed so comprehensive and straightforward; the text must have helped many clergy in the ninth and later centuries to improve their understanding of the

[130] Pascasius, *De corpore* 14; CCCM 16, p. 90: "Tum sacerdos *caelesti munere fretus, quod dictu mirum est, ulnis trementibus puerum accepit et pectus* proprium Christi *pectore iunxit*. Deinde pro*fusus in amplexum dat oscula* Deo et suis *labiis* pressit pia *labia Christi*." The italics indicate the words drawn from *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, MGH *PLAC* 4.4, ed. Karl Strecker (Berlin, 1923), p. 959.

[131] Pascasius, *De corpore* 19; CCCM 16, p. 101: "Denique non, sicut quidam uolunt, anima sola hoc mysterio pascitur, quia non sola redimitur morte Christi et saluatur, uerum etiam et caro nostra per hoc ad inmortalitatem et incorruptionem reparatur."

[132] Pascasius, *De corpore* 21; CCCM 16, p. 112, see p. 113: "…ubi profecto Christus conuiuium et conuiua noster."

[133] Pascasius, *De corpore* 7, 9; CCCM 16, pp. 39, 54–55.

[134] Pascasius, *De corpore* 7; CCCM 16, pp. 37–40, esp. 38 ll. 8–9, 40 ll. 56, 58.

[135] Paulus, "Einleitung," CCCM 16, p. ix.

Eucharist simply for their own benefit. Additionally, though, it offered them a new set of intellectual tools with which to persuade converts and Christians in the wider public sphere to move more fully into the devotional orbit to which their clergy belonged. To large measure, this arena was defined by the Mass rituals and prayers of consecration—culminating in the words of institution—that they asserted they alone were able to perform.

The Carolingian Eucharist Controversy

All the writings of the "Eucharist controversy," which seems to have arisen among Carolingian theologians about seventeen years after Pascasius finished his treatise, confirm that the Eucharist is body and blood of Christ and critical for salvation, and implicitly or explicitly, they all ground this theology in the Christian history of redemption through the cross. The divisive issue was whether, as Pascasius asserted, the eucharistic body and blood are identical with the flesh and blood of the incarnation. One evident catalyst for some of Pascasius' fellow ecclesiastics to write in opposition to this doctrine was the contemporary quarrel over the theology of twin predestination taught by Gottschalk of Orbais. As Gottschalk travelled around the Carolingian Empire and into the Balkans, he preached that God eternally predestines all mortals either to salvation or to damnation; virtuous behavior cannot change this destiny. The spread of his ideas raised fears they would jeopardize the clergy's efforts to encourage lay reception of the sacraments (including the Eucharist) and other virtuous behavior.[136] Gottschalk was condemned at a council that Rabanus convened in Mainz in 848. Rabanus then sent him to Archbishop Hincmar of Reims, who had him again condemned at Quierzy in early 849.[137] But other councils and individual theologians supported elements of Gottschalk's doctrine, and the controversy continued for at least another decade.

The Carolingian writings that present the most detailed reflections on the theology of the eucharistic presence, apart from Pascasius'

[136] See Hincmar, *De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio* 2; PL 125:84–85; Rabanus, *Ep.* 22, 42, *MGH Epistolae* 5, ed. Ernst Dümmler, Karl Hampe, et al. (1898–99), pp. 428, 481–82. On the predestination controversy, see Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 165–208, with references to earlier literature.

[137] Section 16. *Mainz (Oktober 848)*, Section 18; *Quierzy (Frühjahr 849)*, *MGH Conc.* 3, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Hanover, 1984), 179–84, 194–99.

treatise, are those noted earlier by Hincmar of Reims, John Scottus Eriugena, Gottschalk, and Ratramnus; I will summarize them briefly to clarify the main points of their disagreement. Pascasius responded to attacks on his teachings in a letter to Fredugard and his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, but these writings of the early 850s do not add anything significant to the doctrine of his treatise for Warin. We should keep in mind that we are now turning to literature written by intellectuals who seem primarily intent on communicating ideas to other intellectuals—learned monks and clergy as well as Charles the Bald, probably the best educated of the Carolingian kings.[138] On the whole, there is little evidence of concern with attitudes outside this circle.

The theologian who expresses by far the closest agreement with Pascasius is Hincmar, perhaps the most powerful ecclesiastic of the ninth-century Carolingian church and one of its most prolific writers. Several of his works in poetry and prose comment on the Eucharist in sufficient depth to give a fairly clear picture of his thought and the position he took in the controversy. Hincmar may have traveled with Charles the Bald to Corbie in 843/844 and likely read Pascasius' treatise soon after that visit; certain refrains of the treatise are echoed in poetry he composed in the late 840s.[139] The earliest writing in which he clearly affirms that the bread and wine contain Christ's incarnate body and blood, linking this doctrine to his theology of predestination, dates to 853–56; this is his poem plus prose commentary, the *Ferculum Salomonis* ("Solomon's Litter"), composed for Charles.[140] We will focus here, though, on his later treatise, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis* ("On Vices to be Avoided and Virtues to be Pursued"), written for Charles in the 860's or early 870's, since it discusses the sacrament at greater length, again bringing together Eucharist and predestination theology.[141] About ninety percent of "On Vices and Virtues" consists of quoted and paraphrased excerpts from the Church Fathers and scripture; little of the language originates with Hincmar.

---

[138] Celia Chazelle, "Charles the Bald, Hincmar of Rheims and the Ivory of the Pericopes of Henry II," in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 139–61.

[139] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 253–54.

[140] Hincmar, *Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis*; PL 125:817–34; *Carmen* 4.1, MGH *PLAC* 3, ed. Ludwig Traube (Berlin, 1896), pp. 414–15.

[141] Hincmar, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis* 3, MGH *Quellen* 16, ed. Doris Nachtmann (Munich, 1998), pp. 226–66.

Yet the innovativeness lies in the seamless manner in which he glues these disparate borrowings with one another and occasional phrases of his own, to articulate ideas that cannot be traced in precisely the same form to his sources.[142]

The Eucharist is essential to redemption, Hincmar reminds Charles. Prefigured in the Passover lamb that freed the Jews, the mystery of the passion is transferred into the bread and wine, the source of not temporal but eternal life. The sacrifice on the cross once for all time released the blood and water that now washes in baptism and cleanses daily in the Eucharist, since mortals daily sin. The sacrament is identical with that crucified body and blood; immolated in the Mass, its reception strengthens the union of the faithful with Christ.[143] Yet the king is reminded that the Mass is also symbolic, both a commemoration of the one saving death in the past and a foretaste of the future revelation; in keeping with his concern about predestination, Hincmar urges Charles to link the sacrament with the final vision. Although inferior to the heavenly feast, the Eucharist leads faithful minds toward the light to come,[144] whereas those who approach the altar with evil thoughts, not recognizing that the sacrament is Christ's body, eat and drink to judgment.[145] Nonetheless, the foundation of Hincmar's theology of predestination was his belief that God desires universal salvation. Even though only some mortals are predestined to salvation, there can be no predestination to damnation, since this would contradict God's will that all be saved. Those who persist in evil will be damned, yet God foreknows their end without predestining them to it. Masses, therefore, make the saving body and blood—the body that was crucified—available to everyone. Anyone can turn at any time from vice to virtue, and all Christians who persevere in faith and virtue, including faithful reception of the Eucharist, have hope of reaching heaven.[146]

For Hincmar as for Pascasius, the inner transformation of bread and wine into Christ's incarnate body and blood is grounded in divine omnipotence. Like the water and blood that poured from Jesus' side only after he died, the presence of his body and blood in the sacrament

---

[142] Doris Nachtmann, "Einleitung," *De cavendis*, MGH *Quellen* 16, pp. 14–23.
[143] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 2, 3, MGH *Quellen* 16, pp. 225–26, 231–40, 256–62.
[144] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3, MGH *Quellen* 16, pp. 227–28, 241, 244–45.
[145] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3, MGH *Quellen* 16, p. 232.
[146] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3, MGH *Quellen* 16, pp. 234–36.

proves God's power to contravene the natural order.[147] But more than Pascasius, Hincmar stresses that the miracle of the Eucharist demonstrates the perfection of Christ's humility, which extended not only to death but to the offering of his crucified body and blood as food and drink. Like the mother who feeds her infant with milk by "incarnating" the bread she eats, Hincmar tells Charles the Bald, divine wisdom, equal to God the Father, descended from heaven, becoming incarnate and "obedient unto death" in order to offer all mortals the bread that feeds the angels.[148] Above all, as Hincmar suggests in "Solomon's Litter," it is the "living blood of the copious redemption" that holds the key to salvation for the entire human race.[149] The copiousness of the blood flowing from Christ opened hell, released its faithful prisoners, and established the Church, manifesting the extension of God's love throughout human history.[150] The blood's presence in every chalice of every Mass proves it is infinite and a source of redemption for anyone who drinks in faith.[151]

Although both Pascasius and Hincmar use passages from Ambrose to describe the spirituality of the body and blood in the Eucharist, both employ language that sometimes borders on suggesting the Mass is a sacrifice in a corporeal sense. A striking passage occurs in "On Vices and Virtues," where Hincmar asks Charles to realize that in the Mass, "Christ is forever immolated for believers. Thus it is said: Go, bring forth the fatted calf! Preach him killed and offer him for sacrifice in his mystery! And kill! That is, believe him dead for sinners!"[152] In contrast to this rhetoric, John Scottus Eriugena, an Irish scholar affiliated with the court of Charles the Bald from the late 840s, presents an understanding of the eucharistic presence in which the reality of human body and blood sometimes seems to disappear almost completely from view. John, too, opposed Gottschalk's predestination theology; his treatise against this doctrine was written at Hincmar's request in

[147] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3, MGH *Quellen* 16, p. 261.
[148] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3, MGH *Quellen* 16, pp. 243–46, 251–52.
[149] Hincmar, *Explan. in ferc. Salom.*; PL 125:818, PL 125:826–27.
[150] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3, MGH *Quellen* 16.238–40.
[151] See Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3, MGH *Quellen* 16, pp. 252–53.
[152] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3, MGH *Quellen* 16, p. 247: "Semper Christus credentibus immolatur, de quo dicitur: Ite, adducite vitulum saginatum! Id est, praedicate occisum et offerte in suo mysterio immolandum! Et occidite! Id est, pro peccatoribus mortuum credite!"

autumn 850 or spring 851.[153] For John as for the archbishop of Reims, there is no divine predestination to damnation, but John's arguments are distinctive for the influence they show of Greek philosophical and theological thought, especially the theology of the Pseudo-Dionysius. (John was one of the few Carolingian scholars with a solid command of Greek.) The starting point of his own theology of predestination is that God can only will what is good. All human nature shares in the goodness of creation and therefore in the promise of salvation achieved through Christ's crucifixion, harrowing of hell, and resurrection; this end is in keeping with the divine will for universal salvation. The water from Christ's side, the "fount of salvation," washes sin from the entire world; his blood bathed the altar of the cross and now "purges, redeems, releases, leads us back to life."[154] Those who refuse to drink the blood will perish, but only in the sense that their sin is condemned. God does not damn anyone any more than God predestines to damnation; rather, that which is sinful chooses its own separation from the divine. At the end of time, this separation of evil from good will be fully revealed, and the goodness of human nature itself will be drawn back to God.[155]

John's Eucharist theology, outlined most clearly in his commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, owes much to a spiritualized conception of Jesus' glorified body again informed by his studies of the Pseudo-Dionysius.[156] In some respects this leads him along a similar doctrinal path as Pascasius. Even though the sacrifice on the cross was unique in human history, as Pascasius taught, the incarnate body and blood are invisibly present in the bread and wine of every Mass, while also remaining in heaven. Yet for John, as is not evident for Pascasius or Hincmar, this identity is possible because of the assimilation of Christ's resurrected humanity with his divinity, an act that in a sense sets the pattern for the future return of all human nature to God. The divinization of Christ's incarnate body and blood allows for the presence of the same entities in every Eucharist. Thus the Mass provides all faithful

[153] John Scottus Eriugena, *De divina praedestinatione*; CCCM 50.

[154] John Scottus Eriugena, *Carmina* 1, 2, *Iohannis Scotti Eriugenae Carmina*, ed. Michael W. Herren (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae) 12 (Dublin, 1993), pp. 58–59, 66–67.

[155] E.g. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 5; PL 122:1001–03. Translation in *Eriugena, Periphyseon (Division of Nature)*, trans. I.P. Sheldon-Williams, revised by John J. O'Meara (Montréal, 1987).

[156] See Eriugena, *Exp. in Ier. Coel.* 1; CCCM 31, pp. 16–19, 93.

a true, yet purely spiritual immolation, which can only be received "intellectually, not dentally but mentally."[157] Perhaps thinking of contemporaries who believed that Christ becomes the bread and wine, John rebukes those "who want to assert that the Eucharist has no other significance beyond itself." The focus of faith should not be the visible aspects of the sacrament, but the greater reality it signifies: Christ who is, "in the unity of his divine and human substance, beyond everything that is perceived by corporal sense, above everything that is recognized by the power of intelligence, invisible God in each of his natures." This is the proper object of contemplation until the eschaton, when the goodness of humanity will return to God.[158]

The Carolingian texts presenting the most comprehensive rebuttals of the view that the Eucharist contains Christ's incarnate body and blood are the treatise and fragment of a second tract written by Gottschalk, sometime between his confinement in the monastery of Hautvillers in 849—following the condemnation at Quierzy—and his death in 868 or 869,[159] and the treatise that Ratramnus gave Charles the Bald. Gottschalk and Ratramnus agree with Pascasius that in the Mass, bread and wine are inwardly changed into body and blood, and they, too, situate the Eucharist firmly within the biblical narrative of salvation. The sacrament binds the faithful to the past by commemorating Christ's passion, while it sustains them until his return and the final revelation of God. But against Pascasius (and Hincmar), Ratramnus and Gottschalk assert that the eucharistic body and blood cannot be identical with the body born of Mary.

Gottschalk's first treatise on the Eucharist, which seems more or less complete (it ends with "Amen"), refers both to Pascasius' treatise and to Hincmar, who may have given Gottschalk a copy, but does not name either scholar.[160] Gottchalk's argument against their teachings is closely dependent on his theology of twin predestination. If the incarnate flesh and blood are present in the Eucharist, he maintains, every Mass must repeat Christ's suffering on the cross. Having suffered once

---

[157] "…et spiritualiter eum immolamus et intellectualiter, mente non dente, comedimus": Eriugena, *Commentarius in evangelium Iohannis* 1.31; CCCM 166, p. 72.

[158] Eriugena, *Exp. in Ier. Coel.* 1; CCCM 31, p. 17: "…sed propter incomprehensibilem ueritatis uirtutem que Christus est in unitate humane diuineque sue substantie, ultra omne quod sensu sentitur corporeo, super omne quod uirtute percipitur intelligentie, Deus inuisibilis in utraque sua natura."

[159] Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, pp. 324–35, 335–37.

[160] Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, pp. 325–27, 331–33.

for the elect alone, Christ would now suffer for the sins of other mortals, and the salvation accomplished through the passion would be available to everyone, even the wicked predestined (in Gottschalk's belief) to damnation. For Gottschalk this is impossible; the reprobate have no possibility of redemption, whether or not they receive the Eucharist, since they cannot in their sinfulness receive it in a state of faith.[161] God wills that only those predestined to salvation consume a Eucharist that is redemptive. Anyone predestined to damnation eats and drinks to the judgment God has eternally ordained for that person.[162] Yet neither the elect nor the damned consume the crucified body and blood. "Christ was offered once to exhaust the sins of the many" (Hebrews 9:28), meaning—for Gottschalk—that the sacrifice of the historical flesh and blood occurred only at that point in time, and only to redeem those of true faith and virtue predestined to salvation.[163] When Jesus gave his "true body and blood" to his disciples at the last supper "before he suffered," the fact he was still alive signified that the Eucharist does not contain his crucified body.[164]

These views on both the Eucharist and predestination closely follow Augustine's teachings. More consistently than can be said for Pascasius or Hincmar, Gottschalk, like Augustine, envisages Christ's glorified body as retaining corporal qualities after the resurrection and ascension. The body born of Mary and crucified in Jerusalem cannot be in heaven and on earth at the same time; to be present in the Eucharist, it would have to be physically present, an idea Gottschalk rejects. Still, he maintains, Christ's body is daily consecrated "from the substance of bread and wine" at the words of institution. This body is then "transferred" into the body born of Mary presently in heaven, since angels carry the sacrament's spiritual contents to Christ, who then gives them back to earthly recipients.[165] The Eucharist is thus the

[161] Gottschalk *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, pp. 331–33. He is ambiguous on whether the body and blood are actually present in the sacrament that the wicked consume. On what the elect receive, *ibid*., pp. 328, 330, 333–35.

[162] Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, pp. 328, ll. 3–5, 330.

[163] Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, pp. 331–32.

[164] Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, p. 329 ll. 8–14; Ratramnus, *De corpore* 27–28, ed. Van Den Brink, p. 50.

[165] Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, pp. 327–28: "…corpus domini quod ex substantia panis ac uini 'pro mundi uita' cotidie per spiritum sanctum consecratur quod a sacerdote postmodum deo patri suppliciter offertur.…Ad illa siquidem uerba domini: 'Hoc est corpus meum' fit corpus domini et tum supplicante sacerdote corpus domini sumptibile transfertur in corpus domini natum de uirgine quod est penitus

fruit of his crucified body, which, "having been sown in death as a grain or seed of life," rose up like the tree of life to offer its fruit "to those who take it," that is, to the elect.[166] Received back from Christ, the sacrament joins the church of the elect to his flesh or body. Flesh (Christ) gives his flesh (the Eucharist) to his flesh (the church)—three distinct species sharing one nature.[167]

Ratramnus' treatise on predestination is largely a catena of patristic excerpts in support of twin predestination, but he suggests a "softer" version of this theology than Gottschalk by implying there are different degrees of election. Some people, over the course of their lives, move in and out of the ranks of the elect. For some baptized Christians, the election manifested in baptism is temporary. Redemption is offered to the many, not everyone, and only those who persevere in faith and good works until death will finally be saved.[168]

Regarding the Eucharist, the doctrine that Ratramnus sets out in his *De corpore et sanguine Domini* ("On the Lord's Body and Blood") is also similar to Gottschalk's yet not precisely identical. There is no overt reference to the issue of predestination, but given the confluence of the two disputes indicated by the writings of Hincmar and Gottschalk, and Ratramnus' involvement in both quarrels, it is reasonable to think he wrote about Eucharist theology with some idea of the connection.[169] For Ratramnus as for Gottschalk, to assert that Christ's incarnate body and blood are present "in truth" in the sacrament is to say that they are physically and perceptibly present, since—Ratramnus argues—something counts as "truth" only when every essential characteristic is there; with the historical body of Christ, this clearly includes (in his belief)

---

inconsumptibile ut uidelicet inde nobis detur ab ipso Christo pontifice.…." Cf. Pascasius, *De corpore* 7, 15; CCCM 16, pp. 38–39, 92–96; Jean-Paul Bouhot, "Extraits du *De corpore et sanguine Domini* de Pascase Radbert sous le nom d'Augustin," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 12 (1977), 119–173, at 138–39.

[166] Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, pp. 329–30: "Quod ob id eum credo dixisse ut ipsius domini humanum quod seminatum est in morte fuerit quasi granum semenque uitae atque postmodum de ipso resurgente tamquam de ligno uitae pullularet semper et pullulet sumendum nobis unde uitam aeternam in nobis manentem habeamus id est fructum uitae unde prorsus reprobis non licet sumere.…"

[167] Gottschalk, *De corpore*, ed. Lambot, pp. 335, 337. In contrast, the sacrament's Old Testament foreshadowings do not share in the "nature" of Christ's body but are only figures, a doctrine with which Pascasius essentially agreed: *ibid*., pp. 336–37.

[168] See e.g. Ratramnus, *De praedestinatione Dei*; PL 121:11–80, at PL 121:35–41.

[169] Ratramnus may be alluding to predestination theology in his repeated comments that the eucharist benefits the "faithful" [*fideles*]: e.g. *De corpore* 9, 26, 28, 31, ed. Van Den Brink, pp. 45, 50, 51.

the characteristic of physicality.[170] Like Gottschalk, as this suggests, Ratramnus adheres to the view, derived from readings of Augustine, that Christ's resurrected body continues to have attributes of corporeal existence. But the contents of the Eucharist are spiritual; the sacramental presence is perceptible only to the mind or soul, and thus while it consists of spiritual body and blood, these entities must differ from the body and blood of the crucified, resurrected, and glorified Christ.[171] Through both the visible features of bread and wine and their spiritual contents, the Eucharist resembles and "figures" the historical flesh and blood and serves as a pledge and image of them until Christ reappears at the end of time.[172] Yet its role as figure again means the Eucharist is necessarily distinct from the incarnate flesh and blood, because by definition, Ratramnus asserts—drawing on Augustine and Isidor—a figure (unlike "truth") cannot be identical with the reality it signifies.[173] While Gottschalk suggests that the bodies of Christ in heaven and in the Eucharist, and the body of the Church, are distinct species sharing a common nature, Ratramnus posits a sharp distinction between the eucharistic and heavenly body of Christ. Like the sacrament's Old Testament foreshadowings, through which it was made available to the ancient Jews (Ratramnus argues), the Eucharist points to a truth completely separate from itself.[174] Christ was on earth in the past and will return on the last day, but for now, Christians only know and receive him spiritually, as they wait in longing for that revelation.

For Hincmar, the Eucharist provides everyone who receives it in faith access to the salvation achieved through the cross; as Pascasius taught, the bread and wine become Christ's incarnate and crucified flesh and blood. A sacrament that can be repeated daily, this is the

---

[170] Ratramnus, *De corpore* 8–11, ed. Van Den Brink, pp. 44–45.

[171] Ratramnus, *De corpore* 13, 56–65, ed. Van Den Brink, pp. 46, 56–59. In setting out this doctrine, he seems aware of contemporaries—possibly Charles the Bald or members of his court, possibly fellow monks at Corbie—who were claiming that Christ is visibly present in the elements because his body and blood are transformed into bread and wine, taking on their physical forms. Note the enigmatic reference to his "listener," who "rises and says that it is the body of Christ that is seen and the blood that is drunk, and it must not be asked why this is so but believed that it is thus made" ("Hic iam surgit auditor et dicit corpus esse christi, quod cernitur, et sanguinem qui bibitur, nec quaerendum quomodo factum sit, sed tenendum, quod sic factum sit."): Ratramnus, *De corpore* 56, ed. Van Den Brink, p. 56.

[172] Ratramnus, De corpore 86–89, ed. Van Den Brink, pp. 64–65.

[173] Ratramnus, *De corpore* 7, 45, 78, ed. Van Den Brink, pp. 44, 54, 62.

[174] Ratramnus, *De corpore* 20–25, ed. Van Den Brink, pp. 48–49.

infinite source of the "copious redemption" of sin, proof of God's will for the salvation of all humanity, even though many mortals choose to turn away from God. Christ died for everyone; no one is predestined to damnation. John Scottus also thought that God wills universal salvation and does not predestine to damnation, and that the Eucharist contains the crucified blood and body; yet he insists that the focus of faithful contemplation should be not the sacrament but Christ's heavenly existence in his assimilated humanity and divinity. In spite of their differences, and although only Gottschalk clearly ties his theology of twin predestination to his theology of the Eucharist, he and Ratramnus were in agreement that God does predestine to damnation. Salvation is offered to many, but not everyone, and the Eucharist does not contain the incarnate flesh and blood, since Christ will physically remain in heaven, beyond the reach of our bodily senses, until the last day. What the faithful receive in the sacrament is spiritual body and blood, different from the body they will see again at the judgment.

One point, though, on which all four theologians agreed with one another, Pascasius, and other Carolingian clergy: No one can be saved who does not consume the bread and wine consecrated in Masses conducted by priests like themselves—the sole means, in their belief, of creating the sacramental presence of Christ's body and blood. Until Christ returns and the faithful gain their heavenly reward, the Eucharist confected in those liturgies is the uniquely essential oblation, sacrifice, and feast.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Chazelle, Celia. *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion*. Cambridge, 2001.

Effros, Bonnie. *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul*. New York, 2002.

Filotas, Bernadette. *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures*. Toronto, 2005.

Fulton, Rachel. *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200*. New York, 2002.

Ganz, David. "Giving to God in the Mass: The Experience of the Offertory," in *The Language of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 18–32, eds. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre. Cambridge, *forthcoming in* 2010.

Hen, Yitzhak and Rob Meens (eds.). *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*. Cambridge, 2004.

Macy, Gary. *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination*. New York, 2008.

de Vegvar, Carol Neuman. "A Feast to the Lord: Drinking Horns, the Church, and the Liturgy," in *Objects, Images, and the Word*, pp. 231–56. ed. Colum Hourihane. Princeton, 2003.

CAROLINGIAN, OTTONIAN AND ROMANESQUE ART AND THE EUCHARIST

Elizabeth Saxon

The earliest forms of Christian art established a foundation for medieval art, and medieval designers developed these images, stylistically and iconographically, most noticeably in the complexity of combination which ensured exegetical and liturgical echoes and visual cross-referencing. They sometimes retained the foundation images as a way of identifying with what they saw as the purity of the early Church by use of these themes or forms in times of reformation, as in the Carolingian era and eleventh-century Gregorian reform. Particular emphasis is placed in this chapter on Carolingian innovations, and on images elaborated in the wake of the eleventh-century Berengarian debates about the nature of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

By the early ninth century the Carolingians had produced art of great originality, in a range of genres from and for a geographically wide area.[1] The linkage of northern and southern Christian concerns is evident in the oldest surviving great golden and gemmed altar frontal with historiated narratives in Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, commissioned between 824 and 859 in an area fairly recently absorbed into Carolingian control (Fig. 28).[2] Throughout the western world, the altar itself had come to symbolize the mediation in the Eucharist between the heavenly and the terrestrial Church. Even the precious glowing material of the altar was designed to evoke the heavenly Jerusalem of the Apocalypse. Christ in majesty, in the central oval compartment on the altar front, has the symbols of the evangelists above, below and on either side so that they form a cross, marked out by the gemmed intersections, with Christ in the centre. The twelve apostles in threes

[1] Most Carolingian frescoes and wall hangings no longer exist but they would have been made in much greater numbers than the extant manuscripts, ivory and gold works.

[2] Erik Thunø, "The Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan" in Søren Kaspersen and Erik Thunø, eds., *Decorating the Lord's Table. On the Dynamics between Image and Altar in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen, 2006), p. 63.

Fig. 28 Golden Altar of S. Ambrogio, Milan, ca. 824–59, front view, scenes from the Gospels (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank).

fill each corner of this central square. This section was originally itself flanked by two oblong sections each of six New Testament episodes. Christ's human and divine natures are thus revealed by the symbols of the evangelists: the man; the ox; the lion and the eagle, which symbolize respectively the incarnation, passion, resurrection and ascension, complemented by the scenes of annunciation and nativity, and the crucifixion (and, perhaps, originally by the resurrection—maybe the women at the tomb or Doubting Thomas, and ascension—in the three panels now lost). All are seen in the context of the Church: in the Mass celebrated on the altar itself, in the twelve apostles seen together, by the cross (symbolized in victory in the gemmed intersections), and at the crucifixion. The twelve apostles recall their apocalyptic roles of praise, foundation of the Church (Revelation 21:14) and as judges at the end of time; and their typological roles linking the past, present and future sacrifices. The apostles as symbols and pillars of the Church are prefigured by Moses surrounding the altar with twelve stones representing the tribes (Exodus 24:4), and by the twelve men of the twelve tribes in Joshua 3–4 recalled in Galatians 2:9.

The Carolingians also wrote extensively about art. Images, however, were as Thomas Noble states, "rarely at the top of the Carolingian

agenda and never alone on that agenda."[3] In 790 the iconoclast debate in Carolingian lands really took hold with Archbishop Theodulf's anti-Byzantine *Libri Carolini*.[4] Theodulf certainly approved of a move from material concerns and objects to things scriptural and spiritual. Visual art is denigrated but not rejected; Christian art should not be worshipped but nor should it be destroyed. Some Carolingian writers argued that art could teach the illiterate and others saw a wider use to aid recall of the faith and to incite piety and compunction. By an irony of history Theodulf's mosaic of the Arc of the covenant at Germigny-les-Pres is the only Carolingian mosaic extant. The proliferation of manuscripts about art was not only as a result of the iconoclast controversy. Among the Carolingians, intense interest in tradition, order and worship was reflected in the mutually illuminating texts and text-images.[5]

Perhaps paradoxically partly as a result of the iconoclast controversy some Carolingian art became less narrative illustration than an offering of complex theological statements for assessment and contemplation.[6] This was not entirely new as can be seen, for example, in the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels, and in the Ruthwell Cross which had demanded an interpretation of integrated text, image and liturgy.[7] The Carolingians, however, further elaborated ways of using visual juxtapositions of symbols, narrative and text to demand sophisticated interpretation from an educated audience.

The period, especially the reign of Charlemagne to the end of that of Charles the Bald in 877, was a period of "heightened intellectual activity, especially in terms of theology."[8] There were four major areas

---

[3] Noble, *Images*, p. 370.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 184–206, for a summary of this complex work which attacks the Council of Nicea on matters of tradition, right reading of scripture and authority as well as the issues of images.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 370. Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era. Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), gives a detailed analysis of the imagery. See also, "Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter," *Speculum* (Oct. 1997), pp. 1055–1077, on issues of right order and the election and examination of Carolingian bishops as revealed in the illustration to the Athanasian Creed (*fides catholica*) in the Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 32 fol. 90v.

[6] Barbara Raw, *Anglo Saxon Crucifixion Imagery and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge, 1990) [hereafter ASCI], p. 69ff.

[7] See Saxon, "Art and the Eucharist: Early Christian to ca. 800," in this volume.

[8] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 304.

of debate: the iconoclast controversy, Spanish Adoptionism, predestination, and the nature of the Eucharist. This chapter will only deal with the last but it must be noted that all of these areas "required clarifying some facet of the dogma that God chose to save mortals by becoming a man and dying on a cross."[9] The Carolingians "created unprecedented pictorial forms that integrate text and imagery" to show the union of two natures in one person.[10] A greater emphasis on humility and repentance seems to have been allied to a new emotional requirement to relate to the crucified Christ. This helped produce some highly significant changes in Carolingian crucifixion iconography, and a desire for works of art that visualized the verbal emphasis of Carolingian theologians on the relationship between the Eucharist and the crucified Christ.[11]

Sacrificial and Typological Imagery

Educated Franks saw themselves as having replaced the Israelites as "objects of God's special care and protection."[12] Pope Paul I had called the Franks a "new Israel."[13] By the 790s they had the power and resources to create a political entity greater than Byzantium or the Islamic caliphate and built on the adoption of Christianity by new powers and, paradoxically, one built on Roman continuity.[14]

Typology remained central in rooting eucharistic theology in scripture and providing a biblical foundation for liturgical rites.[15] "The

---

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 302. Chazelle's brilliant book explores the relationships between these four areas and the interrelationship there between text and visual imagery.

[10] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 240.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 239, argues that there was "a surge in imagery of the crucifixion, the first time in western Europe that this became a significant subject of artistic representation." Clergy, monks and laity desired and obtained works of art that would place the crucified Christ before their eyes. Later Carolingian theologians asserted crosses could inspire contemplation of the crucified savior, whose body and blood could be seen with the inner eye in the bread and wine. Remembrance of the crucifixion, related to the experience of the Eucharist especially in Holy Week, might aid the vision of God.

[12] C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800–1200* (Yale, 1993), p. 49. The Anglo-Saxons, like Alcuin who lead the Carolingian renaissance, also tended to identify with the Israelites.

[13] Noble, *Images*, p. 234, citing Codex Carolinus, no. 39, MGH, Epp. 3, p. 552.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[15] Marie Anne Mayeski, "Reading the Word in a eucharistic context: The shape and methods of early medieval exegesis," pp. 61–84 in Lizette Larson-Miller, ed., *Medieval Liturgy. A Book of Essays* (London and New York, 1997).

eschatological typology of the Old Testament is accomplished not only in the person of Christ, but also in the Church. Besides Christological typology, therefore, there exists a sacramental typology…the sacraments carry on in our midst the *mirabilia*, the great works of God in the Old Testament and the New…."[16] Bede's reading of New Testament events as types of events in the history of the Church was also influential. Carolingian identification as the New Israel, their sacring of Frankish kings and their emphasis on the Aaronic priesthood added current force to the typological approach.[17]

The ancient sacrifices also recalled that salvation had been granted to the righteous faithful Israelites. Archbishop Hincmar of Reims implied that they had received "spiritual yet efficacious versions of the sacraments."[18] Others saw these sacrifices as mere shadows of things to come, but accepted that the ancient righteous might be saved at Christ's descent into hell. This was important in the predestination controversy because Gottschalk and Ratramnus believed that Christ was crucified for the elect alone and that reception of the Eucharist does not alter eternally ordained destiny, an idea vigorously rejected by Hincmar who believed redemption was offered to all before and after the incarnation.

The Drogo Sacramentary (Paris, BN, lat. 9428) was probably made for Drogo, bishop of Metz between 840–855.[19] It has more decorative accents (in initials and in architectural framing that focus attention) than earlier sacramentaries.[20] The celebration of Mass is depicted several times including in the V of *Vere dignum* (fol. 43v) where the linkage of the earthly and heavenly altars is stressed. The T of *Te igitur* (fol. 15v) showed sacrificial continuity through little scenes of Melchisedek, Abel and Abraham offering sacrifice (Fig. 29).[21] Melchisedek, in the center of the Tau cross, offers bread and chalice like a Christian

---

[16] Jean Danielou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, IN, 1956), p. 5 cited in Mayeski, "Reading the Word in a Eucharistic Context," p. 64.

[17] Emphasis on the Aaronic priesthood may also have increased the separation of the priesthood and laity.

[18] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3.2, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 16 ed. D. Nachtmann (Munich, 1998) p. 260. Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 218.

[19] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 241. Raw, ASCI, p. 78, says 844–55.

[20] Robert G. Calkins, "Liturgical Sequence and Decorative Crescendo in the Drogo Sacramentary," *Gesta* 25, 1 (1986), pp. 17–23. The liturgical scenes direct attention to the rite itself. The narrative and symbolic scenes, like the crucifixion (to be discussed later) encourage meditation on the inner meaning of the event depicted.

[21] At the foot of the T-cross are two oxen, the sacrificial animals of the Old Covenant.

Fig. 29 *Crucifixion, Te igitur* illuminated initial, Drogo Sacramentary (Paris, BN, lat. 9428 folio 43 verso), ca. 850 (photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

priest. Such illustrations of typology might perhaps have been expected at *Supra quae* where their offerings were recalled. By the ninth century, however, the diffusion of the Roman Gregorian sacramentaries with additional texts in the Prefaces had caused Carolingian clergy to see *Te igitur* as marking the beginning of the canon.[22] A heightened sense of liturgical drama was also emerging which increased emphasis on the canon. Amalarius of Metz gave an influential symbolic interpretation whereby every part of the Mass could be viewed as a symbol of a part of Christ's life, passion and resurrection in order that the faithful might fully recognize Christ's victimhood and associate themselves with Christ's sufferings.[23] For Amalarius the canon represented Christ's passion and resurrection.

At *Te igitur* the celebrant moves to silent prayer and recalls Christ's sacrifice by making the sign of the cross. In visually emphasizing the sacrificial types at *Te igitur*, in conjunction with the cross-shaped letter T, the interrelationship of sacrificial continuity, in the old covenant, on the cross, and in the Mass itself, is reinforced.[24] This pause and division is so effective in revealing the essential relationship between crucifixion and Eucharist that Carolingian liturgists risked the distortion of separating the canon and crucifixion from the *Vere dignum* and *Sanctus* which acclaims the eternal divine majesty.[25]

---

[22] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 86. It was a period of considerable liturgical change resulting from the adoption of the Roman rite, and then the re-absorption and adaptation of those Gallican elements found necessary for local relevance and practicality. See Roger E. Reynolds, "Image and Text: A Carolingian illustration of modifications in the early Roman Eucharistic Ordines," *Viator* 14 (1983), pp. 59–75.

[23] Amalarius (d. ca. 850), wrote two Mass commentaries *ca.* 830: *De ecclesiasticis officiis*; PL 105, 985–1242 (of which bk. 3, *Liber officialis*, PL105, 1102–64, is a Mass commentary) and *Eclogae de officio missae*; PL105, 1315–32. Modern edition: J.M. Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcope opera liturgica omnia, 3 vols.* (Vatican City, 1948). Considerable detail can be found in M.M. Schaefer, "Twelfth century Latin Commentaries on the Mass," unpublished PhD diss. (University of Notre Dame, Ann Arbor, 1983). For an overview see Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 130–32. Amalarius was greatly influenced by Bede.

[24] The shape of the cross recalled the Tau marked on the foreheads of the righteous in Ezekiel 9:4.

[25] This rift had been avoided in the Gellone Sacramentary *Te igitur* Crucifixion illumination by the inclusion of angels. See below for a discussion of the Gellone Sacramentary.

Eucharistic Controversy and the Development of New Crucifixion Imagery

If eucharistic typology remained largely traditional, aspects of eucharistic theology became controversial in the ninth century. About 831 Paschasius Radbertus, *scholasticus* of Corbie, wrote the first systematic treatise on eucharistic doctrine, *De corpore et sanguine Domini.*[26] He dwelt on many aspects of the Eucharist and its salvific properties, but it was on the nature of eucharistic presence and on the change at the words of consecration that controversy was to center. Paschasius said that the body of Christ present in the Eucharist was "none other than the one that was born of Mary, suffered on the cross and rose from the grave."[27] What was present after the consecration was indeed "the true flesh and blood of Christ,"[28] and he accepted Hilary's natural and salvific union which required the God-man to be received by communicants in his essential nature which included both his humanity and divinity.[29] Paschasius did however see reception as internal and spiritual.[30]

---

[26] *De corpore* PL 120, 1267–350; ed. Bede Paulus CCCM 16. Paschasius seems initially to have written for monks in the early stage of their education. Only about 843–4, when, as abbot, he presented the revised book to Charles the Bald, does *De corpore* seem to have been more widely circulated.

[27] *De corpore* 1; CCCM 16, 15. *Epistola ad Fredugardum;* CCCM 16, 145, 149, 159–60. Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: a Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians, c. 1080–c. 1220*, (Oxford, 1984), p. 27. See also Gary Macy's chapter in this volume.

[28] *De corpore* 1; CCCM 16, 101–2.

[29] Man could not unite directly with the divinity of Christ and could share in this divinity only by uniting with the humanity of Christ. In its most basic form Paschasius expressed this as "we live on account of him, because we eat him," *Epistola ad Fredugardum*; CCCM 16, 148, 160.

[30] The elements were changed through Christ's words of institution so that there was an inner imperceptible identity with Christ's body and blood, but the means by which this happened were a mystery of the all-powerful God who could replace the bread and wine with the nature of the God-man even though this nature was impassible and unrestricted by location. *De corpore* 3; CCCM 16, 23. All ninth-century Mass commentaries give a central place to the idea of the Eucharist as a sacrifice. The sacrifice, as sacrifice, is either actualized in the rite, or it is commemorated. An ultra-realistic view may be given or the immolation may be imitated, and present in sign. In either case Christ was conceived as present as the victim. I choose to avoid the term "Real Presence" where possible as it carries too many overtones of sixteenth-century controversy. For further discussion of Paschasius, see Celia Chazelle's chapter in this volume.

Not all Carolingian theologians accepted Paschasius' Hilarian natural union. One of the most influential opponents was Ratramnus, another Corbie monk. In his *De corpora et sanguine Domini*, written a few years after Paschasius' work, he argued that there was a mutation at the consecration, the bread and wine really became the body and blood but according to their interior substance.[31] For Ratramnus, relying heavily on Augustine, the salvific union symbolized by the Eucharist was "a spiritual union between the divine Christ and the soul of the believer achieved by faith."[32] Like Gottschalk he believed in predestination and saw the sacrament as salvific only for the elect.[33]

This new theological debate is the context, and perhaps provided some of the causes, for the new crucifixion imagery. This new imagery emphasized the Church as provider of the salvific Eucharist, focused contemplative attention on the relationship between the once-for all and the repeated sacrifice and on individual desire to relate to the crucified Christ. The emphasis on Christ's blood which bought mankind the gift of salvation and which purifies the new Christian community and, in Paschasian literalism was necessary to individual salvation, was particularly important in this new imagery. Celia Chazelle, in particular, traces the changes from pre-ninth-century crucifixions in the Western tradition, which had invariably represented Christ alive and triumphant on the Cross. New motifs appear in ninth-century Carolingian crucifixions: the snake beneath the cross, Ecclesia raising the chalice to catch Christ's blood, and the representation of Christ's suffering or dead, head slumped to the side.[34]

The triumphant Christ can be found in the earliest illuminated initial of the crucifixion, which predates Paschasius' *De corpore* and is in

---

[31] The bread and wine could logically only remain bread and wine. They were, nevertheless, material symbols of spiritual truth and 'as far as their power is concerned' they had become the body and blood of Christ. *De corpore* 47; PL 121, 146–7.

[32] Macy, *Theologies*, p. 30. Christ's human body ascended into heaven. It is the Holy Spirit which feeds the soul. The eucharistic presence is spiritual: whereas Christ's body continued glorified but corporeal in heaven. Ratramnus did not reject the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but only the change of substance.

[33] Paschasius taught that Christ's death had saved the world once and for all. The Mass was thus a memorial but no mere figure of things past. Man's daily sins required the offering of a daily sacrifice. *De corpore* 9; CCCM 16, 52–53.

[34] Chazelle presented these ideas first in an untitled essay in The College of New Jersey *Women's and Gender Studies Newsletter*, October 1995. Available at http://www.tcnj.edu/~wgst/newsletter/archives/oct1995.html. Chazelle later developed these ideas in *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era* (Cambridge, 2001).

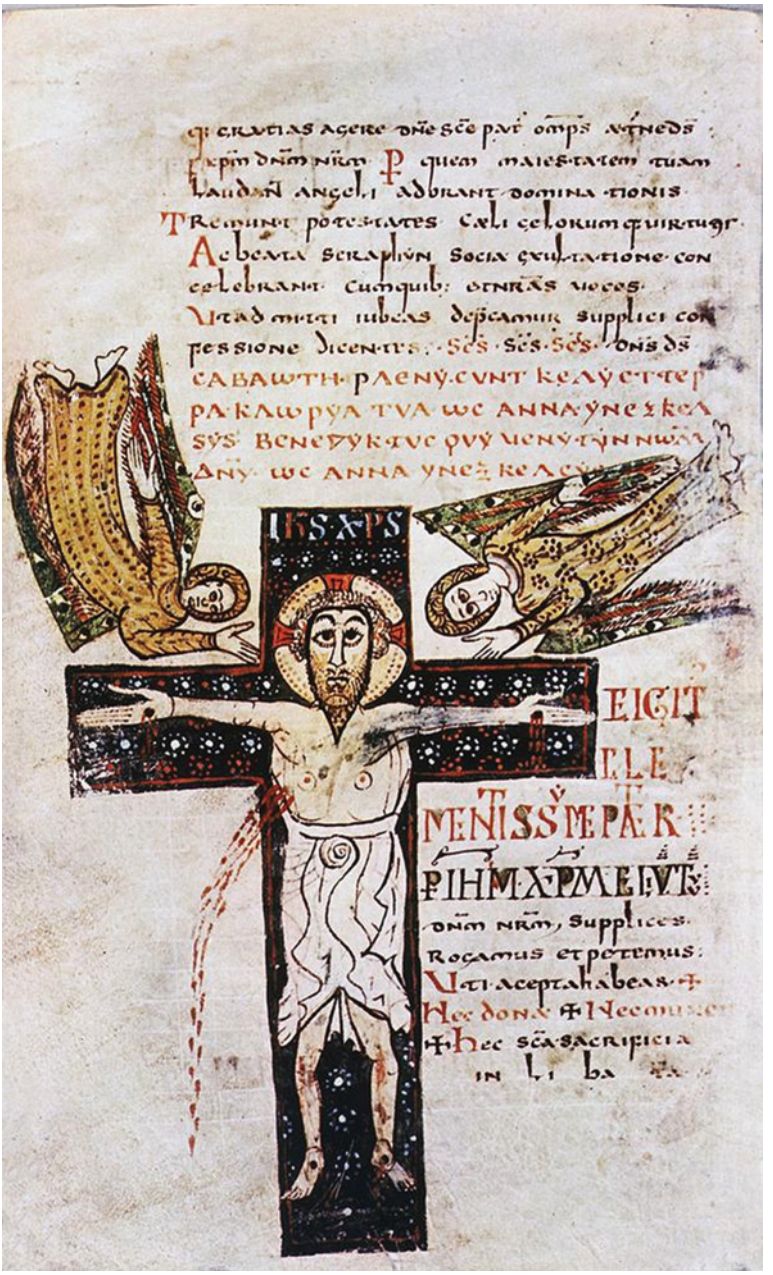


Fig. 30 *Triumphant Christ*, illuminated initial, Gellone Sacramentary (Paris BN MS lat. 12048, folio 143v), dated 790–804 (photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

the Gellone Sacramentary (Paris BN MS lat. 12048, folio 143v) dated 790–804 (Fig. 30).[35] This depicts Christ on the cross of the *Te igitur* initial. He has a decorated halo of divinity, but with his bare chest and clad only in a loin cloth (perizoma), Christ's humanity is asserted. The saving blood pours from the wounds in his side, hands and feet onto the earth below. But despite this, or theologically because of it, his huge all-seeing eyes are wide-open and he remains victoriously upright and eternally alive. The wounds assert, as has been noted earlier in this chapter, that Christ will come again in glory as the great judge displaying his wounds.

The sacramental significance is confirmed by the presence above the arms of the cross of two angels, probably seraphim. Angels were believed to have been present at the actual crucifixion, but this sacramentary aims at more than historical depiction.[36] With outstretched hands they point to Christ and acclaim him, singing the Sanctus which is printed above his head. The *Sanctus* (Holy, holy, holy) is the song of the seraphim, heard by Isaiah. It is sung after the preface *Vere dignum* and signifies the community on earth joining with the heavenly host in singing praises. The *Sanctus* also represents the acclamation of Christ by the four beasts of the Apocalypse (Revelation 4:6–8) and this in turn recalls the eschatological banquet. By suggesting that the Gellone angels lift Christ (as at the ascension) one looks ahead to the vital *Supplices te* where God is beseeched to allow the angel to bear the offering of the Eucharist to the heavenly altar. This visual emphasis on the angels avoids the division between the portion of the Mass recalling the Last Supper and crucifixion and the *Vere dignum* and *Sanctus* which acclaim the eternal divine majesty.[37] Just as flying angels holding a cross, as at San Vitale, had symbolized Christ's glorified body, so here also, at the beginning of the canon, the nature of that body and its relation to the body of Christ on earth, in heaven and in the Mass is central.

The Gellone *tau* cross is decorated with red and white circles suggesting stars or flowers. This may be to recall the gemmed or starred

[35] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 87, fig. 7.

[36] Angels are depicted at the crucifixion in the Durham and St Gall gospels (Durham Cathedral library, AII.17, fol. 38v; Gospelbook, Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen, Cod. Sang.51,S. 266). St. Gall, Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 76, fig. 4. Both are probably late eighth or early ninth century, but the Durham dates are controversial.

[37] A division risked in the Drogo *Te igitur* initial.

crosses, like that in the Sant'Apollinare in Classe *Transfiguration*, or on altar crosses which emphasize victory and glory and recall the liturgy of the exaltation and veneration of the cross. It is possible, however, that this was intended to suggest that in bearing Christ, the dead wood of the cross either is or becomes the Edenic Tree of Life. This image of life renewed by the sacrifice of Christ, the New Adam, will later be presented (as in the Pericopes of Henry II) as a roughly-lopped cross breaking out in foliage as the saving blood falls on it.

Initially the Gellone *Crucifixion* does not appear to use any of the new iconographic images, but a detail might suggest otherwise. The Gellone wounded bleeding Christ is shown without any earthly attendants. Chazelle says this "seems to have no precedents,"[38] and perhaps this was done to avoid distracting from the depiction on the opposite page (folio 144r). This page represents a head with long hair, forming the top of an initial I for the section of *Te igitur* that begins *Inprimis quae*, which asks for blessing on the Church. In this context the head may represent Ecclesia.[39] Earlier images of Ecclesia as a woman do exist.[40] For example, Ecclesia as a veiled woman (the Church chosen from the people of the circumcision) offers a wreath to St. Peter while another figure of Ecclesia (the Church chosen from the nations) crowns St. Paul in the apse mosaic at Santa Pudenziana in Rome ca. 400 AD (see Fig. 6).[41] The eighth-century Gellone personification, however, seems to be without precise precedent and predates the Utrecht Psalter and the Drogo Sacramentary of the following era. Because the Gellone image is in a sacramentary, the eucharistic significance lies in relating the liturgical sacrifice of the canon to the crucifixion. This remains central even if the image was also selected to assert Christological orthodoxy against Adoptionism including Spanish "Felicianism" existing in the area of Spain not far from Gellone (now Saint-Guilhem-le-Desert).[42]

This new more overt emphasis on the sacraments of the Church on earth (seen always in relation to the offerings in heaven) is a complement, not a replacement, of the earlier images of many bodies making

[38] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 89.

[39] Possibly it was intended to draw attention to the angels, for the reasons earlier stated by Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, p. 87, citing an unpublished idea of Lawrence Nees.

[40] Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, p. 87, n. 34 confirms this.

[41] Ó'Carrágain, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 232.

[42] As posited by Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 80–86. Mary carrying censor and processional cross appears in Gellone Sacramentary folio 1v. Mary as a priest appears in some twelfth-century works.

one body of Christ (sheep, apostles, saints, angels, etc.) and the Temple imagery which shows the Church, for example, made up of many stones. Paschasius tried to clarify the expression Body of Christ by calling the body in the Eucharist "Christ's flesh" a term which could not be used of the Church as the body of Christ.[43] Earlier interest in the incarnation had led to a greater development of Marian imagery. The identification of Mary as herself the Church gains even greater force once eucharistic theology increases the emphasis on the Mass as a sacramental incarnation with Christ's eucharistic presence identified as the body born of Mary.

If there is doubt about the identification of Ecclesia in the Gellone Sacramentary, the Drogo Sacramentary (Paris, BN, lat. 9428 folio 43 verso) of ca. 850, presented an unmistakable depiction of Ecclesia catching blood from Christ's side in a chalice. It is one of the earliest, possibly the earliest, depiction of this theme. Here the crucifixion scene is shown inside the O for a collect for Palm Sunday. Placing the crucifixion here, rather than in one of the Good Friday initials, was (as was noted with respect to the Ruthwell Cross in Ch. 3) a way of reminding users "of the crucifixion's position of the climax to the progressive stages of Jesus' self-abasement" and so to encourage them through Holy Week to imitate Christ's passion by their own humble repentance. They will move towards contemplation of the crucified Christ at the *Adoratio crucis* and will be aware that they receive the reward of his death mediated through the sacraments.[44]

Christ is fixed to the cross with his feet on a suppedaneum. A large serpent is coiled at the cross base. Christ is twisted at the hips and his head is dropped on his right shoulder. His eyes seem to be open and he may be looking at his grieving mother standing far left, but he may be bowing his head at the moment of death (John 19:30). Blood is spurting from his pierced side. On the far right St John stands, like Mary, on a hillock. At the lower left and right two figures rise from open coffins. A wreath (of death and victory) hangs from the upper rim of the O. The O has a double rim twined with foliage which recalls both the tree of life and the vine scroll. The wreath is flanked by two half-figures of acclaiming angels, and beyond them on each

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[44] Celia Chazelle, "An *Exemplum* of Humility: The Crucifixion Image in the Drogo Sacramentary," in Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas, eds., *Reading Medieval Images. The Art Historian and the Object* (Michigan, 2002), p. 29. Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 255–66.

side personifications of the sun and the moon. All these figures look towards Christ as do the two figures nearest to the cross whose heads are at about Christ's waist level.

On the side of the Virgin and the sun a smaller nimbed woman representing Ecclesia holds a triumphal banner in her left hand and with her right hand reaches up to raise a chalice to catch the blood from Christ's side. The figure on the moon side is controversial. A seated old man, he acclaims Christ with his right hand and supports a large disc in his lap with his left hand. Of the many possibilities this disc is probably a paten, creating a liturgical and visual counterpart to the chalice. Priests with paten do sometimes appear in later crucifixion depictions, but never seated. This is more likely Nicodemus, as Chazelle asserts.[45] Indeed, in the mid-ninth century Amalarius of Metz had interpreted the priest with his paten as Nicodemus with Christ's dead body.[46]

In the main service of the Carolingian Good Friday liturgy the Gospel text is John 19. John 19:26–27 is the source for depicting John and the Virgin as the primary witnesses to the crucifixion. John 19: 39 introduced Nicodemus, who had come to help prepare the body for burial, as "he who at the first came to Jesus by night" which refers back to John 3:2 where Nicodemus sought Christ as rabbi and when his questions led Jesus to compare his future crucifixion to the story of the brazen serpent (Numbers 21:9) and to identify himself as the light overcoming darkness. This passage would further confirm the significance of the object by Nicodemus which is probably a torch extinguished as the true light was restored by Christ's death as indicated in John 3:19–21. It would also increase awareness of the great significance of the new iconography of the snake at the foot of the cross which was introduced for the first time in the second quarter of the ninth century and perhaps in this very miniature. Habakkuk 3:5 "Death shall go before his face. And the devil shall go before his feet," and Psalm 139 where enemies who have "sharpened their tongues like a serpent" will be cast down by the Lord, were read before the passion narrative on Good Friday. Augustine had identified these serpent-tongued men

[45] Chazelle, *An Exemplum*, p. 29.

[46] Amalarius, *Liber officialis*, 3, Ch. XXVI: 9–13, ed. J.M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcope opera liturgica omnia, 3 vols.* (Vatican City, 1948), vol. 2, p. 346. PL150, 1144C "sacerdos qui elevat oblatum praesentat Nicodemum." The deacon who assisted the priest with the chalice represented Joseph of Arimathea.

with the devil, just as the good constitute Christ's body.[47] Christ, the brazen serpent, here defeats the devil/snake and heals the sins of those who look on him with faith and will receive eternal life. Here, too, the exegesis is Augustine's.[48]

The personification of Ecclesia with the chalice reflects an increased concern of the Western Church to assert the sacraments as channels of power fundamental to salvation. Augustine's justification has already been noted as has the chant "*Vidi aquam*" used in Vespers of Holy Week. The views of Paschasius, Hincmar and others that the bread and wine are, after consecration by a priest, the very body and blood of Christ might, depending on the dating assumed, have added contemporary force to the image. Ecclesia holds a chalice and not a paten and this would be in accord with pre-Paschasian emphasis on the blood as saving the soul.[49] The body, naked here on the cross is the body of the Passion and the Mass.

Like the catechumens waiting for their first communion at Easter, Nicodemus was not yet fully in the Church.[50] True membership can only be achieved through humility which imitates Christ's humility.[51] All Christians, however, had to wait in the last days of Lenten fasting and penitence for the new Easter communion. The liturgy (especially as interpreted by Amalarius) encouraged them to contemplate the events leading up to Jesus' death and to see repentance of their sins as a sort of "second baptism" before Easter. The climax of the week was the *Adoratio crucis* when they prostrated themselves to kiss the cross and viewed it as if they saw Christ hanging there.[52]

The use of art in Psalters differed from that in sacramentaries. By the fourth century psalms had been sung in the eucharistic liturgy of the word, sometimes as the basis for a homilary (a genre often

---

[47] Augustine. *Enarratio in Psalmum* 139, 6–7; E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, eds., CCSL 40 (Turnhout, 1956), 2015–16.

[48] Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannis evangelium*, 12.11; R. Willems, ed., CCSL 36 (Turnhout, 1954), 126–27.

[49] It should be noted, however, that Ecclesia does not normally carry a paten in later depictions, even those before John of Mantua who in ca. 1080 argued that the whole Christ body, blood, soul and divinity exists in either species (doctrine of concomitance).

[50] If Nicodemus' disc is not a paten but an orb symbolizing the earth this might indicate his worldiness according to Chazelle, *An Exemplum*, pp. 32–33.

[51] Augustine, *In Iohannis* 11.3–6, 12.5–6, CCSL 36, 111–14, 122–24.

[52] Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 1.14, J.M. Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcope opera liturgica omnia, 3 vols.* (Vatican City, 1948), 2: 101.

directed to pastoral needs which had a Carolingian resurgence, although often in a form designed for spiritual reading) but more usually as a transition from, and comment on, the scriptural readings. Athanasius (ca. 296–373) proposed the psalms as a sort of hermeneutic key to interpreting the whole bible, both in an allegorical Christological way and as events in the history of salvation. The Psalms also allow the individual Christian to understand his own life in relation to the history of salvation. They provide a meditative response to the lectionary readings.[53] Ninth-century Psalters can contain literal illustrations of the Psalm words, typological scenes interpreting the text with reference to the New Testament, and later Christian interpretations of the Psalms.[54]

Of the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter's166 illustrations four are crucifixion scenes.[55] One illustrates Psalm 88 fol 51v,[56] where the images illustrate verses 39 and 52. Two other crucifixion images illustrate the appended canticle of Habakkuk fol. 85v and the Apostles' Creed (S*ymbolum Apostolicum*) fol. 90r. They show Christ with the two thieves and the spear and sponge bearers; and Christ with Mary John and two soldiers. One other folio, 12r, illustrating Psalm 21 (which was always seen as a prophecy of the crucifixion), depicts a cross with the instruments of the Passion.

One of the first depictions in the West of Christ dead on the cross is in the Utrecht Psalter for Psalm 115. Here the sagging bleeding body of Christ is shown in a long robe hanging from a cross surmounted by a wreath. To his left are Mary and John and to his right a mysterious male figure in a loin-cloth is holding a paten with bread in his right hand and in his left hand the chalice held to Christ's side. Below the cross a soldier points a spear at this figure.

A figure receiving blood in the chalice appears only in the illustration to Psalm 115, folio 67 recto. This may be the earliest extant

---

[53] Athanasius, *Letter to Marcellinus*, cited in Robert C. Gregg's translation in Mayeski, pp. 67–69.

[54] Other comparable psalters of the period include the Stuttgart Psalter of ca. 820–30 and the Khudlov Psalter, but the Utrecht crucifixion images are unique and independent. Raw ASCI p. 77, and Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 244–45.

[55] Dates are controversial, ranging from the early to mid-ninth century. Previously thought to date as early as 820–35, the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijkuniversiteit MS 32) is considered by Chazelle to have been produced between 845–55 possibly in Reims. Chazelle, "Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar," pp. 1055–1077 and *Crucified God*, p. 241ff.

[56] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, fig. 23.

use of this image and earlier than the first depiction of Ecclesia and the chalice.[57] It illustrates Psalm 115 Verse 4 (Vulgate verse 10) "I will take the chalice of salvation and I will call upon the name of the Lord," which was recalled in the Mass liturgy (possibly during the celebrant's communion at this date and certainly from the early eleventh century).[58] It is the only crucifixion scene in the Psalter with overtly eucharistic reference and where the crucifixion is the main and central image with all the other elements relating to it, visually and typologically.[59] Significantly Paschasius referred to verse 10 in his 831 version of *De corpore*, connecting the words with Christ's institution of the sacrament. The chalice is thereby connected with the cup of the Mass. In the later 843–44 version he links the verse to the commingling of a particle of bread with the wine in the chalice, thus joining the body and blood and symbolizing the unity of resurrection.[60] In suggesting a prophet or the psalmist the figure with the chalice connects Old Testament prophecy with the new redemptive sacrifice. This figure has been related to David, a noted type of Christ, his arms are held out as if on the cross. Here, in accordance with Augustine on Psalm 115, David also represents the martyrs (here shown being killed) who confess their faith and imitate Christ's suffering, and so, fittingly, the psalmist, rather than Christ, is threatened by the spear bearer.[61]

Triumph, shown by the wreath above the cross, comes from humility and sacrifice, and salvation from the chalice. The Psalter users could suffer a sort of living martyrdom by true repentance and partaking in the Eucharist. Proximity and his outstretched arm suggest that the standing figure will take the chalice and paten directly from Christ on the cross to the altar on his left.[62] This altar is, by reference to verse 19, in the heavenly Jerusalem and reminds of the linkage between the

---

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 246, fig. 26. Neither Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 257, nor Raw, ASCI, p. 77, accept this figure as Ecclesia.

[58] Raw, ASCI, p. 120.

[59] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 246.

[60] *De corpore* ch 19 CCCM 16. lines 44–49 p. 103 and ch 21 CCCM 16. lines12–16 p. 110. (831–33 first version: revised edition 843–44) Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 242–43 and 250–51.

[61] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 248–54.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 252. Psalm 15: 12, 13 is shown as recited at the Mass offertory in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, a Reims manuscript of 846–869. Charles, like David, brought offerings to the altar. Amalarius *Liber Officialis* alludes to this psalm when talking of the imitation of martyrdom and Christ's death in the Mass participant's offerings.

bread of angels, perpetually offered in heaven and the consecrated sacrament carried to that altar by angels in the Mass. The concept of the identity of the consecrated bread and wine as the body and blood is here clearly implied and may have resulted from the designer's awareness of the ideas of Paschasius or Hincmar.

Ecclesia is also shown receiving blood in the chalice in the crucifixion scene on the ninth-century ivory cover to Henry II's early-eleventh-century book of Pericopes (Fig. 31).[63] This ivory was probably produced in Reims or at the Metz court school of Charles the Bold between 840–70.[64] Its complex program seems to evidence interest in the predestination and eucharistic controversies and in the presentation of virtuous rulership, a major theme at the Carolingian court.

In this oblong ivory a *Crucifixion* dominates the upper half. Christ, who is perhaps dead, has turned his head towards Ecclesia who has a banner and holds the chalice up to the side wound. John and Stephaton, who has a huge jug at his feet, are on the right and Longinus and the grieving women on the left beyond Ecclesia.[65] Three angels are above the cross which is rough-hewn and so identifies the Tree of Life with the sacrament of life, and Christ as the second Adam. The angels on the left carry batons and cloths, perhaps to carry the body on high in veiled hands, the one on the right touches the cross. Above the angels the hand of God appears between personifications of sun and moon. At the base of the cross and central in the ivory, a huge snake is coiled with open jaws. Its weight seems to force down the line of the earth. Beneath the tail of the snake the three women take spices to the tomb, a three storied structure on the left. They are greeted by the angel with a cross staff who is directly below the cross. Soldiers partly emerge from the left-hand acanthus border, some are asleep and some watching the scene. Below this scene four figures are emerging from tombs and opened sarcophagi. At the bottom large semi-nude figures represent Oceanus and Terra. Between them a seated female with

[63] Munich, Bayererische Staatsbibliothek, Clm.4452. Given to Bamberg Cathedral by Henry II shortly before 1014. Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 239.

[64] Chazelle (*ibid.*, pp. 239–40) sees this as "the most remarkable of all the crucifixion images" because it has the most complex theological program brought into a composite without known parallel.

[65] To the right of John are two controversial figures, one with a banner and one seated with a disc or paten. For Chazelle's convincing interpretation of the banner holder as a second aspect of Ecclesia and the disc as the orb of the just ruler, see *Crucified God*, pp. 281–85.

Fig. 31 *Crucifixion*, ivory plaque, ca. 820–830, incorporated into cover for the early 11th-century Book of Pericopes (Lectionary) of Henry II, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich).

one breast bared looks upwards lifting her right hand in acclamation perhaps mirroring the hand of God. She is probably the Temple and thus the transition from old law to new.[66]

Many of the pictorial elements are related to the Utrecht Psalter, the Drogo Sacramentary and other Carolingian sources but they combine forcefully in the ivory to show evil, represented by the central snake, by Terra suckling a serpent and by the outsize pitcher traditionally seen as signifying human sin, defeated by Christ's sacrifice. Paschasius saw the sponge as the cup of death by which Christ absorbs and destroys all vices passed to him by baptism and penance.[67] Stephaton's pole directs attention from the serpent and pitcher to Christ. The line of the lance is used to emphasize the linkage from Christ, to Ecclesia and to salvation revealed by the empty tomb. Salvation depends on faithful witnesses to crucifixion and resurrection. Here there are crowds of witnesses human, angelic and typological all encircling the cross and tomb. The complex of ideas evoked in the ivory recall a wide range of Carolingian writings, including Paschasius and Hincmar, particularly *De cavendis*, and John Scottus, and liturgical rites notably the *Adoratio crucis*.[68]

The sacrificial and eschatological Lamb continued to be visually emphasized in the West, as in the Gospel frontispiece to the Bamberg Bible (Bamberg, Staatsbibl., misc. class. Bibl. 1, fol. 339v). It is the earliest of the great bibles from Tours, probably as early as ca. 840. Here allusions were richly combined to the Crucifixion, the Eucharist and the Second Coming.[69] The Majestas Agni stands on the Book of Life surrounded by the spear and sponge, the eucharistic chalice, and by the apocalyptic beasts and the major prophets. The primary emphasis here is on the unity of the gospels in the person of Christ but the inclusion of references (especially the chalice to the right of the Lamb) to Christ's saving death and the Eucharist clarifies the source of the sacrament within Christ's total unity.[70] Combinations of the Agnus Dei and the crucifixion were also sometimes presented but were rare, and where they did occur depicted Christ as alive and exalted.[71]

---

[66] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 269, citing Werckmeister.
[67] Paschasius, *In Matheo* 27.48 CCCM 56B 1388–1390.
[68] Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 278–81 and 83–86.
[69] Okasha and O'Reilly, "An Anglo-Saxon Portable Altar," p. 40 n. 34.
[70] H.L. Kessler *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton, 1977), pl. 47, and pp. 42–53, pls. 64–68, and Raw, ASCI, pp. 69–70.
[71] Okasha and O'Reilly, "An Anglo-Saxon Portable Altar," p. 41 and n. 38.

Fig. 32 Ivory plaque with Scenes at Emmaus, ca. 850–900, 11.5 × 23.5 × 0.6 cm, Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters Collection, New York (photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Another new eucharistic image, the Emmaus meal, is developed in this period (although it becomes more frequently used in the twelfth century).[72] Earlier depictions had been of the journey to Emmaus thus placing the emphasis on Christ's explanation of his death and resurrection and on the blindness of the unenlightened. As in the ivory plaque from Metz of ca. 850–900, now in the Cloisters Collection in New York (Fig. 32), this meal, where Jesus is recognized at the breaking of the bread, links the Last Supper to the breaking of Christ on the cross and to the fraction in the Mass. It also points up the contrast between spiritual blindness and true vision. This new post-resurrection image relates to the greater focus on the Eucharist in the period and to the debates on the nature of Christ in the Eucharist, and may reflect the

[72] For this ivory plaque (perhaps a box side) from Metz ca. 850–900, see Peter Barnet and Nancy Wu, *The Cloisters. Medieval Art and Architecture* (New York, 2005), p. 25, plate 2.

influence of Amalarius who saw the fraction in the Mass as alluding to the breaking of bread at Emmaus.[73]

The eucharistic art of the Carolingian era created a heritage of imagery connected to humility and penitence. As Chazelle shows, "The connection between faith and an interior 'seeing' is a pronounced theme in later Carolingian literature."[74] The interrelationship between physical seeing and spiritual insight was particularly significant during Lenten penitence and in the Good Friday ceremonies, especially the *Adoratio crucis*. The complex imagery created in this period for highly-educated audiences demanded a fluidity of thought and vision from image to text and text to image in a contemplative non-linear manner.

Carolingian precedents allowed a greater display of Christ's humanity in crucifixion scenes than in other depictions of Christ, even the scourging. They were touched by the patience and self-sacrifice of the suffering Christ and used material reminders of the passion (often crosses rather than crucifixes) to aid their contemplation and to try and relate his humility to their own lives. If they focused on Christ's divinity and victory and saw the crucifixion images more as explorations of "interior seeing" and theological truths (rather than contemplating the suffering itself in the way later centuries would do), nevertheless they set in train vital visual imagery and a theology of Christ's presence in the Eucharist that would shape the following centuries.

Eucharistic Imagery ca. 900 to ca. 1050

A broadly Paschasian approach largely ensured a consensus on the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist in the period between the ninth-century eucharistic debates and the mid-eleventh-century Berengarian controversy. There were no new major theological writings on the Eucharist.[75] Nevertheless, like the Good Friday ceremonies, medieval crucifixion iconography prompted questions about the contrast between physical seeing and spiritual insight which looked into the crucifixion's continuing significance.[76] Where several ideas

---

[73] *De ecclesiasticis officiis* book 4 cap. 33; PL 105, 1153.

[74] Chazelle, An *Exemplum*, p. 34 n. 14, and Chazelle, C*rucified God*, esp. pp. 127, 219, 263, 276–77, 296–98.

[75] Serious, if not major, writings, following Paschasius' ideas, were written in many parts of Europe e.g., by Gezo of Tortona, Odo of Cluny, Heriger of Lobbes and Rather of Verona. See Macy, *Theologies*, pp. 31–35.

[76] O'Reilly, "The wounded and exalted Christ," p. 94.

were presented simultaneously the viewer could integrate the meaning or choose to move from idea to idea in a personal analysis aided by exegesis and scripture.

During the following centuries, the eucharistic imagery developed by the Carolingians continued to be employed and developed to construct abstractions and explore the essential connection between the sacrifice on the cross and the eucharistic sacrifice, the relationship of the Church on earth and in heaven, and eschatology. Three sacramentaries from Fulda show the importance of these inter-relationships. In the Göttingen Sacramentary, dated ca. 970–75, the Lamb in the company of the heavenly Church is shown bleeding into the chalice held by Ecclesia.[77] In the Bamberg Sacramentary, probably dated 997–1014, both the heavenly company and, below, representatives of the earthly Church watch the Lamb's blood flow into Ecclesia's chalice.[78] In the Udine Sacramentary, dated about 975, there are two figures, both, according to Mayr-Harting, of Ecclesia, one with banner and chalice standing on a hill rising from earth to the heavens beneath the Lamb, and another figure on the same level as the weeping representatives of the Church on earth, standing with her back to the viewer with outstretched arms raised towards the Lamb.[79] In all three sacramentaries the Lamb is enclosed in a roundel, a device, like the *clipeas* surrounding Christ's head in early Christian art, designed to remind the viewer that Christ's divine nature can only be viewed by the eye of the mind, that a picture of heaven, however beautiful, is a symbol of heaven.[80]

---

[77] Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek. MS theol. 231, fol. 111. Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination. An historical study* (London, 1991, revised 2nd edition 1999) part 2, p. 148, Ill. 94.

[78] Bamberg Staatsbibl., MS Lit.1, fol. 165v. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, part 2, p. 151, color plate XIV.

[79] Udine, Archivio Capitolare, MS 1 fol. 66v. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, part 2, pp. 151–2, color plate XV. Some have seen the earthly figure as *Terra*, but her chasuble-like cloak makes her more likely Ecclesia in accordance with Bede's view of the universal Church as in heaven and on earth. The people weep recalling Rev. 21:4 when God will wipe away tears at the end of time.

[80] In an image which does not show Ecclesia, where the chalice was shown at the foot of the cross receiving blood from the side wound, the relationship between the chalice of the Mass and the blood of Christ is also very directly presented, as in the Arenberg Gospels where the presence of Mary also recalls the idea, emphasized by Paschasius, that the consecration in the Mass was a sacramental incarnation, Arenberg Gospels, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 869, fol. 9v. Raw, ASCI, plate II and pp. 120–23. Probably late 10th century, Christ Church, Canterbury. Paschasius *De* corpore 4 CCCM 16 p. 30.

Scenes of the Passion continued to be used narratively in many gospel books. Images could also function as devotional items, as in the eleventh-century Gundold Gospels from Cologne where Christ dead on the cross with blood dripping from his wounds is shown opposite a picture of Christ in Majesty.[81] The contrast between human suffering and divine glory involves an abstraction, including ideas related to a Paschasian type of approach to the eucharistic presence where Christ's humanity is crucial. However, the immediate focus is on the devotional attitude of mind. There is a suggestion here of crucifixion scenes, more frequently seen in the eleventh century onwards, which operate in an affective and less theological mood where attention is directed to the suffering Christ and to the viewer-communicant's relationship to Christ through this suffering.[82]

The Gero Crucifix, a wooden carving, probably the gift of Archbishop Gero (d. 976) to Cologne Cathedral for the altar of the cross, is the first extant deeply moving sculpture of Christ dead on the cross (Fig. 33).[83] The man is not idealized, the stomach muscles have relaxed, the legs are pathetically thin and there is exhausted agony in Christ's face with the mouth set in a deep straight line. In some inspired way, however, the sculptor also fittingly contrives to suggest the noble and dignified God-man whose humility in subjecting himself to this ordeal paradoxically underlined his divinity. If, as is possible, a consecrated Host was concealed in the statue the impact on those viewing the crucified savior during Mass was even greater.[84]

---

[81] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., Cod.Bibl. 402, 9v and 10r. Raw, ASCI, p. 73.

[82] For the suffering Christ in the late Middle Ages, see also Kristen Van Ausdall's chapter in this volume.

[83] George Henderson, *Early Medieval* (Harmondworth, 1972), pp. 236–38 plate 150 (detail), and Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion* (New York, 2002), plate 1.

[84] Thietmar bishop of Merseburg (1009–19) recounted a miracle legend that Archbishop Gero had placed a Host inside a fissure in the crucifix's head and had prayed it would be mended. When he got up from his prayers the healing had taken place. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert Holtzmann. MGH n.s. 9 (Berlin 1955), book III, ch. 2, pp. 98–101, cited in Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, part 1 p. 134. This may not refer to the Gero Cross since the head does not now have a section to hold a relic, but the cross itself (not the head) appears from carbon dating to post-date the head. Annika Elisabeth Fisher, "Cross Altar and Crucifix in Ottonian Cologne," in Søren Kaspersen and Erik Thunø, eds., *Decorating the Lord's Table*, p. 46 fn. 13. Some other crosses of the period did contain the Host (which was meaningful only if seen as Christ's body) and often a splinter of the true cross.

Fig. 33 Gero Cross, carved and painted wood, 1.87 m. high, ca. 970, Cologne Cathedral (photo: public domain).

Humility was a spiritual ideal for the Ottonians, including the emperor, and seen as the true path to exaltation. The Lothar processional cross dated about 1000, probably made for Otto III, reveals this interrelationship of humiliation and exaltation. On one side a fine cameo of the emperor Augustus, wreathed in victory, is set amongst jewels. On the other side, which the emperor Otto would have seen as he followed the cross, Christ is slumped in death on the cross, blood flowing from his wounds. It is a picture of suffering akin to the Gero Cross, and yet victory is emphasised by the hand of God holding a wreath above Christ's head. The serpent is coiled defeated round the foot of the cross.[85] Nevertheless, outside Cologne's sphere of influence scenes which lack signs of divinity such as the full-length *collobium*, the hieratic posture or symbols of eternity "are comparatively rare in Ottonian art" or, indeed, in other parts of the West.[86] Ottonian artists generally tried "not to humanize Christ too much, particularly in their Passion sequences and so allow his physical debasement to be paraded."[87] In the eleventh-century crucifix called the *Volto Santo* (Holy Face) in Lucca Cathedral Christ is in triumph reigning from the tree (Fig. 34). His feet are separated and not nailed. He wears a long robe and a golden girdle which recall Christ as the high priest of Revelation 1:13: "clothed with a long robe and with a golden girdle" who will come in glory. Majesty and dignity are emphasised.[88] Similar crucifixes were produced in many parts of Europe even into the thirteenth century.

The series of four thematically linked illustrations to the Codex made in Regensburg for the reforming abbess Uta of Niederminster ca.1025 reveal how Christ's death is related to the mystery of his incarnation and to his presence in the Mass.[89] The first picture shows the hand of God. The dedication picture shows abbess Uta with the Virgin and Child. The crucifixion scene (folio 3v) combines allegorical figures like Mors and Vita, Grace and Law, Ecclesia and Synagoga, and pictures of gospel events like the tearing of the temple veil and

[85] The Lothar Cross is in Aachen Cathedral. Otto associated himself with the imperial age of Rome. Mayr-Harting *Ottonian Book Illumination*, part 1, pp. 135–38, plates 83 and 84.

[86] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 1, p. 111.

[87] *Ibid*., p. 109.

[88] Richard Harries, *The Passion in Art* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2004), pp. 53–54, Fig. 12a.

[89] Uta Codex Munich, Bayerishe Staatsbibliothek MS Clm.13601. A.S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy and Reform in Eleventh Century Germany* (Pennsylvania, 2000), color plate 5.

Fig. 34 Volto Santo, 11th century, carved wood, Cathedral of San Martino, Lucca (photo: Courtesy of E. Ayer).

the dead emerging from their graves. Law is falling and her eyes are obscured by the acanthus frame. Death is forced to bend dramatically by a shoot from the life-giving wood of the cross. All have inscriptions clarifying the symbolism. Mayr-Harting claims this depiction as "the greatest example of the scene conceived as a triumph."[90] Christ on a golden cross has a golden crown, a robe of imperial purple and

[90] Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, p. 126, color plate XVIII.

a golden stole to indicate the priest-king. Gold is the predominant colour throughout the page. The fourth (folio 4), which faces the *Crucifixion*, is a Mass scene with chalice and Host visible on a Christian altar.[91] In this image St Erhard, bishop of Regensburg, celebrates Mass wearing some of the elaborate vestment of the high priest described in Exodus 28, and standing beneath a ciborium labelled "Holy of Holies," with the Lamb above and a titulus saying "Lamb of God, you who take away the sins of the world, have mercy on us." Here the continuity of sacraments is stressed as is the superiority of the sacrifice on the cross and in the Mass to the Old Law sacrifices. This book, like the previously mentioned sacramentaries from Fulda, gives some indication of how liturgical books might be used by priests as aids to contemplation and private prayer both during the rite and outside it. Others, educated, but not in priestly orders like Abbess Uta, might have found the illustrations and accompanying *tituli* valid aids to post-rite contemplation and recall.[92] Crucial awareness of the responsibilities of the celebrant is indicated in the *Te igitur* crucifixion in a Corvey Sacramentary of the late-tenth century where the celebrant rather than Ecclesia is shown looking up at Christ from a roundel below the cross.[93]

In England various types of the Crucified co-existed during the late tenth and eleventh centuries before the Norman Conquest.[94] Many were of the type of BL Cotton Titus D xxvii (the Aelfwine prayer book), fol. 65v ca. 1023–35 where the eyes are open and the body upright.[95] In the Arenberg Gospels, from late tenth-century Canterbury, Christ's body is exaggeratedly curved and head slumped, but eliciting sympathy for the human suffering savior was not the primary purpose. When viewed as the first picture in a sequence with the pictures above the canon tables which follow, the emphasis is on redemption, the

[91] Raw ASCI p. 73. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, pp. 126–28, for the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius.

[92] Henry Mayr-Harting, "Ottonian *Tituli* in Liturgical Books," in M. Hageman and M. Mostert, eds., *Reading Images and Texts. Papers from the Utrecht Symposium December 2000* (Brepols, 2005), pp. 457–75. This interesting article shows one important aspect of art definitely not for the illiterate.

[93] Corvey Sacramentary MS Mü, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 10077, f.12r. Mayr-Harting, "Ottonian *Tituli* in Liturgical Books," fig. 5. Christ is alive and clothed in a long robe, and there is no side-wound, blood or chalice.

[94] Okasha and O'Reilly, "An Anglo-Saxon portable altar," p. 37.

[95] Raw, ASCI, fig. viii.

continuity of Christ's offering in the Eucharist and the way the Eucharist allows a sharing of worship in heaven.[96]

The Mid to Late Eleventh Century: Changes in the Context of Eucharistic Art

The period from about 1100 was "one of sacramentality, with the eucharist at its heart."[97] The roots of this can be seen earlier; eucharistic piety in monastic circles, especially Cluniac, had been growing from the early eleventh century. There had been a penitential aspect to Carolingian and Ottonian eucharistic piety, but about the mid-eleventh century a more sharply penitential-eucharistic focus emerged within the various reform movements and was given wider significance as the layman too became aware of being largely responsible for his own salvation.[98] That one might be gradually and progressively transformed and move towards fellowship with God by sacramental incorporation following true penitence, gave men new and greater hope.[99] Developments in penitential discipline and ideas on purgatorial punishment which seemed to provide a last chance for salvation of the truly penitent helped shape eucharistic piety,[100] and the art that gave expression to eucharistic piety.

---

[96] Raw, ASCI, pp. 84–5. In the Southern English Cluny portable altar (the second quarter of the eleventh century), although the body is twisted in death, acclamation and prayer is emphasised rather than extreme grief. As Okasha and O'Reilly show ("An Anglo-Saxon portable altar," p. 47) the Agnus Dei is eucharistic and eschatological, elucidating the true nature of the object of adoration, the Christ on the cross, and "explains why they do not mourn the dead Christ."

[97] For greater detail on the theological context of eucharistic art in the period up to about 1160 see Elizabeth Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France. Iconography and Theology* (Woodbridge, 2006). See also Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 1. Rubin deals primarily with the period after the adoption of the feast of Corpus Christi in 1264, but she clearly shows this form of piety having its roots in the preceding centuries.

[98] Lay piety is difficult to define or quantify but both more extensive and compassionate parish penitential discipline, in the best cases, and contact with wandering preachers and hermits, often men of considerable education, may have contributed. Large numbers of Augustinian canons and increasing numbers of traditional Benedictine monk-priests took on pastoral roles.

[99] It is not possible here to assess Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, but an awareness that God became man as a result of God's loving justice rather than emphasising a mere buying off, by a subterfuge, of the devil's rights to fallen man, must have aided optimism for many. For a fuller account see Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 55–63 and Raw, ASCI, pp. 171–73 on the differences between Anselmian and Anglo-Saxon views on atonement.

[100] Greater stress on the immediate judgement at the death of the individual may have helped popularise the depictions of Dives and Lazarus where Lazarus rests in Abraham's bosom (as in the porch at Moissac and in frescoes at Vicq (Berry).

Emphasis on the essential function of the ordained priest to offer Mass was accelerated by Gregorian reform, as has been shown in Gary Macy's chapter in this volume.[101] The terrifying possibility that salvific reception might be invalidated by the immorality of either the recipient or of the consecrating priest added new tensions.[102] Paradoxically these tensions seem to have resulted in fewer lay people receiving communion. Fear of invalid reception was, however, evidence of lay piety rather than the reverse. The person of active faith dare not risk damaging the intense relationship with Christ that only true reception of his very body and blood in the Eucharist could bring about. This attitude aided the acceptance in the twelfth century of non-sacramental actions and attitudes which might provide salvific spiritual communion.

The growth of interest in all aspects of the Eucharist is reflected in the very large number of theological tracts and Mass commentaries written in the period. Many sprang directly or indirectly from ferocious debates about the ideas of Berengar of Tours. These clerical writings also attracted the attention of some of the educated laity who corresponded with the clerical authors, and also of other laymen who, according to a correspondent of Pope Gregory VII, "talked about it amongst themselves in the streets."[103] Heretical ideas not stemming directly from Berengar, but touching on similar concerns and often denying eucharistic change, further extended lay debate.

The eucharistic controversy surrounding Berengar the *scholasticus* of Tours was the fiercest yet in the West.[104] Berengar accepted that the bread and wine after consecration became the *corpus verum* but saw this as a spiritual reality and not the body born of Mary. The bread and wine remained bread and wine in substance: visible signs of Christ's

---

[101] As the Eucharist became increasingly accepted as the primary salvific sacrament, sacerdotal primacy became yet more significant and was vigorously asserted, including against various popular heresies attacking the role of the Church as the unique dispenser of salvific sacraments. For Guibert of Nogent, Alger of Liege and Hugh of St-Victor claiming the primacy of the Eucharist see Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 45–46. Emphases on the Eucharist as the primary sacrament and on sacerdotal primacy were mutually reinforcing. It is not always clear in the eleventh century which emphasis was foremost.

[102] Gregory VII's demand that individuals reject the sacraments of simoniacal priests helped fuel heresies by inadvertently leading laymen to question the moral standing of their priests.

[103] Cited in R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (1953; Arrow edition London, 1959), p. 208. Letter to Gregory VII, in M.R. James, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts*, University Library, Aberdeen, 1932, pp. 36–37.

[104] Berengar was *scholasticus* of Tours from ca. 1040–80, died 1088.

salvific body. To say anything else, Berengar argued forcefully, was illogical. Christ's body in substance could exist only in heaven. It was impassible and immutable and could not be divided, blasphemously, and in an undignified way, into little bits (*portiuncula*) piled up on earth on all the altars and other bits in heaven.[105]

In contrast to Berengar, by the early twelfth century most theologians accepted varying versions of a real presence of Christ in the sacrament.[106] A group of ideas developed of mystic spiritual union not necessarily accompanied by sacramental reception. These were easily related to those trends which were increasing the emphasis on repentance and introspection and on the growing compassion and sympathy for Christ in the Passion. Mystical spiritual forms of reception, however, risked the individualism of some heretical groups and so a strong and traditional reaction confirmed the unity of the Church as the bond of all the saved. One could remain in this unity even if prevented from receiving sacramentally. This ecclesial emphasis also fitted the mood of Gregorian reform. Peter Lombard's theology of the Eucharist in his influential *Sententiae*, largely written after 1148, saw the *res* of the sacrament as the unity in faith hope and love of Christ of all the predestined from both Testaments.[107] He fully accepted Christ's presence on the altar: it signified the union but was not necessary to effect it.[108] For many laymen the penitential-eucharistic focus of their

---

[105] *De sacra coena* published as *Rescriptum contra Lanfrancum*, R.B.C. Huygens, ed. (CCCM 84, Turnhout 1988), caps. 30 and 35. Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 28–34. Macy, *Theologies*, 1984, p. 40. Macy's invaluable *Theologies* remains the classic study of eucharistic theology in this period. Fragmentation would destroy the salvific integrity of the body of Christ. This dangerous suggestion that the Eucharist might not be salvific ensured that many of the major figures of the day would attempt to counter Berengar's fragmentation argument. In the process they would redefine the terminology of eucharistic theology as Gary Macy shows in his chapter in this book.

[106] Macy, *Theologies*, 1984 and *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville, MN, 1999), p. 83, has very effectively shown that transubstantiation was not defined in the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215; the term was used, but without precise definition. There was great variety in the terminology of Christ's presence in the Eucharist before and after this date. Some still held to a basically Paschasian-Hilarian acceptance of the need for a natural union between Christ and believers. Others,equally accepting of Christ's presence, concerned themselves less with the mysterious mechanism of eucharistic change than with other ways one might unite with Christ in the salvific sacrament.

[107] Macy, *Theologies*, p. 122.

[108] Saxon, *Eucharist*, p. 32. The extensive and often intense debates amongst savants helped shape eucharistic piety. For example, the first known procession with the Host was on Palm Sunday in Canterbury in 1077 at the dedication of the new cathedral where the treasure of Christ himself in the consecrated Host was carried from outside

lives was expressed in an increased devotion to Christ himself present in the Eucharist which Macy shows "arose suddenly and dramatically between the death of Berengar (1088) and the opening of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)."[109] It was manifest in "a tremendous proliferation of miracles, visions, and miracle stories surrounding the sacrament."[110]

In this often highly-charged atmosphere eucharistic devotion was frequently expressed in art in all media and for a range of viewers.[111] The development of monumental stone sculpture (sometimes painted) allowed the current concerns and controversies, particularly in France, to be expressed in a new medium. Historiated stone sculpture and, especially tympana, juxtaposed and interlinked scenes and symbols which could reinforce, explore and define abstract and theological ideas in rather the same process as in the multi-layered sections of an illuminated manuscript. This new medium could be dramatic, notably in the finest tympana over major portals, entry places to God's house and the source of the salvific sacraments of the Church. Carved capitals both individually in nave, choir or cloister, or grouped thematically could also be didactic or exploratory. There is no extant evidence that they were used in the instruction of the laity or young monks but this would seem likely.

The Art of the Gregorian Reform

Gregorian reform (which is best seen as a complex of reforming intentions, not only those of the papacy, nor primarily concerning the investiture contest) promoted the idea of a return to the perceived unity of purpose of the apostolic age, and the piety and aura of the early Church, its writings and its art. It also drew on the earlier reform initiatives of transalpine Europe during the Carolingian and Ottonian dynasties. In employing artistic styles and approaches from these centuries, as well as writings from Carolingians like Hrabanus Maurus

---

the city to the foot of the crucifix in the nave. Archbishop Lanfranc may have arranged this to complement his opposition to Berengar's views.

[109] Macy, *Theologies*, p. 86 referring to work by Browe and Dumoutet.

[110] *Ibid.*

[111] For the problem of defining the potential viewers and their responses, see Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 5–7 and 217–19, and throughout.

and Amalarius of Metz, the Church from its Roman centre could evidence a Europe-wide renewal now led by Rome.[112]

The reform movement was more institutional and jurisdictional than theological but nevertheless the Berengarian crisis focused papal intention since Gregory VII could only hope to carry through his reforms if he could escape any taint of heresy. In relation to the Eucharist great effort was made to ensure the primacy and the purity of the elite ordained priesthood.[113] Crucifixion iconography, as previously noted, had been to a significant degree developed to assert the centrality and unique nature of the sacraments of the Church. For the validity of these sacraments the apostolic succession was crucial. The apostles symbolised the Church and were its foundation (Revelation 21:14). Their images, and notably that of St. Peter, appear with an unprecedented frequency. They were included, tellingly, as foundation pillars in the form of column statues as at Chartres or Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne. The apostles shown together (on portal lintels, for example) especially at the Last Supper, carry ideas of continuity of sacrifice continuing from the God-given consecration of Aaron and his sons through Jesus commission to the apostles and the seventy two disciples and onwards to the bishops.

St. Peter with the keys to bind and loose (Matthew 16:19), and the apostles, who Jesus said would judge the twelve tribes of Israel (Luke 22:30) were thus the authority behind priestly absolution and powers to excommunicate and their images were significant. This was especially so in this period when the continuous judgement during life and particular judgment on death was gaining emphasis (rather than as previously when concentration was placed on the Last Judgement).

One of the most important pairings of images long used in exegesis to illustrate the vital need for penitence and confession was that of the hiding of Adam and Eve (Genesis 3:8) with the raising of Lazarus (John 11:1–44). Genesis and Lazarus scenes were originally represented on the north portal (the traditional entrance for penitents) of

---

[112] Larry Ayers, "An Italian Romanesque Manuscript of Hrabanus Maurus' *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis* and the Gregorian Reform," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 41, Studies on Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on his seventy-fifth birthday (1987), pp. 13–27.

[113] The insistence on the word *substantialiter* in the oath taken by Berengar in 1079 confirmed the direction of orthodox thought even though a wide range of views continued to be discussed. There were some variations in approaches to ordination. For Berengar, see Gary Macy's chapter in this volume.

St-Lazare at Autun (Saône-et-Loire) dated about ca. 1125.[114] Gregory the Great said man buried under the weight of sin must "come out" by confession and penitence.[115] Augustine too compared Christ's "where have you laid him?" to God's "where are you Adam?" which allegorically refers to God's reproof of the sinners at the Last Judgement, "I never knew you, out of my sight!" (Matthew 7:23). Lazarus' sisters direct Christ to the grave, saying "Come and see" (John 11:35) and the reproof is reversed. God's "seeing" means his mercy that leads to forgiveness.[116] The story had long been taken as an allegory for the sacrament of penance. Jesus' saying "Loose him and let him go" (John 11:44) had been related to his mandate to Peter "whoever you loose on earth shall be considered loosed in heaven." (Matthew 16:19).

Issues of priestly celibacy and impurity, including simony, became tied to fearsome ideas in the theological debate that some sacraments might be invalid and some reception unworthy and non-salvific. The possibility of invalid sacraments threatened the power and unity of the Church.[117] Images of Simon Magus, who had attempted to buy the power of the Holy Spirit, were prominently sited, as on the Porte Mièvgeville at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse where, on the wall to the right of the portal, Simon Magus with two devils is shown below St. Peter accompanied by angels carrying the papal triplecrown (Fig. 35).[118] Simon Magus' simony was compared to Judas selling of Jesus. It may be simoniacs or other excommunicated priests who are celebrating Mass as figures with the heads of asses on the exterior of churches, as at Aulnay (Charente-Maritime).

In terms of the Eucharist, as in some Carolingian and Ottonian examples, Judas was often presented in Last Supper scenes on the other side of the table to the other disciples and receiving the sop.[119]

---

[114] O.K. Werckmeister, "The lintel fragment representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 35 (1972), pp. 1–30, expands on the exegesis and the sculpture.

[115] *Moralia in Job* 22.15.31; PL 76, 230–1.

[116] *Tractatus in Ioannis* 49.20; CCSL 36, 430.

[117] The issue had emerged a number of times in the history of the Church, especially by the Donatists.

[118] Acts 8:9–24.

[119] The nature of the sop was much discussed. Many came to agree with Guibert of Nogent that the sop was holy because it had received the Lord's touch, but it was not the sign of the sacrament because it was given before the words of institution. Judas merited damnation, however, because of his intentions and attitude towards the Lord.

Fig. 35 Porte Miègeville, Saint-Sernin, Toulouse (photo: author).

More dramatically, at Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme) he holds the sop, but is blocked out in the corner of this choir capital by the other disciples (Fig. 36). In an unfinished missal of St-Maur-des-Fossés, the contrast between valid and invalid sacramental reception is clearly made. Christ offers the sop to Judas. In contrast, an apostle, probably Peter, very deliberately places the Host in his own mouth and another apostle raises the chalice towards Christ.[120]

An image which appears rarely, but where it does it is of considerable significance, was the purification of Isaiah's lips (Isaiah 6:5–13). Isaiah claimed he was of unclean lips and so the seraphim took with tongs a live coal from the altar and touched his lips. Purged of sin Isaiah could be sent by God to convert and heal. The coal (*carbunculus*) was seen as the purging fire of the Holy Spirit and was related to the Gospel since God's word was hard as stone and without contradictions. This image had particular relevance to the priesthood in a time of reform. It is recalled in the Mass by the priest praying for his own purification: "Cleanse my heart and my lips, O Almighty God, who

Epistola de buccella Judae PL 156, 527–37, esp. 530 and *De pignoribus sanctorum* PL 156, 637D and 639B–C.

[120] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 12054, fol. 79. It is dated to the early twelfth century by Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: the Twelfth Century*, 2 vols (London, 1996), vol. 1, plate 202, vol. 2, p. 104.

Fig. 36 *Last Supper*, choir capital, Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme) (photo: author).

didst cleanse the lips of the prophet Isaiah with a burning coal; so deign in thy gracious mercy to purify me" (*Munda cor meum*). The interpretation in Byzantine thought, probably stemming from Germanus of Constantinople (ca. 634–ca. 733), was of the priest standing at the altar holding the spiritual coal, Christ, the tongs in his hand and cleansing those who receive the Host.[121] The work of St. John of Damascus (675–c, 749) was known in the West; he linked the burning coal to the very nature of the Eucharist: "For a live ember is not simply wood but wood united to fire, so also the bread of communion is not simple bread but bread united with the Godhead."[122]

The purification of Isaiah's lips (Fig. 37) is shown the portal at Besse (Dordogne) and in a fresco at Vicq (Berry), a parish church belonging to Bourg-Dieu now Déols (Indre), one of the most powerful monasteries in central France.[123] Herveus of Bourg-Dieu in his Commentary on

[121] J.A. Jungmann, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*, trans. A. Peeler (London, 1965), pp. 241–42.

[122] *De fide* 4.13; PG 94, 1149. Cara Ferguson O'Meara, "In the Hearth of the Virginal Womb," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), pp. 73–87, who also quotes Aquinas' use of this passage.

[123] The portal at Besse (Dordogne) is a complex of interlocking penitential-eucharistic motifs, explored in Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 79–86.

Fig. 37 *The purification of Isaiah's lips*, Portal at Besse, Dordogne (photo: author).

the Mass showed how the purified Isaiah parallels humanity restored through Christ's redemption.[124] The fresco on the south wall of the choir could not be seen by the parishioners and thus applied to the priests as celebrant or confessors. It linked to other penitential aspects of the ministry shown in the fresco cycle. Déols had been the site of a famous Host miracle in 1116. It also had a frieze of the Last Supper (or possibly Cana) which at eight to nine meters long would have been the largest sculptured depiction in France and these factors taken together suggest that eucharistic piety at Déols might have been intense.[125]

The Cleansing of the Temple has been considered "the key artistic expression of the Gregorian Reform."[126] Augustine had called those who preach for payment Temple oxen-sellers, and related Simon Magus to the dove-sellers.[127] At the Roman council of 1075, called by Gregory VII to reform clerical abuses, Gregory specifically mentioned the Cleansing.[128] In frescoes at Chalivoy-Milon (Berry) of about 1130–50 the Cleansing is emphasized and shown in proximity to the payment of Judas. At St-Gilles-du-Gard (Gard) the sacrificial oxen are given prominence in the Cleansing scene on the façade.[129]

Fear of invalid reception probably led to the frequent depiction of the offerings of Abel and Cain (Genesis 4:1–16). Depiction is rare on choir capitals near the altar, a position justified by Abel's offering. That they appear more often on nave capitals might suggest Gregorian reformers found it useful to point up Cain's invalid sacrifice. In a cloister capital at Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne) Cain's sacrifice is watched by

---

[124] *Commentary on the Mass* (Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 447 fols. 121–34; cited in Marcia Kupfer, "Spiritual passage and pictorial strategy in the Romanesque frescoes at Vicq," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), p. 51.

[125] The fragments are now at Châteauroux Museum.

[126] R.H. Rough, *The Reformist Illuminations in the Gospels of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany* (The Hague, 1973). Of the thirty-one drawings in this gospel book only one, the Cleansing, has a full page and is framed. Christ, whip in hand, steps forward vigorously even violently, to clear the Temple of merchants and desecrators who fall and are forced beyond the frame.

[127] *In Joannis evangelium* 10. PL 35, 1468–74 esp. pp. 1469–71.

[128] Bruno of Segni, Peter Damian, Peter the Venerable, and Bernard of Clairvaux were amongst many other notable writers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries who wrote on the reforming aspects of the Cleansing. It could be used both institutionally and individually. Hugh of St-Victor, for example, used the cleansing as a penitential image of Christ coming daily at Mass and ejecting those who do bad things. *Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum* PL 175, 754D.

[129] The date of the St-Gilles sculpture is controversial ranging from 1116 to mid-thirteenth century. A date between 1150–70 is now generally accepted.

a winged devil, and in frescoes at St-Savin (Vienne) God firmly turns his back on Cain. Typological associations are common in images of both Abel and Cain. Abel is a type of Christ and his offering of a lamb is recalled in the Mass at *supra quae* when God is asked to accept the bread and wine. Cain's offering of grain was traditionally linked to biblical images of weeds and tares as sins. The Fathers associated sinners and heretics with weeds and thus Cain came to represent the crucifying Jews and all heretics. Cain is also a type of Judas and so his invalid sacrifice was recalled by Judas receiving the sop. In the *Killing of Abel* capital at Aulnay (Charente-Maritime) Abel holds the lamb aloft, reinforcing the analogy with Christ (and perhaps with the elevation in the Mass).[130]

The Penitential-Eucharistic Focus

From the time of Ambrose, and probably earlier, the Eucharist had been seen as strengthening the baptized and itself a form of purification. Frequent communion after confession had been recommended, in England at least, since the Council of Clovesho in 747, but remained largely an ideal throughout Europe as far as can be ascertained. By the ninth century, as has been noted, Carolingian writers had increasingly emphasised repentance as a necessary condition to valid reception. The Easter cycle in particular focused on penitence for both laity and clerics. In the eleventh century attempts were made to clarify the doctrine of penance. A new mood was emerging which saw as possible the salvation of all who were truly penitent.[131]

Peter Damian saw penance as "truly a sharing in the passion of the redeemer" and said there was nothing standing between penance and the kingdom of heaven.[132] This tallied with St Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* which earlier had shifted the emphasis from cosmic battle to

[130] The elevation after the consecration appears to have taken place well before the first clear reference in the early thirteenth century. Hildebert of Lavardin, Bishop of Le Mans, later Archbishop of Tours, talks of an elevation, whether before or after the consecration, in the early twelfth century in *De mysterio missae* PL171, 1186. Hugh of St-Victor also refers to it as a spiritual comfort and aid to contemplating the reality of the presence of Christ. *De sacramentis* 2.8.18 ed. and trans. R.J. Deferrari, *Hugh of St Victor on the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De sacramentis)* (Cambridge, MA, 1951), p. 314.

[131] The background to this is more fully explored in Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 66–76.

[132] *Opusculum* 43, PL 145, 679B and *Sermo* 50 PL144, 783B.

an identifying with Christ in the repetitive sacrament of the Eucharist. Many hermits working for reform found penance preaching an effective way to encourage simple people to amend their ways.[133] Issues of interiority and intention became central to considerations of penitence. It became felt that man might be granted absolution for true penitence even though it was recognized that he would probably fall into sin in future times and need further forgiveness.[134] Many priests appeared to be very conscious of the awesome nature of being a channel of absolution. Ivo, the reforming bishop of Chartres, saw priests as shepherds who must imitate Christ in their own lives and "pour out tears" for the excesses of their flock when praying for them.[135] The faithful, lay or cleric, had constantly to ward off attacks of the devil. Daily communion was strengthening.

It has been noted previously in this chapter that awe and fear of Christ the wounded Judge, whom the wicked will see in his crucified form at the Last Judgement, long predates the twelfth century and that Paschasius too set his "realist" definition of the eucharistic presence firmly in the context of Matthew 25:31–46, the final dividing of the righteous from those damned to everlasting fire. Christ's humiliation and sacrifice had fulfilled the requirements of justice and thereby he would come again as the ultimate Judge. Damnation would come from eating and drinking the body and blood in a sinful unrepentant state. One must join with the humanity of Christ in the sacrament but, for Paschasius, the bloody wounds were far more a fearsome sign of justice than a cause of pity. A greater personal involvement with the humanity of Christ, expressed in devotion to the wounds, was emerging in the twelfth century, as will be discussed further, but the older, sterner approach is evident in the west tympanum (ca. 1130–35) of Ste. Foy at Conques (Fig. 38).[136] The wounded Judge raises his right hand to accept the righteous and lowers his left hand in rejection. The angels flanking his mandorla carry scrolls with abbreviated versions of "venite benedicti patris mei" and "dicedite a me maledicti in ignum" from Matthew 25:34 and 41. On Christ's right are the saved, but on the left are

[133] H. Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: a Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150* (London, 1984), p. 72.

[134] Questions of the moral standing of a priestly confessor mirrored in some way those about an immoral celebrant.

[135] *Sermo* 17; PL 162, 588–9, and *Sermo* 2; PL 162, 514B–519D.

[136] Conques is usually dated ca. 1130–35. It is the first of the great tympana to show the Last Judgement taking place (at Beaulieu it is imminent).

Fig. 38 *Christ as Judge*, west tympanum, Ste. Foy, Conques (photo: author).

graphic depictions of the torments of hell. Alongside the kneeling St. Faith, patron saint of the abbey, there is a chalice on an altar confirming the importance of the sacrament to the truly penitent elect. The crucial link between the body of Christ on the cross and in the Eucharist is made even more dramatically at Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne where, for the first time on a tympanum, the wounded judge, seated before the great jewelled cross, bares his breast in magnificent evidence (Fig. 39). The angels joyously brandish the instruments of the passion like trophies. The porch sculptures show the penitential-eucharistic route to salvation and include the angel bringing Habakkuk to Daniel.[137]

The assertion that God would judge the unrighteous recipient of the Eucharist is made in an inscription above the lintel of the tympanum at Vandeins (Ain): "When the sinner approaches the table of the Lord he must ask with all his heart for pardon for his faults."[138] To clarify the point the great penitential symbol of the humility of Christ washing the disciples' feet is shown on the lintel. In the tympanum above these representatives of the Church, who Christ ordered to wash the

[137] Beaulieu is usually dated 1130–40.
[138] Eliane Vergnolle, *L'art roman en France* (Paris, 1994), p. 332 n. 334.

Fig. 39 *Christ as Judge*, tympanum, Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (photo: author).

feet of others, sits Christ the judge in Majesty. At Bellenaves (Allier) and St-Julien-de Jonzy (Saône-et-Loire) Christ the judge appears in the tympana above a lintel representing the *Last Supper* (Fig. 40), with Judas receiving the sop (in the center) and the *Washing of the Feet* (on the right). Perhaps above all others this combination of images, situated above the entrance to God's house of salvific sacraments, best expresses the penitential-eucharistic focus of this period.

Origen had seen Abraham washing the feet of the angels at Mamre (Genesis 18:4) as a baptismal symbol with eucharistic implications: "…for Abraham knew that the dominical sacrament cannot be consummated except by washing the feet."[139] Abraham washing the angels' feet appears on a capital at Gerona Cathedral. At Issoire, Abraham welcoming the angels is given a companion-piece to the sacrifice of Isaac. Between these two north-wall panels is a smaller one (by another hand) of the multiplication of bread. This juxtaposition confirms the

[139] *In Genesim homiliae* 4.2; PG 12, 185B.

Fig. 40 *Christ the Judge and Last Supper*, tympanum and lintel, St-Julien-de Jonzy (photo: author).

washing/penitence as a vital eucharistic preliminary.[140] The *pedilavium* appears on many capitals, and in a Moissac cloister capital St Paul replaces Judas at the Last Supper to confirm the role of the Church in penitential practice.

In a few cases there is another telling combination. The crucifixion, which is rare on the façade of churches before 1150 and not very often depicted on capitals, is sometimes shown above or in a complementary siting with the Last Supper. This juxtaposition gives emphasis to the essential unity of the sacrifice on the cross and in the Mass, as well as on the need for true penitence, especially before communion. At Condrieu (Rhöne) the *Last Supper* is shown on the lintel; Christ in the tympanum above right carries his cross, and on the left an angel shows the empty tomb to the women, while in the centre is the crucifixion with John, Mary, Stephaton and Longinus. The lance pierces the side of the slumped Christ. Significantly, the capitals show the apostles removing their shoes for the *pedilavium*.

[140] These exterior panels may not be in their original situation and appear stylistically to be much earlier than most Issoire sculpture which dates about 1160–70.

At St-Pons-de Thomières (Hérault) two complementary tympana (once side by side on the main portal and under the same archivolt) show, on the first the *Last Supper* and the *Pedilavium* and on the second the *Crucifixion.* At St- Gilles-du-Gard Christ in Majesty was shown (now a seventeenth-century replacement) in the central tympanum above a lintel of the *Last Supper* and the *Washing of Feet*. The south tympanum shows the *Crucifixion* with Ecclesia and the vanquished Synagoga who is pushed off balance by an angel. Unfortunately the dating of all of these sculptures is highly controversial. St–Pons has been considered as early as 1100, but is probably later.[141] St-Gilles is generally now considered to be 1150–70, but may be as late as 1200.[142]

Penitence and Eucharistic Prefiguration

The temptations of Christ, which featured highly in Lenten worship, are frequently represented both to assert the need for penitence and for reform.[143] At Beaulieu the Temptations of Christ are shown in the porch as a complement to Daniel in the lions' den and the coming of Habakkuk.[144] The sequel to the temptations in Mark and Matthew is the ministering of the angels to the hungry Jesus. In a capital at Saulieu (Côte-d'Or) the angels stands supportively behind Christ during the temptation itself, as he does at Autun, but at Saulieu he carries a victory wreath. This evokes Old Testament examples of God's agents feeding his righteous and prefiguring the Eucharist thereby; as in Daniel and Habakkuk (Daniel 14:31–42), the feeding of Elijah by the angel (1 Kings 18:5–7) and by ravens (1 Kings 17). Ezekiel, who had provided some of the Old Testament's most dramatic calls to repentance, had eaten the book of God's instructions (Ezekiel 3:1–3) and found it

[141] Saxon, *Eucharist*, p. 212 n. 104.

[142] For the possibility that this combination of images might have been designed to counter heresy see below in this chapter.

[143] Gregorian reformers made particular use of the temptations in their sermons and in art. All three temptations are illustrated in the previously mentioned Gospels of Matilda of Tuscany.

[144] Habakkuk was identified with the prophet Habakkuk. Daniel in the lions' den is probably the most frequently used penitential image in Romanesque art. Daniel was a type of Christ resurrected and defeating the tempter, and a model of the good judge. His prophecies of the Last Judgement, (Dan. 7:9–14) depicting the Son of Man sitting in awesome judgement, set him in the centre of Christian penitential literature. The symbolism and depiction of Daniel is extensive. Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 107–111, 170–71, 239–40.

"honey for sweetness" just as John did in Revelation 10:8–11. Christ the Word could be eaten and chewed in the mind as could his body in the Host, and monumental art emphasized this idea.

The Gospel for the first Sunday in Lent (Matthew 4:1–11) recounts Christ's temptations. On the second Sunday in Lent Matthew 17:1–9 on the Transfiguration is read confirming the need for penitence and virtuous living if one is to see the glorified face of the Lord. The glorification of Jesus, glowing with light, on Mount Tabor, recalled Moses' shining face after his partial vision of God (Exodus 33) and caused the apostles to offer to construct tents and tabernacles evoking those set up after the return from Egypt, and recalling the purificatory rite of the feast of Tabernacles. In a choir capital at St Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme) the tabernacles are shown as churches and the adjacent side shows the bread miracle prefiguring the Eucharist. The Transfiguration had particular relevance to the contemporary debate on the Eucharist in that it showed Christ's glorified body before the resurrection and thus, like the post-resurrection appearances, proved that he could be in all places at all times without losing his essential duality of nature. Significantly, Ambrose had used *transfigurantur* for eucharistic change.[145]

At La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre) a tympanum (originally on the west façade but now in the north transept) shows the *Transfiguration* above two scenes: on the left the *Adoration of the Magi*, and on the right the *Presentation in the Temple* (Fig. 41). The transfigured Christ is enclosed in an almond-shaped mandorla which evokes the almond shaped-flowers often used in the rod of Jesse symbol of the incarnation. This further links the upper scene to the two below which emphasize the body born of Mary, an identity crucial in the eucharistic debate. The adoration of the Magi recalls the dual nature of Christ as savior and sacrifice, God and man.[146] The gifts brought by the Magi all have eucharistic implications: gold for kingship and victory, incense in homage to divinity, myrrh (used in embalming) as a sign of death and thus humanity. Ivo of Chartres, as befitted a reformer, said that gold was for spiritual understanding; frankincense for purity of prayer; myrrh for death of carnal corruption. The offerings of the Magi were similar to those purificatory offerings of doves in the *Presentation in the Temple* in

[145] *De fide* 4, 124; PL 16, 667B.

[146] The Magi have many symbolic roles. For their development see Richard C. Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi* (Princeton, 1997).

Fig. 41 *Transfiguration, Adoration of the Magi, and Presentation in the Temple*, tympanum, La Charité-sur-Loire (photo: author).

signifying that the Church must be made clean through communal and private prayers.[147]

The Magi story, and its many visual manifestations, reinforces the correspondence between incarnation and eucharistic presence. The Magi are shown as paying homage and offering back that which God has given them. The incarnation, passion and resurrection of Christ are, like the Eucharist (the sacramental incarnation) a form of gift-exchange between God and mankind. In the incarnation Mary received the Holy Spirit and offered back to God the son his human body and human nature.[148] The Magi prefigure the idea of eucharistic offering and sacrifice. The people offer bread and wine and receive back Christ and the gift of salvation. Christ's daily descent upon the altar is a form of *adventus* to be seen in the context of his three *adventus* of incarnation/nativity; his triumphal entry into hell after his death;

[147] *Sermo* 5; PL 162, 550D–551A, 552D.

[148] For annunciation as gift-exchange see Leo the Great *Sermo* 55:4, PL 54, 321 cited in O'Carragain, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 287 n. 41, which gives further patristic references.

his ascension. The adoration of the child by the Magi became a figure of the adoration of Christ in the Mass. Chrysostum had said that the Magi "approached with great awe when they saw him in the manger…and saw him in no way such as you see him, not in a manger but on an altar, not with a woman holding him but with a priest standing before him, and the Spirit descending upon the offerings with great bounty."[149] The antiphon for the *Benedictus* in the Roman liturgy of the Epiphany confirms the centrality of the Church and her sacraments: "today the Church is united to her heavenly bridegroom since, in the Jordan, Christ washed away her sins, the Wise Men run with gifts to the royal marriage and the guests are delighted with water turned into wine, alleluia."[150]

In many depictions the Magi carry their gifts in veiled hands just as in various eucharistic rites the hands of the deacon or celebrant were veiled when carrying the eucharistic vessels. On the inner east wall of the Moissac porch (ca. 1125–30) the Magi appear on the middle left of three levels of historiated sculpture (Fig. 42).[151] They carry their gifts in veiled hands towards the Virgin and Child who face them on the right. On the lower level, below the Magi, is the Annunciation and below the Nativity, the Visitation. The upper level shows three scenes from Christ's infancy of which the Presentation is on the right. The juxtaposition of Magi, Christ throned on the lap of the Virgin, the Annunciation and the Presentation forcefully asserts the significance for the Eucharist of the body born of Mary. On the opposite wall of the porch in a corresponding pattern of divisions, arches and cornices are scenes confirming the need for penitence: the feast of Dives with Lazarus' sores licked by dogs; Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; in the middle section (now very damaged) the death of the rich man (Luke 12: 16–210.) or any miser.[152] The lower level shows the horrific punishment by devils of Unchastity and Luxuria. Taken together these facing porch wings

[149] *Homily* 24 on I Corinthians, quoted in M.L. Dutton, "Eat drink and be merry: the eucharistic spirituality of the Cistercian Fathers," in J.R. Somerfeldt, ed., *Erudition at God's Service* (Kalamazoo, 1987), p. 5 n. 12.

[150] Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (1951; English edition, London 1960), p. 221.

[151] M.F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture* (Oxford 1981), p. 175, fig. 129. Meyer Shapiro, *The Sculpture of Moissac* (London, 1985), figures 120–121.

[152] Gregory the Great had seen Lazarus as exemplifying penitence, his sores represented sins released from the mind through confession. The dogs were preachers who heal with their words. *Homilia in evangelia* 40; PL76, 1301–12.

Fig. 42 *Adoration of the Magi, Annunciation, and Visitation*, east porch, St Pierre, Moissac (photo: author).

Fig. 43 *Virgin Enthroned*, tympanum, Neuilly-en-Donjon, Allier (photo: author).

contrast salvation through Christ and the sacrament, and judgement to damnation for the impenitent sinner. The wings are a fitting complement to the huge tympanum enclosed by the barrel-vaulted porch with its apocalyptic vision Christ in Majesty is surrounded by two seraphim, the four symbols of the evangelists, and twenty-four elders in three ranks holding chalices and stringed instruments. The tympanum evokes a range of ideas on Judgement to come and the heavenly banquet at the end of time. The seraphim are those of the vision of Isaiah who stands below in the form of a trumeau figure on the side of the incarnation which he also prophesied. On the side of the damned St Peter reminds those entering of the Christ-given role of the Church in their search for salvation.

In the tympanum of ca. 1140–50 at Neuilly-en-Donjon (Allier) there is no portrayal of the stable; rather the Virgin is seated on an elaborate throne of Wisdom, as if in the heavenly Jerusalem (Fig. 43). The first magus kneels slightly and reaches out his hands as if in prayer. He leans forward so that Christ appears to be offering something, like a priest to the mouth of the communicant. Alongside, angels blow victory trumpets. Mary and the Magi (both symbols of the Church) and

an angel (probably Michael) seem to trample the large beasts beneath their feet. But this ox and lion may not be beasts of sin; like the beasts at Ruthwell (see Fig. 19) they may have turned from evil. Alternatively, as symbols of Mark and Luke they may be willingly supporting Christ and his Church.[153] On the lintel below the tympanum *Adoration*, a meal scene includes the penitent Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Christ as at the house of Simon. Nevertheless, in form it so resembles contemporary Last Supper scenes that this too will be recalled and given point by the Magi scene above. Continuing the penitential-eucharistic theme is the right capital where the angel carries Habakkuk bearing food to Daniel in the lion's den (Daniel 14: 31–42). This prefiguration of the Eucharist was the Mass epistle for the Tuesday after Passion Sunday. The importance in the Good Friday liturgy of Habakkuk 3:2 (*Domine audivi*) and 3:5, "Death shall go before his face. And the devil shall go before his feet," and Psalm 90 (*Qui habitat*) on the trampling, resonates in this portal. The saving of the penitent thief, considered to have been prophesied by Habakkuk 3:2, had an inclusiveness and immediacy even beyond its Lenten reference.[154] Adam and Eve are shown on the left part of the lintel and their pride and disobedience can be contrasted with Daniel's obedience. The forbidden fruit which brought death (and which Eve is shown touching) is contrasted with the saving Eucharist.

Representing the Magi and the Presentation together, as at La Charité-sur-Loire, allowed two aspects of the Eucharist to be shown as complementary: the nature of the offering as gift-exchange and the concept of the Eucharist as a pure sacrifice. The Presentation is one of the most important penitential images developed in this period of reform. Neither Christ nor Mary needed this Jewish purification, but Ivo of Chartres said that Christ wanted to be presented in the temple in order to provide an analogy with former offerings and to signify that his Church must be made clean. The Presentation was the first "express witness" of the nature of Christ.[155] It proved Malachi 3:1–4 "the Lord…shall suddenly come to his temple…and purify the sons

[153] Walter Cahn, "Le tympan de Neuilly-en-Donjon," *Cahiers de Civilisation Mediévale* 8 (1965), p. 355 gives examples of the evangelist symbols as carriers of the throne.

[154] Bede had also seen the phrase *in medio duorum animalium innotesces* as referring to Christ transfigured between Moses and Elijah. *In Habacuc*, trans. Connolly, *Bede on Tobit*, pp. 68–69. The significance of the Transfiguration in the post-Berengar debates has previously been noted and might have relevance at Neuilly also.

[155] Hildebert of Lavardin, *Sermo* 57; PL 171, 618A–B.

of Levi [the priests]…that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness." Malachy 3:5 predicted the purging of sinners at the Last Judgement. In addition, the prophecy of the sword piercing Mary's heart prefigured the lance wound, the origin of the Church and her sacraments. Ivo of Chartres saw the Introit in the Mass as representing the advent of Christ entering the hearts of the chanters just as he had in response to the sighs of Anna and Simeon.[156] The child was the sacrificial calf, "the red heifer without fault or blemish" of Numbers 19, who will be sacrificed on the cross and, as "the calf of our lips" (the Word) on the altar.[157]

Although Luke does not call Simeon a priest, in most Romanesque depictions an altar is shown. Sometimes, as in capitals at Lubersac (Corrèze) and L'Ile Bouchard (Indre-et-Loire), Christ stands on the altar. He does so, too, at Chartres' right portal of the west façade (ca. 1145–55) where the *Presentation* is placed above the *Nativity* and directly below the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* and accompanied by angels (Fig. 44). This visually confirms his dual nature as the one justly offered and received. The eucharistic reference is yet clearer where, as at La Charité, he is held aloft above the altar. The prolific and popular Honorius Augustodunensis, writing in the early twelfth century, explained that at the consecration and elevation "we take in hand the bread and we bless, and we make known the time of grace, by which Simeon took in hand Christ the living bread new born and rejoicing bless [him]…then we take the chalice and we bless, and we express the time of the supper, at which Christ raised (*elevavit*) bread and wine in his hands and blessed, and thence handed over body and blood to the apostles."[158] Paschasius had linked the Presentation to a Host miracle where "the priest saw on the altar the Son of God, as a boy who Simeon had deserved [the right] to carry in his arms."[159]

Another image which prefigured penitential sacramental renewal was the marriage at Cana. Almost every major twelfth-century writer wrote on Cana. John 2:6 spoke of "water pots of stone after the manner of the purifying of the Jews." This referred to the festival of Tabernacles

---

[156] Ivo Sermo 5, 549C.
[157] *Ibid.*, 544D–49A.
[158] *Gemma Animae*; PL 172, 559D.
[159] *De corpore* PL 120, 1320B. In the twelfth century there was a growing popularity of Host miracles where the child appears on the altar so confirming the concept of the *corpus verum*.

Fig. 44 *Presentation, Nativity and Virgin and Child Enthroned*, Chartres, right portal of the west façade (photo: author).

which was both a memorial to the wilderness years and a purificatory rite. Hugh of St Victor stressed the penitential aspects of Cana saying that Jesus turned water into wine when he converts the impious and intemperate.[160] Patristic writings and liturgy had long linked Cana with the marriage of Christ and the Church. This in turn linked to other marital references especially to the Song of Songs. Ambrose said that the pure received communion on their lips like the kiss of Christ to the soul.[161] Cana as a eucharistic prefiguration is most clearly seen

[160] Allegoriae in novum testamentum; PL 175, 751A–53C.
[161] *De sacramentis* 5. 5–7 cited in Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, pp. 204–5.

on the tympanum at Charlieu where it is shown above the surpassed sacrifices of the Old Law. To ensure linkage the Cana depiction is in the form of a Last Supper scene with the wine jars being filled at the side often given to the *pedilavium*.

The Image of the Host Held in the Hand

It has been suggested that Christ in Majesty in the Bible of Charles the Bald, dated about 845, holds a Host in his right hand and that this was a new iconography stemming from Paschasius.[162] More commonly, however, art historians have interpreted the cross-marked disc as an orb and a globe of the world, fitting Carolingian concern with royal power and the need for a just Christian ruler. In a late eleventh-century drawing from a missal, probably written in Tours and now in Auxerre Cathedral, Christ in Majesty again holds a small cross-marked disc aloft.[163] He is surrounded by the twenty four elders and evangelist symbols but above him, in the centre of the top border, is the Agnus Dei, symbol of the sacrificed and victorious savior. An orb or globe would be fitting, but in Tours the centre of the Berengarian controversy, it is possible that a conflation of orb, globe and Host, or even the Host alone, would have been considered telling. In an eleventh-century missal of St-Denis there is no ambiguity. Christ is shown offering the Host to the mouth of the kneeling St. Denis.[164] The same subject appears in a twelfth-century manuscript from St-Denis of a collection of homilies.[165]

Carolingian authors, especially Hincmar, stressed the awesomeness of Christ's willing humiliation by dying on the cross and by giving his body to be eaten for salvation.[166] Hincmar confirmed both the humility and omnipotence of Christ by reference to Augustine's commentary on Psalm 33 where Jesus at the Last Supper carried himself in his own hands.[167] Commenting on the rubric to Psalm 33 Augustine refers to

---

[162] Bible of Charles the Bald, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 1, fol. 330v. C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West*, p. 71, plate 58. Meyer Shapiro, "Two Romanesque drawings in Auxerre and some iconographic problems," (1954) reprinted in *Romanesque Art* (London, 1977), pp. 306–27.

[163] Schapiro,"Two Romanesque drawings," fig. 3.

[164] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9436, fol. 106v.

[165] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 11700, fol. 105r.

[166] Hincmar, *De cavendis* 3.2.

[167] *De cavendis* 3.2.

1 Samuel 21:13 in the Septuagint where David fleeing from Saul to Achis of Gath of whom he was afraid "as if seized with mania changed his countenance and, as we read, affected [madness] and drummed upon the doors of the city, and was carried in his own hands, and fell down at the doors of the gate."[168] Augustine saw the drumming prefiguring Christ stretched like a drum skin on the cross. The doors of the city are hearts closed to Christ which are opened by "the drum of the cross." Christ was carried in his own hands when he "commended his own body and blood, he took into his own hands that which the faithful know, and in a manner carried himself, when he said *This is my Body*."[169] He talks of Christ as the Angel of Great Counsel delivering man from fear and evil:

> Now he intends to speak openly of that mystery wherein he was carried in his own hands *O taste and see that the Lord is sweet* [Psalm 33:8—the verse sung whilst communion was being distributed] Does not the psalm unfold and disclose the meaning of the feigned madness… those who represented King Achis said 'How can that be?' Our Lord has said: *except a man eat my flesh and drink my blood, he shall not have life in him* (John 6:53–4). And those who were ruled by Achis, that is error and ignorance, what did they reply? *How can this man give us His flesh to eat?* If you do not know, taste, and see that the Lord is sweet: if you do not understand, you are king Achis. David will change his features and depart from you, he will dismiss you and go on his way.[170]

The immediacy and sense of physicality of the Achis story ensured that many basically Paschasian writers, like Odo of Cambrai and Honorious Augustodunensis, would use this story, and Augustine's commentary, to confirm the salvific necessity of receiving the crucified body, and of its indivisibility.[171] Even those like Hugh of St-Victor, less concerned to stress natural union, used it to emphasize the mystery of the indivisible savior and of the problem of deciding whether what was given and received was the human or glorified body.[172]

Hardly surprisingly, in Last Supper scenes the nature of the Eucharist and its centrality for the Church is most directly symbolized by the hand-held Host. There was a mocking argument reputedly made by

---

[168] *In psalmum* 33; PL 35, 307–22. Trans. S. Hebgin and F. Corrigan eds. *St Augustine on the Psalms* (London 1961), vol 2., p. 195.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[170] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[171] Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 149–53.
[172] *De sacramentis* 2.8.3. Deferrari, p. 306.

Berengar's followers that even if Christ's body were the size of a mountain it must have been devoured by now.[173] Odo of Cambrai countered this by saying "He was broken between his fingers while he was sitting safe and sound among his disciples. He was whole and at the same time he was divided into parts… likewise we daily consume Christ on the altar and yet he remains; we eat yet he lives; we break him into pieces with our teeth, yet he is whole… undivided he is distributed."[174] In a late eleventh century manuscript from St-Ouen at Rouen, of Augustine's *Commentary on John*, Christ raises to breast height both the Host and chalice, thereby contracting events before and after the Last Supper for full impact. This also recalls Christ's high priesthood because Melchizedek is traditionally shown holding both bread and wine.[175] On the *Last Supper* scene on the Stavelot portable altar of ca. 1150–60, Christ's union with the Church on earth and in heaven are shown by Christ's jointly raising a large chalice with the apostle on his right and a large Host with St John on his left (Fig. 45) The chalice is identical with those held by Melchizedek and Ecclesia in the middle section of the altar.[176]

The Emmaus meal stresses the importance of spiritual seeing as when Christ broke the bread at Emmaus and the eyes of the disciples were opened (Luke 24:30–31). All Emmaus meal scenes represent the breaking of Christ's body on the cross and at the fraction in the Mass. The iconography developed by the Carolingians was used extensively in the post-Berengarian debates to confirm the indivisibility and impassibility of Christ's body. The assertive image of the resurrected Christ holding aloft his body in two semi-circular halves appears in a fresco at La-Trinité at Vendôme where it is given even more impact because there is no table and by Christ's sitting on the globe. Geoffrey of Vendôme, abbot of La Trinité and a vigorous opponent of Berengar, firmly stated that "he who was able ineffably and truly to assume flesh in his virgin mother… turned the substance of bread and wine into the

---

[173] Guitmund of Aversa *De corporis*; PL 149, 1450B–C.

[174] *In canonem missae*; PL 160, 1062A.

[175] Rouen Bibliothèque Municipal MS A85(467) fol. 121 ed. George Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200*, catalogue of exhibition at the Hayward Gallery, London 5 April–8 July 1984 (London, 1984), p. 88, ill. 6. Only four apostles, smaller than Christ, are shown in this representation.

[176] From the Meuse region, Musée Royale d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. Andreas Petzold, *Romanesque Art* (London, 1995), plate 118.

Fig. 45 Stavelot portable altar, top view with *Last Supper*, ca. 1150–60 (photo: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels).

nature of his own body in the consecration."[177] Emmaus, pictured in many manuscripts and on many capitals was a useful visual argument in countering Berengar. Where it was combined with depiction of the journey to Emmaus Christ's explanations of salvation history were recalled and consolidated, as they are in the twinned side tympana in the Vézelay narthex (Figs. 46 and 47).[178] The left lintel shows the Emmaus meal flanked by the meeting with Christ and the disciples returning to spread the good news in the tympanum above is the *Ascension*. The *Annunciation* is shown on the right lintel and above in the tympanum the *Adoration of the Magi*. The sacramental references here also relate to the complex iconography of the nature of the Church and the mission of the apostles on the main tympana.

Fig. 46 North Portal, Vézelay narthex, tympanum with Ascension and lintel with Emmaus scenes (photo: author).

[177] *Opuscula* 1, De corporis; PL 157, 213–14. H. Toubert *Un art dirigée: Réforme grégorienne et iconographie* (Paris 1990) p. 384 *also* H. Toubert, "Les fresques romanes de Vendôme, II: etude iconographique," *La revue de l'art* 53 (1981), 23–38.

[178] Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 166–67, figs. 124, 125.

Fig. 47 South Portal, Vézelay narthex, tympanum with *Adoration of the Magi*, and lintel with *Annunciation* (photo: author).

All the appearances of the risen Christ were used to explore the interconnection of the incarnation, resurrection and the salvific integrity of Christ. The doubting of Thomas was the most frequently represented as, for example, in the cloister relief of the abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, Spain (Fig. 48). Only after he had touched the wound in Christ's side could Thomas exclaim "My Lord and my God." Because of his lack of faith Thomas is prefigured by Balaam and his ass, and Christ exhibiting his wounds and the cross at the Last Judgement was prefigured by his showing of the wounds to Thomas. The importance of the side wound as the source of baptism and the Eucharist cannot be overstated. In the Berengarian crisis added point was given to Christ taking his human body to heaven and his return, in the last days, in that body although in a different glory. His body was tangible and undecaying. The faithful could touch Christ spiritually only when they perceived his divinity. William of St-Thierry, in the more personal style of the twelfth century, prayed that "we may not only thrust our finger or our hand into his side, like Thomas, but through that open door may enter whole, O Jesus, even into your heart, the sure seat of your mercy… Open to us your body's side that those who long to see

Fig. 48 *Christ and the Doubting Thomas*, Cloister relief, Abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, Spain (photo: *Peregrinations* Photo Bank).

the secrets of the Son may enter and receive the sacraments that flow from it and the price of their redemption."[179]

The immediacy of the hand held Host has also been noted in the tympanum at Neuilly-en-Donjon where the kneeling king leans forward so that Christ appears to be offering the Host to his mouth as a priest would to a communicant. At Rozier Côtes d'Aurec (Haute-Loire) the only exterior decoration is a tympanum of the *Adoration of the Magi* with a small figure of a bishop higher on the façade. In the tympanum Christ and the magus both hold a disc reinforcing the idea of gift-exchange. Christ has another smaller disc in his other hand which may recall the idea of his giving many Hosts but one undivided body.

At the crossing of the parish church in Thiviers (Dordogne) is a capital (dated ca.1100) which encapsulates much of the atmosphere of this reforming era with its intense penitential-eucharistic piety (Fig. 49). Christ stands between St. Peter, who holds the keys at head height in his left hand, and Mary Magdalene, who is carrying her ointment jar. Christ has raised both hands to head height. With his right hand he gives the sign of blessing, just touching the keys with his fingertips, in his left hand he holds a small disc, delicately between thumb and forefinger. This disc could be an orb of power, the world held in God's love or the Host. It could be a meaningful conflation of all three. Christ's raised hands cannot be outstretched because of the form of the capital, but nevertheless suggest both the crucifixion and priestly gestures which recall this in the Mass. St. Peter's presence asserts that the salvific functions of penance, absolution and the Eucharist were available only from within the Church through partaking in valid sacraments, validly administered. Mary Magdalene was the saint most associated with penance. She is depicted often in this period.[180] She was especially popular in France because she was believed to have been a fasting penitent in the desert near Marseilles who had been lifted by angels to heaven every day for spiritual sustenance.[181] Her raised right hand mirrors the raised hands of Christ and St/ Peter in a traditional gesture

[179] *Meditation* 6; PL 180, 225–26, cited in M.L. Dutton, "Eat drink and be merry: the Eucharistic spirituality of the Cistercian Fathers," in J.R. Sommerfeldt, ed., *Erudition at God's Service* (Kalamazoo, 1987), p. 15.

[180] Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 96–100.

[181] Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (London, 1993), pp. 120–21.

Fig. 49 *Christ with Saints Peter and Mary Magdalene*, column capital, parish church at Thiviers (Dordogne), ca. 1100 (photo: Zodiaque La Pierre-qui-Vire).

of prayer and petition. Mary had anointed Christ's feet in life because she recognised his kingship and divinity. She was the first to see the risen Christ. Had he appeared in feigned flesh he could have feigned death and the resurrection.[182] After her initial confusion in the garden, however, she was in no doubt that what she saw was the body born by Mary. Guitmund of Aversa drew on this when responding to Berengar's idea that a substantial and fragmented presence would involve sacrilege and lay open the salvific nature of the Eucharist. Guitmund argued that Jesus might choose to appear in different forms as a gardener, or a pilgrim en route to Emmaus, or even in the form of putrefied bread to teach us to care for the reserved species.[183] He could be in many places and on many altars and in many pieces without losing his essential nature and unity.[184] The mystery of eucharistic change must be accepted in faith and love.

A different reference to the Church, on earth and in heaven, appears on a cloister capital at Moissac showing the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (Fig. 50). An angel, blessing the shepherds with his right hand, has in his left hand a large cross-inscribed disc or Host which he holds towards the shepherd and his flock. On liturgical vessels angels sometimes hold cross-marked discs. This refers to deacons who hold the paten in the Mass, symbolically taking the part of the angels in the heavenly liturgy. Shepherds always represented Christ or some part of the Church whether as the priest, who Jesus commanded to feed his flock, or as the flock itself, or those Jews who accepted Christ and would form the Church with the gentiles represented by the Magi. The Moissac shepherd carries a huge crook and so probably here represents the new priesthood. Moissac was vigorously concerned with Gregorian reform with its sacerdotal emphasis. The role of the angels in the Mass was vital from *Supplices te rogamus*—"command that these gifts be carried by the hand of thy holy angel to thine altar"—through the Gloria, the hymn of the lesser angels, to the Sanctus of the seraphim immediately before the canon. Angels, aides at the Last Judgement, remind men of the need for penitence and sacramental incorporation. Over the west door at Pont-l'Abbé-d'Arnoult (Charente-Maritime) the

[182] Augustine De haeresibus 1.46; PL 42, 37–38; CCSL 46, 15, 155–58.
[183] *De corporis PL* 149, 1445–8 and Macy, *Theologies*, p. 49.
[184] *De corporis* PL 149, 1435.

Fig. 50 *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, Cloister capital at St Pierre, Moissac (photo: author).

dual role of the angels is asserted as they carry a candle, a censer and a chalice whilst elevating an image of the Agnus Dei, the judge and very Host. In Sainte-Radegunde at Poitiers a late-eleventh century choir capital, situated almost directly behind the high altar, shows Habakkuk brought to Daniel by an angel (traditionally Michael, archangel of the Church militant and major intercessor in the Mass). The bread, crumbled (*intriverat*) in the Vulgate account, is here whole and Host-like. Daniel, a type of the resurrected Christ receives the prefiguration of the sacrifice to come.

Christ holding his own sacrificial body is a powerful image that may in this period link to the increasing desire to see rather than receive the Host. The development of the awesome moment of elevation and the practice of reserving the sacrament for veneration, and genuflecting before it may also be related. The increasing reverence for relics, (especially those of the passion) which can be touched to join the faithful to the spiritual world may also have strengthened the impact of the Host held in the hand.

The Continuity of Sacrifice

The continuity of sacrifice in this period is so intimately related to the unique nature of the priesthood that it could be seen as primarily expressing the ideals of Gregorian reform. This would, however, be a restrictive distortion. The primitive Church had seen the Eucharist as either a sacrifice or as laden with sacrificial connotations. The need to assert continuity of sacrifice was part of a yet greater desire to reveal the progression of a consistent redemptive purpose and to show Jesus as the pre-existent eternal Logos. Jewish sacrifices were seen as legitimate unlike pagan sacrifices to demons. Although there was no longer a Christian need to offer sacrifices they were part of the mysteries of Revelation. They were images (*figurae*) which pointed to the one sacrifice.[185]

Sacrificial typology developed in the early centuries became traditional. This link to the early Church did indeed give added appeal first to the reforming Carolingians and later to the Gregorian reformers. Images seen in the catacombs and ancient sarcophagi and at Ravenna are reemployed, but the basic vocabulary of typology, honed through patristic exegesis, is largely unaltered. A typological understanding of liturgical texts and actions, with their scriptural lectionary passages and *graduale* psalm refrains, drew the contemporary worshipper into the world of the Bible.

Ivo of Chartres (ca. 1040–1115) was one of the most influential of the many Mass commentators of his age. He rejected some of the allegorizing of the Mass by Amalarius as too fanciful and insufficiently scriptural. By focusing on the sacrifices of the Old Law, Ivo reinforced the significance of the Mass as a sacrificial offering. He was anxious to show a harmony between the old and new sacrifices rather than stressing the differences because "What the ancient sacrifices foretold and the new sacraments imitate and represent, are the mysteries of Christ's life: the nativity, passion, resurrection, ascension, and mission of the Spirit."[186] The Mass is a real sacrifice pleasing to God but, Ivo asserted, the priest commemorates Christ's sacrifice, it is not repeated in the Mass. Other commentators were more inclined to see

---

[185] *Contra Faustum* 6.5; PL 42, 231–32.

[186] *Sermo 5*; PL 162, 536A–B. M.M. Schaefer, "Twelfth century Latin Commentaries on the Mass," unpublished PhD diss. (University of Notre Dame, Ann Arbor, 1983), p. 217.

the sacrifice as actualized in the rite and immolation and *sacrifex* were used of the Christian rite and priest. In all views the priest was given prominence and offered sacrifice on behalf of the people who participated by devotion.

In Letter 63 Ivo explained in some detail that God had established the old priesthood and given instructions about ordination by anointing, altars, vestments, liturgical vessels and other instruments of the ritual. If such detail had been commanded of sacrifices which only cleansed the flesh, how much more important, Ivo asked, were the details in relation to the consecration of the Lord's body in which cleansing of flesh and spirit took place.[187] He showed the typological parallels to Christ's death. The Passion was represented by the red heifer of Numbers 19, sacrificed outside the tabernacle just as Christ was sacrificed outside the city gate (Hebrews 13:11–13).[188] Many different animals and birds were sacrificed of old, all with different attributes and ritual purposes. Ivo explores these in relation to different facets of Christ's offering and different stages of the Mass ritual.

All the major typological parallels created in the early Church are utilized in the twelfth century as they had been in Carolingian and Ottonian art. The typology was so well known from exegesis, from homilies and from the liturgy that sometimes, especially in monumental sculpture, one prefiguration, most often that of Abraham and Isaac, serves to recall the whole continuity of sacrifice in the economy of salvation. In the same rememorative way that a telling phrase might evoke allusions, even isolated images could serve to channel attention to issues of immediate concern, as did those of Abel and Cain on the question of the validity of offering and sacrament.

It is certainly no longer considered true that there was no typological art between the early Christian mosaic cycles and Suger's windows of St Denis in the mid-twelfth century. Complex typological art, as in the late sixth-century Ashburnham Pentateuch, and in Carolingian Bible and Psalter illustration, had continued to make overt references to the continuity of sacrifice. Even so full cycles were rare in the twelfth century. It is possible that as early as 1120 the Worcester Cathedral chapterhouse had a cycle of typologically structured scenes

---

[187] *Epistola* 63; PL 162–, 77–81 and in *Correspondence Yves de Chartres, ed. and trans. Jean Leclercq* (Paris, 1949).

[188] Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 128–47 and 173–80, for further detail on Mass commentaries.

which emphasised that Christ's incarnation did not supersede Mosaic Law but developed from it and clarified it.[189] The early twelfth-century Genesis-cycle of ceiling frescoes at St-Savin-sur-Gartempe may have had late antique sources mediated through Anglo-Saxon models. At St-Savin, Melchizedek is clearly shown offering Abraham the chalice and cross-marked Host. In the mid-twelfth century Floreffe Bible, probably made in the Liège area, there are a number of scenes confirming the continuity of sacrifice. Folio 187 shows the sacrifice of an animal below the scene of the crucifixion. The left flanking caption says "This [the sacrifice on the cross] also shall please the Lord better than an ox or bullock.…"[190] Folio 4 places the *Transfiguration* over the *Last Supper* and the caption proclaims "whom Moses veils, behold the Father's voice reveals and whom the prophecy conceals Mary brought forth." Similar typological parallels occur in the enamels and goldsmith's work, often liturgical vessels, also from the Liège area in the second half of the twelfth century.

Work in all media reveals contemporary interest in the typology of the Eucharist. The ivory Cloister's Cross (now in the Cloister's museum, New York) probably made for Bury St. Edmund's abbey between 1130 and 1170, shows the triumphant Agnus Dei on the back, matched on the front by the brazen serpent. A similar linkage was made in one of the windows at St Denis and in the "Redemption" window from the cathedral of Chalons-sur-Marne window (ca. 1147) where the crucifixion, in a square section, is surrounded with half roundels of Ecclesia and the chalice, above; Synagoga is blindfolded, below. The sacrifice of Isaac is on the left and Moses and the brazen serpent on the right.[191]

Possibly the clearest composite depiction in sculpture is on the north narthex tympanum at the Cluniac priory of St-Fortunat, Charlieu (Loire) of about 1150 (Fig. 51). In the archivolt are the glorified Christ and the prophets and apostles of the Transfiguration. The marriage at Cana, prefiguring the Last Supper, is in the tympanum. Christ's first miracle was interpreted by eucharistic "realists," including Peter the Venerable, as evidence of God's ability to act outside natural laws,

[189] T.A. Heslop, "Worcester Cathedral chapterhouse and the harmony of the testaments," in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, P. Binski and W. Noel eds., (Stroud, 2001).

[190] Floreffe Bible, London, British Library, Add. MS 17738. Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts of the West*, pp. 273–74, plate 272.

[191] Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts of the West*, p. 383, plate 384.

Fig. 51 *Marriage at Cana*, north narthex tympanum at Cluniac priory of St-Fortunat, Charlieu (Loire), ca. 1150 (photo: Courtesy of Christopher Wilson).

changing substance into substance.[192] On the lintel below is an altar in the center and Old Testament priests sacrificing animals. Here is a clear visual reference to the idea expressed by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, that "the multiple natures of the ancient victims foretold this single victim of the gospel."[193] Christ, dying once, ordained the renewal of the offering at the altar forever, so that we may be "nurtured and fed by his humanity until [in heaven] we are filled by his divinity and glory."[194] Peter the Venerable further clarified the differences that are shown so dramatically at Charlieu: "The ox, the calf, the ram and the goat soaked the altars of the Jews with their blood; only the Lamb of God, who wipes out the sins of the world, rests on the altar of the Christians."[195]

[192] Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos* CCCM 10 ed. J.V. Fearns (Turnhout, 1968), p. 105, 26–30.
[193] *Ibid*., p. 165, 24–26.
[194] *Ibid*., p. 165, 5–9.
[195] *Ibid*., p. 165, 9–12.

For the Love of Christ

By the end of the eleventh century a new mood of intense love for the suffering human Christ was beginning to shape Western piety. Some of this devotion was addressed specifically to Christ in the sacrament. The penitential-eucharistic focus of the period pervades it all. In many clerical writings there is a passionate outpouring of love. Some of this was expressed in a desire to seek Christ by spiritual and physical pilgrimage, including pilgrimage made within the cloister through prayer and imagination. Some emphasised the closeness of a valid reception of Christ in the Eucharist. Spiritual love of the body of Christ did not depend on any one interpretation of Christ's presence in the Eucharist but on a developing awareness of building a personal relationship based on true penitence in the face of Christ the judge. Spiritual communion was seen as a way to commemorate and imitate Christ of the Passion as seen in the Mass: this was as necessary as the daily salvific joining to the body of the incarnate God.

The emergence of a new intense introspective religious sensibility in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries had produced a new mood and language in passion literature. "Why, O my soul," cried St Anselm of Bec "wert thou not present to be transfixed with the sword of sharpest grief at the unendurable sight of your Saviour pierced with the lance, and the hands and feet of your Maker broken with the nails?"[196] Between 1063 and 1078, Anselm's expressions of passionate love for the wounded Christ in his prayers and meditations, "fermented visual imagination and led to new artistic experiences which ultimately had a humanizing effect on the imagery of Christian art."[197] In the twelfth century the language was even more passionate. Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129) embraced in a dream a wooden image of Christ on the cross and felt his mouth open "that I might kiss him more deeply."[198] Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167) advised a nun to have a crucifix in her cell so that she could call to mind and imitate the Passion and "his outspread

[196] *Oratio* 20 PL 158, 903C.

[197] Otto Pächt, "The illustrations of St Anselm's prayers and meditations," *JWCI* 19 (1956), pp. 68–83. See also Saxon *Eucharist* pp. 55–63.

[198] *Super Mattheum* 12; CCCM 22, 382–3, quoted in G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 282, giving other examples of similarly sensual expressions of spiritual love from others in this period.

arms will invite you to embrace him, his naked breasts will feed you with the milk of sweetness to console you."[199]

Not all of the passionate outpourings were directly connected to the Eucharist but St Bernard focussed on "communicating with his [Christ's] sufferings" through the Eucharist.[200] He said, "They pierced his hands and feet, they gored his side with a lance, and through these fissures I can suck honey from the rock and oil from the hardest stone- that is, to 'taste and see that the Lord is good'[Psalm 33:9]."[201] Both Bernard and William of St Thierry, for all the emotionalism of their language, were more concerned with the significance of Christ's humanity in the Eucharist than in the humanity itself. St Anselm's highly significant humanizing was far from universal by 1150. The crucifix that the nun might have kissed would probably still have been one showing Christ upright, perhaps crowned, maybe alive, but in any case still redolent of dignity and victory. There were increasing numbers of crucifixes showing Christ dead on the cross, these could be small personal items or the great roods in major churches, but there was little in the period to match the horror of the Gero Cross. There was still great reluctance to show Christ's physical debasement. In ordered sequences in manuscripts or in choir capitals the descent from the cross or the deposition sometimes took the place of the crucifixion. The grief of the participants and watchers in these scenes only begins to be expressed in the twelfth century. The arrest, betrayal and flagellation are also more often represented but here too vicious realism is rare. Before the late twelfth century it was generally the attitude of the viewer to the crucified Christ that changed rather than the physical depiction in the visual arts.

Eucharistic writings stressed unity with the human incarnate body of Christ. Not by chance was this focus on the incarnation tied to the evolving Marian devotion. All images of the sacrifice-bearing Virgin are eucharistic; the focus on the incarnation at Chartres west portal has already been noted. The pyx containing the reserved Host was seen as the Virgin bearing Christ. Bernard of Clairvaux even saw the Virgin

---

[199] *De institutione inclusarum* 29 and 26; ed. C.H. Talbot CCCM 1 (Turnhout, 1971), pp. 663–64 and 658.

[200] *On Psalm 90*, 3.3.

[201] *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* 61.2.3–4. *Opera Bernardi* ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot and H.M. Rochais, Editiones Cistercienses 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77), vol. 2, pp. 150–51.

at the Presentation as having a priestly function: "O consecrated virgin, offer your son . . . the Father will fully accept this new sacrifice . . . "[202] This is often noticeable in altar statues of the Virgin and Child where, as at Estables (Lozère), she is robed as a priest but also crowned as queen of heaven. She is the chief offerer of the Mass after Christ and also the chief intercessor, first named as *mediatrix* by St Anselm. St Bernard saw Mary, personified as the Church, giving milk to sustain the Christian soul.[203]

However ill-matched the verbal and visual emotionalism of this period, there is sufficient evidence to be certain that many people expressed deep feeling in addressing or viewing the incarnate God revealed in the Mass. Perhaps of all the images created in this period those of Christ holding his own body in preparation for giving it to the communicant have the greatest immediacy. For those with sufficient knowledge to read the image awe and passion could be combined in their viewing.

Visual Response to Eucharistic Heresy

The eucharistic art of the period drew its inspiration from the long development of eucharistic imagery fused with the penitential-eucharistic intensity of the time which was itself in part a product of reform and was given additional bite by the debates about Berengar of Tours. How far eucharistic imagery was a response to Berengar is impossible to quantify. A willingness to accept that some "realist" Presence existed in the Eucharist, one which did not necessitate a fragmentation or division of the body of Christ, has already been suggested as resulting in the images of the Christ holding his body in his hand and of the post-resurrection appearances of Christ. It is difficult to decide whether the popularity of images, like Abel and Cain, which were useful as a vehicle for consideration of validity of offerings, sprang from the Berengarian debates or from other concerns of Gregorian reform. Undoubtedly Gregory VII's insistence that individuals

[202] In "Purificatione Mariae," Sermon 3 in *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, ed., J. Mabillon, (Paris, 1982), p. 370 col. B.

[203] *Epistle* 322. *Madonna lactans* images appear in early twelfth-century manuscripts and also in some frescoes and sculpture. Milk had long been seen as processed blood. For the later development of these ideas in visual imagery see Kristen Van Ausdall's chapter in this volume.

should reject the sacraments of simoniacal priests paradoxically helped fuel some of the heresies of the Eucharist by leading laymen to question the moral standing of their priests. Unrealistic lay expectations doubtless aided the rabble-rousing itinerant preachers some of whom held unorthodox ideas. The mystical but orthodox views of some of the Laon-Victorine school, who saw spiritual communion as a possible substitute for sacramental reception, may also have inadvertently encouraged heresy. Heresy was not easily defined in this period which accepted a fairly wide-ranging debate and where divisions between debate, reform and heresy could be more easily blurred than after 1215 when dogma became the criterion.

There had been heretics in early and mid eleventh-century France some of whom, like those in Orléans in the 1022–23, rejected the Eucharist. Scattered groups of heretics throughout the eleventh century, in hindsight, posed no major threat but by the 1130s eucharistic questions had become an important part of more wide-ranging attacks on the Church, its sacraments and ministers.[204]

A number of scholars believe the heresy of Peter de Bruys was formative in the iconography of St-Gilles.[205] He rejected the institutional Church (including its buildings), the Old Testament, prayers for the dead, the cross as a shameful instrument of Christ's suffering, and the Mass because Christ's sacrifice could not be repeated. Most dramatically, Peter de Bruys and his followers abhorred the veneration of crosses and apparently advocated their destruction and burning. He

---

[204] These heresies centered particularly on Henry of Lausanne and Peter de Bruys. Henry initially rejected the Eucharist as a sacrifice and saw as invalid the sacraments of immoral priests. Later he rejected the Mass altogether as part of his extreme anti-clericalism. Peter de Bruys (whose followers were called Petrobrusians) was more radical. Peter the Venerable used a basically Paschasian line in support of the salvific Eucharist to attack him in *Contra Petrobrusianos* which has already been mentioned in respect to the continuity of sacraments and which does seem a likely source for the Cluniac sculpture at Charlieu as a whole. The south portal at Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, another Cluniac abbey, has also been suggested as a response to Peter de Bruys. The evidence seems inconclusive but relevant themes were visually addressed there. For an analysis see Saxon, *Eucharist*, pp. 238–42.

[205] Such an argument requires an acceptance of a construction date shortly after Peter's death and not later than about 1145 which is not now accepted. See Alan Borg, *Architectural Sculpture in Romanesque Provence* (Oxford, 1972), whose architectural analysis of a date after 1150 is now generally accepted. Walter Cahn 'Heresy and the interpretation of Romanesque Art' in Neil Stratford ed., *Romanesque and Gothic. Essays for George Zarnecki* (Woodbridge 1987) vol. 1 pp. 27–33 gives a balanced and stimulating account of the possibilities and probabilities of an anti-heretical stance in some Romanesque art.

Fig. 52 *Crucifixion*, tympanum, south portal of west façade, Benedictine abbey of St-Gilles (photo: author).

was apparently (as reported by Peter the Venerable) lynched after he set crucifixes on fire, pushed by an angry mob into flames of his own making outside St-Gilles-du-Gard. The three tympana of the Benedictine abbey of St-Gilles and the extensive passion cycle do assert the need for the institutional Church and acceptance of the salvific body and blood of Christ, born of the Virgin and present in the Eucharist, but these themes would have been valid had there been no heresy in the area (Fig. 52).

The development of façades with the Crucifixion shown above the Last Supper has also been suggested as a response to heresy. It is the ultimate expression of the interconnection of the Mass and the sacrifice on the cross. All the extant examples, however (with the possible exception of St Pons-de-Thomières), are almost certainly too late in the century to be relevant to an attack on Peter de Bruys. Champagne and Condrieu are in the Rhone valley, however, which was an area affected by popular heresy. Modern research suggests that Catharism was implanted in northern France shortly after 1100 and spread

southwards.[206] There was a major outbreak of dualist heresy at La-Charité-sur-Loire in the late twelfth century and it could have had its roots earlier in the century, as could the heresy noted in Vézelay in 1167. If dualist heretics could be shown to have been of concern in the 1130–50s then it would be necessary to reassess the iconography of La Charité, Vézelay and Charlieu. All three have iconographers within the influential circle of Peter the Venerable. The assertive orthodoxy of the incarnation and the salvific necessity of the sacrament was a valid response to Cathars as well as to Henry of Lausanne and Peter de Bruys.

Conclusion

The complex imagery of the Carolingian period, notably that of the ninth-century ivory book cover to Henry 11's Book of Pericopes, evoked for highly-educated audiences a wide range of Patristic and Carolingian writings and demanded an intense awareness of the interaction of visual and verbal images. The penitential aspect to Carolingian and Ottonian piety, combined with an increasingly Paschasian type of eucharistic realism, ensured that images of the crucified but ultimately victorious Christ would provide a major focus for religious contemplation.

The eleventh-century inherited these trends but the eucharistic controversy surrounding Berengar of Tours was the fiercest yet in the West and this combined with reforming emphases from a range of sources to produce an unprecedented intensity of penitential-eucharistic piety expressed in love for the suffering Savior. The creativity of the century from 1050–1150 is revealed in the ways it frequently restated existing eucharistic imagery in new juxtapositions, combinations, physical situations and media in order to give forceful voice to this new highly-charged penitential-eucharistic piety. Christ in Majesty (and thus the Judge to come) shown above the Last Supper and Christ washing the feet of the disciples expresses the emotive penitential-eucharistic focus more clearly even than the rarer, and later, crucifixion scene shown

[206] M.D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (1977; 3rd ed., Oxford, 2002), pp. 10 and 68–69. J. Duvernoy, *Le catharisme: l'histoire des cathares* (1979; 2nd ed. Paris, 2004), pp. 141–43.

above the Last Supper which clarifies the theology of the Eucharist. The penitential focus encouraged a movement from contrition to love of Christ, including Christ seen in the sacrament.

One notable case sums up the new eucharistic focus. A theme relevant to the harmony of the Old and New Covenants, Jesus' teachings on the road to Emmaus and his revelation at the subsequent meal, had not been introduced as a major subject for art until Carolingian times. These scenes, where Christ holds the Host in his hands, emphasize that it was the eucharistic action of Christ that opened the disciples' minds and sent them out into the world to spread the word. The image, symbolizing the fraction in the Mass, itself a symbol of Christ's body broken on the Cross, was further developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries perhaps as a result of questions about fragmentation and indivisibility arising from the Berengarian controversy. Both an anticipation of the breaking of bread in the coming kingdom, a type of the Last Supper and a prefiguration of the Eucharist, Emmaus images, although not themselves found in early Christian art, had a gospel immediacy which fitted the Gregorian call for action to reform the whole of society through a reformed priesthood whose central role was the salvific celebration of the mysteries of Eucharist.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Chazelle, Celia. *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era. Theology and Art of Christ's Passion*, Cambridge, 2001.

Hageman, M. and Mostert, M., eds., *Reading Images and Texts. Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*. Papers from the third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7–9 December 2000 (Turnhout, 2005).

Hamburger, Jeffrey F. and Anne-Marie Bouché, eds., *The Mind's Eye. Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, 2006.

Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing. Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia 2000).

Noble, Thomas F.X. *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, Philadelphia, 2009.

Okasha, Elisabeth and Jennifer O'Reilly, "An Anglo-Saxon Portable Altar: Inscription and Iconography" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47, 1984, pp. 32–51.

O'Reilly, Jennifer. "Early Medieval Text and Image: The Wounded and Exalted Christ," in *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–8), pp. 72–118.

Raw, Barbara. *Anglo Saxon Crucifixion Imagery and the Art of the Monastic Revival*, Cambridge 1990.

Saxon, Elizabeth. *The Eucharist in Romanesque France*, Woodbridge, UK, 2006.

Sears, Elizabeth and Thelma K. Thomas, eds., *Reading Medieval Images. The Art Historian and the Object*, Michigan, 2002.

Weitzmann, Kurt. *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York, 1977.

PART THREE

THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

A TALE OF TWO SANCTUARIES: LATE MEDIEVAL EUCHARIST AND THE ANALOGOUS

Edward Foley

Introduction: Eucharist and Analogy

Given the enormous diversity in eucharistic practices across the so called high Middle Ages in Europe, it is not only virtually impossible to generalize about how Mass was celebrated during this ambiguously defined stretch of time, but also attempting to do so in any detail would produce questionable scholarship. Historically we know, for example, that it was only centuries after the Council of Trent (1545–1563), with the suppression of Neo-Gallicanism in 19th century France and the waning of Josephinism after the death Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II (d. 1790), that one can speak with any credibility about relatively unified eucharistic practice in Roman Catholic Europe.

Even with the emergence of relatively uniform eucharistic practice in Roman Catholic Europe, contemporary theology helps us to understand that—in the 12th century as in the 21st—every celebration of the Eucharist is a contextual event. To admit its contextual nature is to acknowledge that eucharistic liturgies happen not only "in" a context" but are inextricably wed "to," stamped "by" and altered "through" that context.[1] Liturgical theologian Kenan Osborne dramatically splays open the existential and event character of every liturgy of every age when he notes:

> …baptism is not a replication, a verbal phrase emphasizing an action, nor is a baptism a replicated clone, a substantive phrase emphasizing a thing. Each baptism is not a duplication of a rote activity, nor is each baptism the enfleshing of a duplicative reality. Rather, each baptism is an existential event, an existential action, an existential *Ereignis*. Each baptism is an individualized, historically discreet, temporally unrepeatable moment in the life of an individual, of a particular community of

[1] For an informed introduction to contextual theology, see Stephen Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*, rev. ed. (Maryknoll, NY, 2002), especially pp. 3–27.

> Christians, and of the temporal-historical presence of an active God. There is no such thing as generic baptism…[2]

Similarly, there is no such thing as generic Eucharist. Thus the challenge before us: how to say anything cogent about eucharistic practice in the period under consideration given the wide ranging contextual divergencies of medieval Europe and the particularity of every liturgical event?

Some help may come from one of the most celebrated minds of medieval Europe. In his *Summa Theologica*, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) ponders the question of speaking about God. His particular issue, addressed in question 13 of the first part of the *Summa*, is whether or not it is appropriate to use univocal speech in speaking about God and creatures. As the article progresses, Aquinas concludes that both univocal and equivocal speech are impossible when speaking about God and creatures. His conclusion is clear: "It must be said that these names are said of God and creatures in an analogous sense, that is, according to proportion."[3] As David Burrell has noted, analogical reasoning in Aquinas—a recognition of similarity in difference—is not so much a method but a *skill*, not a device guaranteeing results, but a family of techniques useful in leading us to understanding.[4]

It is in this sense of a "family of useful techniques" that an analogical approach is adopted in this study. Thus we choose to offer a comparative introduction to eucharistic worship at two distinctive venues, and by analogy suggest similarities in celebrations of other times and places during the European high Middle Ages, while admitting that each of these was also profoundly different. The royal abbey of St.-Denis and Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris and their respective eucharistic practices of the 13th–14th centuries have been chosen for this exercise. They have been chosen because they both exemplify some of the key particularities that must be addressed when attempting to

---

[2] Kenan Osborne, *Christian Sacraments in a Postmodern World: A Theology for the Third Millennium* (Mahwah, NJ, 1999), p. 58.

[3] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1.13.6, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 3 vols. (New York, 1947), 1:64. Aristotle (d. 322 BCE) recognized in the principle of "proportionality" a tool that would permit the usage of different terms which were yet sufficiently similar to allow an argument to carry through from one premise to another, and hence be part of our reliable knowledge. See David Burrell, "Analogy," in *The New Dictionary of Theology*, eds. Joseph Komonchak *et al.* (Collegeville, MN, 1987), p. 15.

[4] Burrell, *Analogy*, p. 17.

describe any pattern of eucharistic celebrations of the era, while at the same time illustrating the many dissimilarities of one celebration of Mass from another.

A Taxonomy of Eucharistic Celebrations

In order to demonstrate something of the range of eucharistic celebrations within the royal abbey of St.-Denis and the Cathedral of Notre Dame we offer a taxonomy divided according to three basic distinctions: form, type, and style. The goal here is not to establish some irrefutable taxonomy essential for understanding Eucharist in these two venues, but to provide a heuristic framework for pondering the many variables that marked medieval eucharistic celebrations.

1. *Form*

The first facet of our taxonomy is that of form. Form here is defined as the fundamental "structure or constitution"[5] of the event, rather than the nature of the leadership (*type*) or its level of festivity (*style*). Apart from the "who" (*type*) or "how" (*style*), a consideration of the form of medieval Eucharist is more closely related to determining the "what" of the ritual, including the genre of rite in which Eucharist is being celebrated as well as the specific purpose or function of a particular Mass. Different rites as well as varying functions of a rite inevitably effect the very structure of a liturgical celebration such as the Eucharist.

What Rite Is Celebrated?

The term "rite" is highly ambiguous in ecclesiastical usage, and as Andrew Ciferni had demonstrated has both primary and secondary meanings.[6] Traditionally in the West, *ritus* refers to the texts and

---

[5] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1989), s.v. "form, 5a" at http://dictionary.oed.com (accessed 30.xii.08). It is in this sense of the term that John Harper seems to employ in his *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991).

[6] Much of this material on the nature of rite is dependent upon the insights from his chapter "The Concept of Rite," in "The Post-Vatican II Discussion of the So-Called Praemonstratensian Rite: A Question of Liturgical Pluriformity" (Notre Dame University: Ph.D. dissertation, 1978), pp. 1–34.

order of a particular service; these were often distinguished from the acts and gestures of a worship event which were sometimes addressed under the rubric of "ceremonies." As Andrew Ciferni notes, however, a secondary use of that term refers to a particular ecclesial tradition in relationship to its own proper liturgy or liturgical patrimony:[7]

> …in this secondary sense rite can indicate the liturgical ensemble of an ecclesial tradition enjoying a proper liturgical, canonical discipline and spirituality. Thus we speak of the Byzantine or Coptic Rite. But the term is also applied to Western liturgical traditions identified with certain important sees such as the Mozarabic Rite (Toledo), the Ambrosian Rite (Milan) and the Bragan Rite (Portugal). These churches do not enjoy a proper canonical discipline or spiritual patrimony. Finally, since the great uniformity brought about in the Roman Rite by the Pian Breviary (1568) and Missal (1570), it is common to speak about the rites of the Religious orders (Carthusians, Cistercian-Trappists, Praemonstratensions, Dominicans and Carmelites).[8]

It is in this second sense of the word, particularly as it relates to Western liturgical traditions, that we need consider the term and the concept here. While there are many particularities we will address regarding the *type* and *style* of celebration, a fundamental first question is that of the actual *form* of the rite, i.e., to what ritual family does it belong. Different rites in the medieval West will dictate not only particular texts but sometimes also unique structuring of the eucharistic rites which will differentiate them—sometimes in rather minor but still notable ways—one from the other. Such differences exist among many rites known to the medieval period which yet continue today. For example, while the Gallican Rite[9] has been lost to us, there still exist the Mozarabic[10] and Ambrosian[11] rites. Vincent Lenti provides a useful comparison of the first part of the Roman, Ambrosian and Mozarabic in their contemporary forms echoing ancient practices and illustrating

---

[7] Ciferni, "The Post-Vatican II Discussion," p. 1.

[8] Ciferni, "The Post-Vatican II Discussion," pp. 1–2.

[9] For a critical introduction to the celebration of the Eucharist according to the ancient Gallican Rite, see Klaus Gamber, *Die Messfeier nach altgallikanischem Ritus* (Regensburg, 1984).

[10] A good overview of the history and contemporary restoration of this rite can be found in Raul Gomez, *Mozarabs, Hispanics, and the Cross* (Maryknoll, NY, 2007).

[11] A recent dictionary on this rite was published by Marco Navoni, ed., *Dizionario di Liturgia Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1996). Introductions to many liturgical books employed in the contemporary Ambrosian Liturgy are posted by the Pontificio Istituto Ambrosiano di Musica Sacra at http://www.unipiams.org/?id=32 (accessed 19.i.09).

Introductory Rites

Roman Rite	Ambrosian Rite	Mozarabic Rite
Entrance Song (*Introitus*)	Entrance Song (*Ingressa*)	Entrance Song (*Praelegendum*) Silent Prayer
Greeting	Greeting	
Penitential Rite	Penitential Rite	
Gloria	Gloria	Gloria

Liturgy of the Word

First Lesson	First Lesson	First Lesson (*Prophetia*)
Psalm (*Psalmus Responsorius*)	Psalm (*Psalmellus*)	Psalm (*Psallendum*) *Benedictiones*
Second Lesson	Second Lesson	Second Lesson (*Apostolus*)
(Sequence)		
Alleluia	Alleluia	
Gospel	Gospel	Gospel (*Evangelium*)
Homily	Homily	Homily
Post Evangelium	*Laudes*	
Profession of Faith (*Credo*)		
General Intercessions	Universal Prayers	

some of their differences, e.g., in the Mozarabic Rite the *trisagion* is sung after the Gloria, and after the psalm response to the first reading it adds part of Daniel's canticle (Daniel 3:52–53, 57, 87–89), while the Ambrosian Rite adds a chant after the homily.[12]

There were also numerous religious orders who had their own rites—what Ciferni considers "usages" within the Roman Rite.[13] These would be comparable to diocesan usages that were not rites properly speaking according to Ciferni's categories, but had their own customary variations in calendar, the Divine Office, music and texts for the

[12] Vincent Lenti, "Liturgical Reform and the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites," *Worship* 68:5 (1994), 417–426, here pp. 418–19.

[13] Thus he refers to the "so-called Praemonstratension Rite," and suggests that the "five orders traditionally held to enjoy a proper liturgical rite do not meet the criteria of being a particular church, possessing a proper spirituality, canonical discipline and *sui iuis* hierarchy in addition to a proper liturgy." Ciferni, "The Post-Vatican II Discussion," p. 34.

celebration of the Eucharistic.[14] Many of these so-called rites or usages demonstrated minor changes in the Roman Rite. Thus, for example, in the Dominican Rite there were distinctive but minor changes, especially apparent in the recited Mass, including:

- abbreviation of the prayers at the foot of the altar and *Confiteor* (including the insertion of the name of St. Dominic);
- beginning the recitation of the *Gloria* and *Credo* at the center of the altar, but moving to the Missal on the epistle side for their completion;
- the simultaneous offering of host and chalice at the Offertory [one of the most dramatic changes];
- making the sign of the cross with two fingers at the words *haec dona, haec munera* during the Canon;
- moving the *Agnus Dei* from until after the *Pax Domini*;
- the priest receiving the host with his left hand.[15]

The influence and respectability of these usages was such that, when Pius V issued the new Missal (1570) after the Council of Trent (1545–63), he decreed that any eucharistic "usage" that had been observed for 200 years or more was not abrogated, and could be allowed to continue.[16] Vatican II (1962–5) effectively suppressed all such usages, although there are some attempts to resurrect them.[17] Only one new

[14] Among the most famous of diocesan usages was that of Sarum, foundational to the development of the *Prayer Book of Edward the VI*, the forerunner of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The best introduction to this usage is Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum: The original texts edited from the MSS*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898–1901).

[15] The best edition of this recited Mass is *Missel Dominicain quotidien: selon le Rite de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1948). The best history of the Dominican Liturgy which outlines these ritual peculiarities (pp. 121–129) is that of William Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944).

[16] "This new rite alone is to be used unless approval of the practice of saying Mass differently was given at the very time of the institution and confirmation of the church by the Apostolic See at least 200 years ago, or unless there has prevailed a custom of a similar kind which has been continuously followed for a period of not less than 200 years, in which most cases we in no way rescind their above-mentioned prerogative or custom. However, if this Missal, which we have seen fit to publish, be more agreeable to these latter, we grant them permission to celebrate Mass according to its rite, provided they have the consent of their bishop or prelate or of their whole chapter." Pius V, *Quo Primum* (14 July 1570) in *Missale Romanum editio princeps (1570)*, ed. Manlio Sodi and Achille Triacca (Rome, 1998), p. 3.

[17] For example, the Catholic News Agency reported on 23 November 2008 how some Domincans were attempting to preserve not only the scholarship but also the

usage—for celebration in what was then Zaire and now the Congo—has been approved by Rome since Vatican II.[18]

Paris Usage

Medieval Paris did not have its own rite comparable to that of Milan, Toledo or Braga, although it did have sufficient liturgical particularities that one can speak about a "Parisian usage within the Roman rite."[19] Heir to Gallican traditions,[20] one of the most important medieval witnesses to the evolution of this usage is the 12th century Parisian theologian John Beleth.[21] His description of the Mass is embedded in his theological commentary on the eucharistic celebration in *Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (sometimes erroneously titled *Rationale divinorum officiorum*).[22]

Some of the peculiarities of the Parisian usage include:[23]

- the sequence of vesting and preparating the paten and chalice before Mass, e.g.:
  - donning the rochet,
  - saying *Actionnes nostras*,
  - washing hands,
  - saying *Amplius lava me*,
  - placing the host on paten,

---

practice of the suppressed Dominican Rite. http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/new.php?n=14407 (accessed 18.i.09).

[18] *Missel Romain pour les dioceses du Zaire* (Kinshasha, 1969).

[19] Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 60.

[20] See footnote 9, above.

[21] While the exact date of his birth is not known, he is named in an ecclesiastical document in 1135. He taught in Paris, and his most famous work *Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, drawn from his lectures, was already in revised form by 1164. The date and place of his death is not known, although there is evidence that he was in Amiens around 1182. For an introduction to his life and work, see *Iohannis Beleth, Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ed. Heriberto Douteil, (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis) 41 (Turnholt, 1986), esp. pp. 29–32.

[22] See the description in *Iohannis Beleth, Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, 33–49, Douteil, 41a:62–87. As for the mistranslation of the original title, see the paradigmatic edition in *PL* 202:13–166.

[23] These particulars are taken from British Library, MS. Add. 16905, fols. 128r–129r, and fols. 137v–41v. This was an early 14th century missal "of the use of Paris," according to Edward Maunde, *A guide to the manuscripts and printed books illustrating the progress of musical notation exhibited in the Department of manuscripts and the King's library* (London, 1885), p. 7, no. 32.

- putting water and wine into the chalice,
- saying *De latere Domini*;

- during the beginning of Mass:
  - the placement of the *Kyrie* before the *Confiteor*,
  - after ascending to the altar after the prayers at the foot of the altar, kissing the altar, then kissing the book open to the image of the Crucified Christ followed by the antiphon *Adoramus te, Christe*;

- at the offertory:
  - simultaneously elevating the host and the paten, with a distinctive set and sequence of offertory prayers:[24]
    - *Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus in memoriam incarnationis, nativitatis, passionis, resurrectionis et ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi necnon et adventus Spiritus Sancti Paracliti…*
    - *In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito sucipiamur a te…*
    - *Orate pro me, fratres et sorores et ego pro vobis ut meum pariter in conspectu Domini sit acceptum sacrificium;*

- during the Canon of the Mass:
  - the inclusion of a petition for the King (*pro… rege nostro*) during the *Te Igitur*,
  - the addition of the phrase *atque omnium fidelium* during the *Memento Domine*,
  - the elevation of the host after *Hoc est enim corpus meum* (with no parallel elevation of the chalice);

- during the communion rite:
  - recitation of a much expanded *Haec sacrosancta commixio* after rather than before the *Agnus Dei*,
  - inclusion of the prayer *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus* before an expanded form of the prayer *Domine Iesu Christe*,
  - immediately followed by the priest's communion with host and chalice (with unusual text for consumption of the chalice, *Corpus et sanguis*),
  - Before the final blessing, the priest leads the versicles and responses *Adiutorium nostrum* and *Sit nomen Domini*.

[24] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 47.

Besides these textual and structural particularities, the Parisian usage was also marked by distinctive musical characteristics. Notre Dame was an important musical center, particularly noted for its contribution to the development of polyphony, especially under Léonin (d. ca. 1201) and Pérotin. Also distinctive were the vestiges of Gallican chants, which marked the music of the Parisian cathedral and are to be found in the noted manuscripts dating from the twelfth century.[25] Finally, the Parisian *Kyriale* was a unique compilation that organized more than forty combinations of the Ordinary of the Mass into fifteen invariable cycles arranged first for the major feasts (Easter, Pentecost, Christmas), then the days of the octaves, concluding with Sunday, ferial and *Requiem* Masses.[26]

St.-Denis "Usage"

St.-Denis does not have quite the range of even these minor changes as does Paris, and does not even appear to be a "usage" as Ciferni employs that term, and broadly reflects the patterns of the Frankish-Roman rite, influenced by Cluniac reform, having evolved over centuries of use at St.-Denis. The 13th century missal B.N. Lat. 1107,[27] for example, shows no evidence of special directions for the pre-Mass, no unusual prayers or gestures for the offertory, and no elevation during the Canon.[28] It does include an intercessory prayer for the king (*rege nostro*, 214v–215r) during the *Te Igitur* and does add the phrase *atque omnium fidelium* during the *Memento Domine* (215r), both of which occurred at Notre Dame Cathedral, which could suggest that they are regional peculiarities.

The eucharistic liturgy from St.-Denis demonstrates the most structural and textual variation during the communion rite. This includes:

---

[25] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 47.

[26] Wright transcribes the *Kyrie* for each of the fifteen cycles, *Music and Ceremony*, pp. 82–89.

[27] Robertson dates this manuscript to around 1271, see Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford Monographs on Music) (Oxford, 1991), p. 355.

[28] There are a series of versicles and responses (e.g., *Deus in adiutorium meum, Domine salvum fac regem, Memor esto congregationis tue*) as well as four orations (*Familum tuum regem nostrum, Ecclesie tue quesumus Domine, Deus auctor pacis* and *Hostium nostrorum quesumus Domine*) positioned between the prefaces and the onset of the Canon of the Mass in B.N. Lat. 1107 (fol. 213v), but little evidence as to how they are employed.

- recitation of *Haec sacrosancta commixio* after rather than before the *Agnus Dei* (216v),
- inclusion of the prayer *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus* before an expanded form of the prayer *Domine Iesu Christe* (216v),
- saluting the consecrated elements before reception with the prayer *Ave sanctissima caro Christi redemptio nostra, ave corpus celeste…* (fols. 216v–217r),
- and particular prayers to be recited by the priest after receiving communion (*Perceptio corporis et sanguinis tui…*) and after Mass (*Placeat tibi sacra Trinitas…*).

Musically St.-Denis, like Notre Dame, manifested residual influences from Gallican chants. While Gallican remnants, according to Robertson, are numerous from the Liturgy of the Hours, these surviving elements in the eucharistic liturgy appear to be much more limited, and difficult to identify.[29] It appears that St.-Denis was once dependent musically and liturgically upon the Parisian Cathedral, notably during the Merovingian period. While the liturgical music in Paris seemed to evolve in a distinctive direction—especially after 11th century—Robertson argues that the Sandionysian monks held on to more ancient practices of Gregorian chant: what Hesbert characterizes as the practices of the "French monastic group."[30] By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, there seemed to be a departure from these older chant practices, and Robertson argues that the Sandionysian sources are closer in this period to other Parisian sources, especially when it comes to tropes and sequences. Her analysis of the *Kyriale* of the fourteenth century demonstrates a very close musical resemblance to that of Notre Dame, although St.-Denis does not have the sophisticated 15 cycles that characterize Paris.[31] Finally, she concludes that with one or two minor exceptions, polyphony was not composed nor sung at St.-Denis.[32] These musical reflections suggest that, while in no

[29] Robertson, *The Service-Books*, pp. 264–5. What follows is largely dependent upon Robertson's analysis of the music employed during the Eucharist at St.-Denis, *The Service-Books*, 102–108.

[30] R.-J. Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols., (Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series major, Fontes) 7–12 (Rome, 1963, 1965, 1968, 1970, 1975, 1979), 5:477–80.

[31] Robertson, *The Service-Books*, pp. 172–3.

[32] Robertson, *The Service-Books*, p. 48.

way a distinctive rite, and clearly not as inventive as the Parisian usage, Sandionysian practices in liturgy and music were unique in their own way—especially before the fourteenth century.

When Is the Mass Celebrated?

The question of form is also related to the "when" of the liturgy in the daily or weekly cursus. This question admits that temporal placement of the Mass within the daily cursus can give the eucharistic celebration a specific character or form. For example, at a monastery such as St.-Denis there were at least three times for eucharistic celebrations during the day. A Morning Mass normally follows the hour of Prime, and the Principal Mass follows the hour of Terce, with variations on the vigils of feasts and penitential days.[33] By its very nature, the Principal Mass of the day will contain any variations or elaborations specified for a given feast or anniversary to a greater degree than the Morning Mass. Thus, for example, when the first ordinary of St.-Denis (hereafter Bib. Maz. 526)[34] notes the multiplication of ministers or additions of special texts on a feast, those are always specified for the Principal Mass and virtually never for the Morning Mass.

A cathedral such as Notre Dame in the 13th century would not require the gathering of the canonical community at a Morning Mass apart from the daily solemn Mass which "was the culmination of the liturgical day."[35] As it was always sung and "because the largest monetary distributions for the clergy were give out during it, [it was assured] that the stalls were filled with an appropriate number of canons, clerks, and chaplains."[36] Besides this "great" (*magna*) eucharistic celebration each morning, the principal feasts and those of duplex rank would ordinarily have a Vigil Mass the evening before, in anticipation of the feast. By definition, this Vigil Eucharist would virtually never have the elaboration of the Morning Mass for the feast.

---

[33] Edward Foley, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis in France (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526)* (Spicilegium Friburgense) 32 (Fribourg, 1990), p. 106.

[34] All references to this text are taken from my edition noted above footnote 33.

[35] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 115.

[36] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 116.

Why Is the Mass Celebrated?

The question of form is also related to question of "why" the Mass is being celebrated. A Mass could be celebrated because it is required by the horarium of the monastery or cathedral. On the other hand, there were multiple sacramental and liturgical demands for a eucharistic celebration beyond the daily horarium. Priests, deacons and subdeacons had to be ordained for a cathedral like Notre Dame. Such ordinations had to be done within the context of a Eucharist which would take on a particular form because of these sacramental rites. Similarly the religious profession of monks as well as the funerals for monks and canons were celebrated within the context of the Eucharist and would, in turn, distinctively shape the form and content of the Mass. Abbot Suger (d. 1151) describes a most unusual series of consecrations of 20 altars in his newly built chevet at St.-Denis which included the simultaneous celebration of Eucharist at these altars in the upper and choir and crypt performed "so festively, so solemnly, so differently and yet so concordantly, so close [to one another] and so joyfully that their song, delightful by its consonance and unified harmony, was deemed a symphony angelic rather than human."[37] While an very unique event, it nonetheless exemplifies something of the range of forms medieval Eucharist could take.

Besides the sacramental demands and subsequent variations on the form of a Eucharistic celebration, the increased demand for Masses for the dead would generate innumerable *Requiem* Masses. Given their particular texts, the addition of prayers, the inclusion of a sequence and even variations in the canon of the Mass[38] all contributed to a variant form for the *Requiem.* Some of these Masses at a place like Notre Dame were sung because of the requirements of their foundation, which stipulated that they must be sung by the cathedral chapter; most, however, were not performed by members of the cathedral chapter but by separately funded chantry priests. As Wright reports, as many as 120 of these "low Masses were said at the various side chapels

[37] Abbot Suger, *De Consecratione* in *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. Erwin Panofsky, 2nd ed. Gerda Panofsky-Soergel (Princeton, NJ, 1979), pp. 119–121.

[38] At a minimum this would include the various names of the dead included in the *Commemoratio pro defunctis* in the Roman Canon.

that surrounded the choir and nave, all carefully timed so as not to interfere with the chanting of the canonical hours in the choir."[39]

Many times such *Requiem* Masses would be celebrated as private Masses. However, both in cathedrals and monasteries one did not only celebrate a private Mass for the dead. While the origin and very definition of the "private Mass" are debated, one prevalent understanding and widespread practice was private Mass as a

> *missa solitaria*... wherein a single priest assumes the liturgical functions normally reserved to the other ministers (readings), choir (chants) and congregation (responses, etc.).... This 'sacerdotalization' of the entire mass is due to a basic changeover in religious and liturgical psychology.... The mass has become a good work.... now celebrated out of personal devotion as a means of ensuring salvation.[40]

Such a celebration, with a single priest taking all the spoken or sung parts and fulfilling ever required ritual action, would certainly be a distinctive form within the medieval repertoire of eucharistic practice.

Where Is the Mass Celebrated?

A final aspect to consider when pondering the *form* of a medieval Mass concerns the location of the eucharistic altar, which will have some bearing on the form of the Mass. There were multiple factors which contributed to the multiplication of altars in medieval churches. Besides the growing demand for *Requiem* Masses, these included the growth of private Mass both for the personal benefit of the priest as well as a way for lay people to have their penances commuted, and the growing influence of the Roman tradition of stational worship.[41] The Roman liturgy in the early medieval period was not stationary worship, and the bishop of Rome or his representative regularly crisscrossed the city, celebrating the Eucharist in the 7 basilica and most of the 25 *tituli* churches that were part of that local church. In the early medieval period, when the Roman books were transported north of the Alps, so too were these stational implications—imbedded in the texts of these books—transported as well.

---

[39] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 116.

[40] From "Excursus: The 'Private' Mass," in Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, rev. and trans. William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington DC, 1986), p. 156.

[41] For a further discussion of the expansion of secondary altars, see my *From Age to Age* (Collegeville, MN, 2008), pp. 143–6.

In a monastery like St.-Denis, the worship was quite mobile, and the monks were daily on the move in processions toward one altar or another. Sometimes those processions took them outside the church into one of four other churches where Mass was sometimes celebrated by the monastic community. Thus, on the Greater Litany (April 25) the community would exit the main church, process to the north for prayer at the church of St. Paul, and then process further north to the church of St. Remigius where Mass would be celebrated.[42]

Paris, as well, developed its own stational traditions. Cathedral worship sometimes required members of the chapter to process to one of the ever increasing altars in or around the cathedral for a station of prayer or even the celebration of Eucharist. Besides these, however, there were at least twelve other churches—on the Île de la Cité, Left Bank and Right Bank—which the clergy of Notre Dame regularly visited on the titular feast of such churches, ordinarily for Terce, Mass and Sext.[43]

Besides the changes in the form of Mass rendered by performance of a stational Eucharist, one must also acknowledge the multiple possibilities for the location of a particular Eucharist (even within the main worship space)—given the many altars, side chapels, and auxiliary buildings for both St.-Denis and Notre Dame. These possible changes in location would by necessity have some effect if not on its *form*, at least upon its *style* of celebration. From a side altar in the crypt, to the bishops' chapel in his palace adjoining Notre Dame, to the monks infirmary chapel in a separate building on the extreme southeast of the monastic enclosure—each distinctive place (given its size, its acoustics, its light as well as the possible congregants who might help define that place) would mark the eucharistic celebration in a particular way.

2. *Type*

The category of *type* is fundamentally focused on the "who" of the celebration. As type can refer to "a person or thing that exhibits the characteristic qualities of a class; a representative specimen; a typical example or instance."[44] So one can consider different types of eucharistic

[42] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, pp. 514–5.

[43] Rebecca Baltzer, "The Geography of the Liturgy at Notre-Dame of Paris," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forest Kelly (Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice) 2 (New York, 1992), pp. 45–64, in particular, see p. 47, n. 6.

[44] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1989), s.v. "type, 7a" at http://dictionary.oed.com (accessed 30.xii.08).

liturgies in terms of the type of community which is the context for the eucharistic liturgy, "who" leads the worship from within that community as well as variations in the members of the congregation, or particular individuals or groups who are the intercessory focus of the liturgy.

The Ministerial Structure at Notre Dame

Late medieval Christianity had a very complex hierarchical structure, richly reflected both at St.-Denis and Notre Dame. Both of these institutions had clearly delineated lines of leadership, in which the monks and clergy were ordered according to exacting classifications and ranks. There were few places that this hierarchical system was more on display than within the liturgy, whose very architectural settings was designed both to express and reinforce these hierarchical divisions.[45] The basic divisions of the clergy at a cathedral like Notre Dame was rooted in the ancient outline found in the late 5th-century Gallican *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, which attests to the structure (in descending order) of bishop,[46] presbyter, deacon, subdeacon,[47] acolyte, exorcist,

---

[45] See, for example, Erwin Panofsky's discussion of the role of Gothic architecture (prominent both at St.-Denis and Notre Dame in the 13th century) in this regard, in his *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (New York, 1957), especially pp. 44–45. For a concise discussion of the scholarly views on meaning in Gothic architecture, see Paul Crossley's *Introduction*, in Paul Frankl (revised by Paul Crossley), *Gothic Architecture* (New Haven, CT, 2001), esp. pp. 27–29.

[46] While originally the "major" order, by the twelfth century bishops were no longer ordained but consecrated, and not considered by most theologians as separate order; thus, the compilers of the supplement to the *Summa* employ Aquinas' in consideration of whether or not the episcopate is an order in a series of seven articles "Of the Things Annexed to the Sacrament of Order," and concludes that "since the bishop has not a higher power than the priest, in this respect the episcopate is not an Order. [But] In another way Order may be considered as an office in relation to certain sacred actions; and thus since in hierarchical actions a bishop has in relation to the mystical body a higher power than the priest, the episcopate is an order." *Summa*, *Suppl.*, 40. 5, Fathers of the English Dominican Province 3:2704. See Joseph Lécuyer, "La grâce de la consécration épiscopale," *Revue des sciences philosophique et théologique* 36 (1952), 389–417.

[47] While there is little disagreement as to the placement of subdiaconate in this hierarchy, there is little consensus on whether or not it was a major order or minor order. Both Peter Lombard (d. 1161, see his *Sententiarum Libri Quatuor*, 4.24.15 (ed. Collegium St. Bonaventurae, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 3rd. ed., 2 vols. (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum) 5 (Rome, 1981) 2:406), and the twelfth century jurist Gratian held for the latter (*Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, dist. xxi, init. & c. 1, ed. Emil Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. [Graz, 1955], 1:67, 69).

lector, porter, psalmist.[48] While not common across Christianity at the time of its composition, these various clerical grades became standard in the west by the 11th century—with the exception of the ministry of the psalmist which disappears. By the 12th century it was generally accepted that tonsure was the first step into the clerical life.[49]

Besides these virtually universal distinctions in clerical rank, a great cathedral like Notre Dame further included innumerable other distinctions within the clerical ranks, reflective of a highly regulated canonical life in service of that cathedral. The *vita canonica* or *vita apostolica* evolved as a distinctive way of life for secular clergy gathered around a bishop. While not the first bishop to do so in the West, Augustine (d. 430) was celebrated for the community life he established around his cathedral in Hippo. Chrodegang of Metz (d. 766) wrote an influential *Regula Canonicorum*,[50] which was the basis for the *Institutio canonicorum*, compiled at the Synod of Aachen in 816,[51] the latter which Louis the Pious (d. 840) required to be disseminated throughout his empire,[52] insuring its influence. Pope Urban II (d. 1099) not only officially recognized this form of apostolic life but also placed the canonical life on the same level as the monastic life, recognizing it as an equal path to perfection apart from monasticism.[53]

---

[48] Critical edition by Charles Munier, *Les Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua, Edition etudes critique*, (Bibliothèque de l'institut de droit canonique de l'université de Strasbourg) 5 (Paris, 1960), available in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1963), pp. 162–88; this order is most clearly outlined in nos. 80–98, CCSL 148:181–4.

[49] Local councils are requiring tonsure of clerics by the twelfth century, and in 1215 Lateran IV required it of all clerics (canon 16 in J.D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, reprinted and expanded to 53 vols. by L. Petit and J.B. Martin [Paris: 1889–1927], 22:1006). For an extensive treatment of the topic, see Louis Trichet, *La Tonsure: Vie et mort d'une practique ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1990), especially pp. 69–160.

[50] See *The Chrodegang rules: The rules for the common life of the secular clergy from the eighth and ninth centuries (critical texts with translations and commentary)*, ed. Jerome Bertram (Burlington, VT, 2005).

[51] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia* 2.1.39 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1906), pp. 421–56.

[52] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Leges* 1, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover, 1835), pp. 219–23.

[53] Jakob Mois, "Geist und Regel des hl. Augustinus in der Kanoniker-Reform des 11.–12. Jahrhunderts," *In Unum Congregati* 6 (1959) 1:52–59, here p. 53. These texts of Urban are most accessible in Robert Somerville and Stephan Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford, 1996). For an overview of the literature on the development of the *vita canonica* see André Vauchez and Cécile Caby, eds., *L'histoire des moines, chanoines et religieux au moyen âge: Guide*

While originally presided over by the bishop, the collection of canons or "chapter" that evolved around Notre Dame became independent of the bishop in the 10th century by decree of the King and order of the Pope.[54] Residing in an ecclesiastical compound on the north side of the cathedral, in the words of Craig Wright, they

> constituted a nearly autonomous corporation, one which came to dominate the daily activities of the Church. If decisions regarding the upkeep of the fabric of Notre Dame and the celebration of the divine offices were *de jure* the equal responsibility of the bishop and chapter, in fact it was the college of canons who maintained the church and had charge of the service as the bishop increasingly became drawn away from his *cathedra* and into affairs of state.[55]

As described by Wright, there were 51 canons in the chapter of Paris, led by eight dignitaries.[56] In order of importance these dignitaries were: 1) the dean ("chief priest…[who] assumed the functions and prerogatives of the absent bishop"), 2) cantor or precentor ("often preoccupied with the financial, legal or educational affairs of the cathedral" 3) subcantor or succentor (responsible for "the daily superintendent of the service" 4) chancellor ("responsible for the word"), 5) three archdeacons, and 6) the penitentiary (5 & 6 "were administrative and pastoral officers who had no strictly musical or liturgical duties").

Besides the bishop and these 51 canons, there was a large coterie of lesser clerics who bore the brunt of the responsibilities for the daily offices. According to Wright, these number 44 by the end of the 13th century, and were arrayed in this rigidly hierarchical structure:

> Canon of St. Aignan (2)
> Vicar of St. Aignan (2)
> Great vicar (6)
> Priest canon of St. Denis du Pas (4)
> Deacon canon of St. Denis du Pas (3)
> Subdeacon canon of St. Denis du Pas (3)
> Priest canon of St. Jean le Rond (2)
> Deacon canon of St. Jean le Rond (3)

---

de recherche et documents, (L'atelier du médiéviste) 9 (Turnhout, 2003), especially pp. 26–7, 46–8, 106–7.

[54] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 18.

[55] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, pp. 18–19.

[56] The structure of the Parisian chapter is reliant upon the work of Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 19. Elements in quotation marks are direct quotes from that source and page.

Subdeacon canon of St. Jean le Rond (3)
Clerk of Matins machicotus (6)
Clerk of Matins (10).[57]

Besides these clerics, the cathedral was also served by a group of anywhere from 7 to 11 choirboys,[58] as well as a group of chaplains or chantry priests who served the many altars within the cathedral.[59]

The Ministerial Structure at St.-Denis

As St.-Denis was an abbey rather than a cathedral, it exhibited a quite different and in some ways less complex ministerial structure than that of Notre Dame. The monks at St.-Denis followed the *Rule of St. Benedict* (*RB* 30),[60] which Charlemagne had attempted to impose upon all the monasteries of his realm,[61] and which more clearly came to St.-Denis in a sustained way after various abbots of Cluny participated in the reform of the abbey at the end of the 10th and into the 11th centuries.[62]

According to the *Rule of St. Benedict* (hereafter, *RB*) monastic leadership consists of the abbot, who is ordinarily chosen by the chapter of the monastery (*RB* 64), although *RB* itself allows for exceptions to this procedure (*RB*)[63] and the history of St.-Denis attests to numerous exceptions not even envisioned by *RB*, including a century of control

---

[57] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 20.

[58] For an extensive treatment of the training and duties of the choirboys, the Master of the choirboys, and the *spe* or oldest of the choirboys who served as adjunct to the Master of the choirboys, see Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, pp. 165–95.

[59] During the Middle Ages it was common to establish an endowment for the support of a priest who would celebrate Eucharist for the souls of the patron(s) who established the endowment as well as their families. Such endowments usually entailed either the erection of an altar within an existing building or the building of a separate chapel. As Eamon Duffy has demonstrated, the laity who established these chantries had a great deal of control over them, actually owned many of them, and provided their draperies, images, ornaments, lights etc. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven, 1992), p. 114. According to Wright there were 57 chantry priests serving the various altars of the cathedral at the end of the 12th century, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 128.

[60] All references and citations from *RB* will be taken from *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, 1980).

[61] For this history, see Pierre Riché, *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne*, ed. & trans. Jo Ann McNamara (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 88–9.

[62] For this history, see my *The First Ordinary*, pp. 37–8.

[63] See a discussion of the various interpretations of these possibilities in "The Abbot," Appendix 2 in Fry, *The Rule*, especially pp. 371–75.

of the abbacy by Carolingian royalty.[64] Under the abbot, if warranted by the size and complexity of the monastery, the abbot can appoint a prior (*RB* 65). *RB* also allows for the appointment of deans, each of whom is responsible for a group of 10 monks (*RB* 21). The cellarer (*RB* 31) is responsible for overseeing the material aspects of the monastery, as well as the caring for the "sick, children, guests and the poor" (*RB* 31.9). In a large monastery, *RB* allows the cellarer to have assistants (*RB* 31.17).

As monasteries grew in size and complexity the leadership structure of the monasteries similarly complexified. While, as in other aspects of medieval life, there was no uniformity in this structure there were common patterns detectable across monasteries of a certain size and period. One of the more elaborate structures of monastic leadership is documented for the 13th century abbey of Westminster. According to the *Customary* (ca. 1266) there were almost 40 offices[65] rather than the 4 or 5 specified in *RB.* A similarly complex structure can be found at the Abbey of Cluny in the early 12th century.[66] While we do not have as complete a study of the structure of the monastic leadership at St.-Denis in the 13th century, given its size[67] as well as the fact that it was reformed by the Abbots of Cluny we can project something comparable.

Complicating this structure was the growing pressure within medieval Europe to clericalize monastic communities and ordain the choir monks. *RB* did not presume that there were either priests among the monks, nor that the eucharistic liturgy was an ordinary part of the

---

[64] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, p. 37.

[65] According to Barbara Harvey that list included (associates or assistants are italicized in this list): "Abbot, *two chaplains*, steward of household. Prior, *chaplain, subprior, third and fourth priors.* Almoner, *sub-almoner.* Archdeacon. Cellarer (extern), cellarer (intern), *gardener, granger.* Chamberlain, *sub-chamberlain.* Hosteller (extern), hosteller (intern), *sub-hosteller.* Infirmarer. Kitchener, *sub-kitchener.* Master of novices. Monk-bailiff. Pittancer. Precentor, *succentor.* Refectorer, *sub-refectorer.* Sacrist, *sub-sacrist, keeper of the high altar and relics*, vestry-keeper, *assistant vestry-keeper, sub-sacrist with general duties.* Warden of St. Mary's chapel, *sub-warden.*" Barbara Harvey, *The Obedientiaries of Westminster Abbey and their Financial Records, c. 1275–1540*, (Westminster Abbey Record Series) 3 (Woodbridge, 2002) p. xix., note 20.

[66] Noreen Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049–1109* (Notre Dame, 1967), pp. 46–67.

[67] Already 150 monks under Hilduin in 832 (see Riché, *Daily Life*, p. 40) the number of professed monks at St.-Denis fluctuated between 120 to 200 during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, not counting the simply professed and the boys. See Robertson, *The Service-Books*, p. 525.

weekly cursus of prayer.[68] For various reasons—especially the growing emphasis on private Mass especially as a commutation of penances received in Confession or as an offering for the Dead[69]—the Middle Ages were a time of increased pressure to ordain monks, so that by the 14th century the Council of Vienne (1311–12) could degree that as a general rule monks had an obligation to be ordained.[70]

St.-Denis in the 13th century exhibited a clericalized monastic hierarchy in which an expanded Benedictine leadership model was wed to the structure of medieval priesthood with its various gradations of minor and major orders. Thus, Bib. Maz. 526 speak about priests, deacons and subdeacons (fol. 15v), acolytes (fol. 73r), lectors (fol. 115r) and cantors (fol. 7r), as well as the abbot, priors[71] and *hebdomadarii* (fol. 11r) who presided over the offices including the Eucharist for a week at a time. The ordinaries do not speak about the "deans" but the repeated references to the *socii abbatis* (e.g., fol. 51v) who are clearly distinguished from the priors, and accompany the abbot in some of the more solemn liturgical moments, might suggest that these are the deans. Bib. Maz. 526 also distinguishes *seniores* (e.g., fol. 16v) who are below the priors in dignity, but are higher in honor than the other monks.

Besides the monks and those in preparation to take their vows as monks (novices), there were also young men (*iuvenes*) who were being educated at the monastery and had musical-liturgical roles in the worship (e.g., fol. 67r) as well as boys (*pueri*, e.g., fol. 8r). Since virtually the origin of monasticism, there is evidence that children were part of many monastic communities.[72] Sometimes children were given to

---

[68] See Adalbert de Vogüé, "Problems of the Monastic Conventual Mass," *Downside Review* 87 (1969) 327–38; also his "Eucharist and Monastic Life," *Worship* 59 (1985), 498–510; an even stronger opinion is expressed by Angelus A. Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier*, (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen) 58 (Münster, 1973), p. 31.

Kevin Seasoltz, "Monastery and Eucharist," *Worship* 54:6 (1980), 512–537, here pp. 5–6.

[69] See Arnold Angenendt and Thaddäus A. Schnitker, "Die Privatmesse," *Liturgishes Jahrbuch* 33:2 (1983), 76–89.

[70] *Clementianarum* 3.10.8, in *Decretales Gregorii Papae IX*, Corpus Juris Canonici 2 (Cologne, 1779), 364.

[71] Robertson also notes the existence of subpriors in other ordinaries, *The Service-Books*, p. 526.

[72] See the historical overview and fine bibliography on this topic in Greg Peters, "Offering Sons to God in the Monastery: Child Oblation, Monastic Benevolence, and the Cistercial Order in the Middle Ages," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38:3 (2003), 285–295.

the monasteries as a "donation" (thus sometimes called *oblati*)—what John Bossey considers a humane form of abandonment[73]—and other times these children were at the monastery for an education, and would eventually leave the monastery to live in the world, e.g., the future Louis VI was educated in the monastic school at St.-Denis in the early 12th century.[74] Whatever their status, these boys took part in the musical-liturgical life of the monastery, and sometimes led certain chants during the offices and even during the Eucharist.[75] Even when they were not leading the chant, they certainly joined in singing some of the common chants, and would have added a distinctive tonality to the chant, especially the boys with unchanged voices.

What the liturgical books of St.-Denis do not always provide is sufficient evidence to determine with much detail the precise intersection of the structure of monastic leadership with the liturgical leadership, though the texts seem to be somewhat clearer about the "musical" leadership in the monastery. Regarding the former, however, we do not know, for example, whether the weekly *hebdomadarii* were drawn from only a certain echelon of leadership (e.g., priors, seniors, deans, subpriors, etc.), nor are we sure if all of monks who held major leadership roles in the monastery were even ordained priests (although that becomes increasingly likely in the 14th century). What we can presume, however, is that the more significant the celebration, the higher up the hierarchical ladder the liturgical leadership.

Variations in the Congregation

Besides the leadership of the worship, further variations in the *type* of worship would be contingent upon the makeup of the liturgical assembly. Because of the political as well as geographic proximity of both institutions to the French court, both sanctuaries welcomed royalty and lesser nobility on a regular though not on a frequent basis. While the king had his own court chapel and ministry, he was "a parishioner of the cathedral" and worshipped at the cathedral at least twice a year.[76]

---

[73] John Boswell, "*Exposito and Oblatio*: The Abandonment of Children and the Ancient and Medieval Family," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984), 17 as cited in Peters, "Offering Sons," p. 286.

[74] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, p. 40.

[75] Robertson, *The Service Books*, p. 312.

[76] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, pp. 197–8.

The kings also controlled certain altars within the cathedral, e.g. Philip Augustus (d. 1223) "founded four chaplaincies at Notre Dame, two of which were to be filled by priests celebrating Requiem Masses for his deceased supporter…and the other two by priests doing likewise for the soul of his departed wife."[77]

St.-Denis had been a royal necropolis since the 6th century,[78] and royal funerals were among the most elaborate rituals in the abbey's repertoire. The anniversary Masses celebrated in honor of every monarch interred in the space, especially that of King Dagobert (d. 639), were also of sufficient festivity to remind living monarchs that "their salvation was best assured when they entrusted their bodies to Saint-Denis."[79] St.-Denis was the site of a famed treasury which included, among other things, the regalia for crowning the kings of France. While that event ordinarily took place at the cathedral in Rheims, towards the end of the Middle Ages some queens were crowned at St.-Denis beginning with Anne of Brittany in 1491.[80]

One other *type* of eucharistic celebration of increasing importance during the late Middle Ages was that celebrated on behalf of guilds or other trade associations. While royalty and the wealthy had the resources at their disposal to establish chantries to pray for the deceased members of themselves and their families, others of lesser means pooled their resources to establish corporate foundations. According to Wright, the first group to do so at Notre Dame was for the benefit of the chaplains of the cathedral, the *confratria Sancti Augustini* established in 1186. The first confraternities of trade unions did not appear until the 14th century, first one for shoemakers and then one for cobblers.[81] As Wright notes, while a simple *Requiem* Mass was common daily practice, such confraternities did have a major patronal feast often with a procession culminating at a solemn high Mass sung at the patron's altar.[82]

---

[77] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 196.
[78] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, p. 31.
[79] Robertson, *The Service-Books*, p. 47.
[80] J.L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens* (New York, 2004), p. 99; Robertson, notes how the musicians of the royal chapel would have taken the lead in such a royal event, with the monks assuming a secondary role as singers for certain parts of the Mass, *The Service-Books*, pp. 98–99.
[81] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 135.
[82] *Ibid*.

3. *Style*

A third element of this eucharistic taxonomy is the issue of *style*. The category of style is more focused on the "how" of the celebration especially in regards to its degree of festivity and level of complexity. This corresponds to definitions of style which understand that term as "a particular mode or form of skilled construction, execution or production" and "the manner in which a work of art is executed."[83] While the *style* of the celebration is related to the *type* of celebrations noted above and, for example, the celebration by an abbot or bishop will ordinarily have a degree of complexity or festivity that exceeds that of a simple priest or monk, every episcopal or abbatial Eucharist was not at the same level of festivity or complexity. The calendar of feasts, commemorations, anniversaries and seasons will ordinarily dictate this degree of festivity. Besides proper texts, number of ministers, and additional ritual actions like special processions, the degree of festivity will also be manifest in the nature of the vestments and vessels that are employed as well as musical embellishments proper to certain levels of festivity.

The Ranking of the Feast

Bib. Maz. 526 from the mid-13th century provides a useful outline of the ranking of this material that finds correspondence in other Christian institutions throughout the Middle Ages.

Principal Feasts

These feasts can either be drawn from the temporal or the sanctoral cycle of a church or abbey. Their main eucharistic celebrations are marked by ritual elaborations that ordinarily included an expanded number of ministers, the most festive of vesture, more elaborate singing (sometimes accompanied on an organ), special texts, the inclusion of processions, the use of incense, and the ringing of bells.[84] Traditionally feasts celebrating the central mysteries of the Christian faith such

[83] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1989), s.v. "style, 21a" at http://dictionary.oed.com (accessed 30.xii.08).

[84] The elaborations in the other offices such as the canonical hours are comparable, but not the focus of this study and so will not be addressed here.

as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost were rated as principal feasts. However, the expansion of sanctoral feasts were a hallmark of the Middle Ages,[85] and very often patronal feasts or other significant anniversaries were celebrated at this most festive of levels.

Whereas the Cathedral of Notre Dame celebrated four annual principal Feasts (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the main patronal feast of the Assumption on August 15),[86] St.-Denis in the 13th century celebrated five principal festivals: Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption (August 15) and the main patronal feast of St. Denis (October 9). Eucharist for such a feast would include the assistance of seven deacons and subdeacons throughout the Mass, the singing of the responsory by three cantors, the *Alleluia* before the gospel by four cantors, a special antiphon before the Gospel, and the ringing of all bells at the end of Mass.[87]

Duplex Feasts

The second most important feasts are ranked as duplex.[88] These feasts are ordinarily drawn from the sanctoral cycle of a church or abbey. Their main eucharistic celebrations, like that of the principal feasts, are marked by an expanded number of ministers, festive vesture, proper texts and the use of incense. Some such duplex feasts rival the principal feasts in their augmentations. For example, the Abbot Adam (d. 1122) established the previously noted anniversary of Dagobert (January 19) with the intent of persuading other royalty to be buried at St.-Denis. That political motivation contributed to the splendor of this anniversary. At the principal Mass the ministry is, again, augmented by seven

---

[85] A classic study on this development is that of André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*, (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome) 241 (Rome, 1981).

[86] Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, p. 74.

[87] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, p. 163.

[88] The origin of this term is often traced to a tradition celebrating two night offices on the same day. As Eisenhofer and Lechner relate this history, "On the great feasts which can fall on a week-day, the cathedral canons in the Middle Ages celebrated a double (*duplex*) nocturnal office, one being of the week-day (*de feria*) and the other of the feast. This arrangement disappeared in time, but the expression *duplex* (*sc. officium*) survived as the usual term for the greater feasts and was also used more and more, especially as the feasts of saints multiplied, as the name of the rank of feasts for which there had never been a double office." Ludwig Eisenhofer and Joseph Lechner, *The Liturgy of the Roman Rite*, trans. A.J. and E.F. Peeler (Edinburgh-London, 1961), p. 240.

deacons (and probably also seven subdeacons). Furthermore, the *Kyrie* is sung by four cantors, and the responsory by four cantors—more than at Christmas which only had three cantors singing the responsory. Finally, the altar as well as the tomb of the King are incensed by two priests from the beginning of the Gospel until the end of the offertory.[89]

There is a good deal of variation in the level of festivity for such duplex feasts at St.-Denis, more so that with the principal feasts. Of the six feasts or anniversaries that Bib. Maz. 526 of designates at the level of duplex,[90] for example, that of St. Hilary (January 13, fols. 98v–99r) has no special cantors for the *Kyrie* or responsories, no special antiphon before the gospel, no evidence of thurifers, and only five deacons and subdeacons. Here, again, we see the lack of any rigid uniformity in the celebration of a particular class of feast, even within the same monastery and according to the same liturgical book.

Twelve Lessons[91]

After the rank of duplex, the next level of feasts in Bib. Maz. 526 are those that are assigned twelve lessons spread over three nocturns at Matins, making Matins for such a feast structurally comparable to that found on Sunday, which also had twelve readings spread over three nocturns.[92] Of the 112 feasts contained in the body of this 13th century liturgical book, 42 are classified as feasts of twelve lessons. Apart from the expansion of Matins and proper texts, however, only 10 of these feasts have particular rubrics that call for special ministerial or textual elaborations during the principal Mass of the day. The most expansive of these includes the use of two cantors instead of one, as well as three

[89] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, p. 170.

[90] St. Hilary (January 13), Anniversary of Dagobert (January 19), Dedication of the Church of St.-Denis (February 24), Invention of the bodies of St. Denis and companions (April 22), St. Eustace (November 2) and St. Eugene (November 15). According to Wright, the Cathedral of Notre Dame at about the same time listed 22 feasts at the rank of duplex (see Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, pp. 74–5).

[91] Anyone with knowledge of the Roman Rite might expect the next rank of feast to be some variation on the *duplex* such as *semi-duplex*, but that category does not exist in the first ordinary of St.-Denis and was characteristic of a later era. For an overview of the expansion of this category, see the pre-Vatican II article on "Feasts" in the first edition of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 16 vols. (New York, 1914), 4:21–2.

[92] Sunday Matins in communities following the rule of Benedict, like St.-Denis, also included a reading from the gospel at the end of Matins, but this was not true of feasts of twelve lessons.

deacons and three subdeacons assisting at Mass, and the singing of a proper sequence before the Gospel.[93]

Three Lessons

Feasts of three lessons are in many respects similar to the celebration of ordinary ferial days, e.g., Matins is only two nocturns with three lessons. Apart from a change in the color of the vestment (e.g., on the feast of a martyr such as St. Ignatius [February 1] the celebrant presumably wore a red chasuble), none of the fifty-four such feasts in Bib. Maz. 526 have rubrics indicating any ritual elaborations that would have marked the principal Mass. While there are a limited number of proper texts for such feasts, there are no other unusual marks of festivity for the eucharistic celebration of such feasts.[94]

Commemorations

Finally, there are a few saints in Bib. Maz. 526 who have commemorations in the yearly calendar. This lowest ranking for the remembrance of a saint in this liturgical book carries with it no liturgical elaborations for the celebration of the Eucharist, although sometimes the Morning Mass would be proper to the commemorated saint.[95]

Music

Previously we considered music under the category of *form*. In that regard, we noted that various rites or usages often had distinctive forms of chant or other types of music. Thus, we recognized that both the Parisian usage and that liturgy of St.-Denis demonstrated influences from Gallican chant sources, though these were quite different from each other in the way they incorporated or transcended their sources, especially before the fourteenth century.

Besides the body of chant or other musics that a cathedral or monastery possessed, the level of festivity of a given day or celebration would have been determinative of the form and style of that music within a given repertoire. For example, the above noted *Kyriale* of

[93] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, p. 178.
[94] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, p. 181.
[95] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, p. 182.

Paris organized the Ordinary of the Mass into fifteen invariable cycles arranged in descending order of solemnity from the major feasts, through Sundays, down to ferial days and *Requiem* Masses. Thus, while all Sundays would have had a sung *Sanctus* at the principal Mass, the specific *Sanctus* used on Easter, Pentecost and all other duplex feasts had both a different melody and was also much more melismatic than that sung on the Sundays of the temporal cycle.[96] We also noted above in a discussion of "ministries" that certain festivals called for multiple cantors singing certain chants simultaneously, while simpler feasts or Sundays would have had a single cantor performing said chants.

A more radical comparison is that between a principal Mass and a private Mass either recited by one of the ordained monks at St.-Denis or a chantry priest at Notre Dame. Whether or not there were singers present, legislation was already appearing by the mid-thirteenth century requiring that all chant texts must be read by the priest.[97] Thus, at the principal Mass the priest would have read the texts while cantors were chanting the sung settings of elements like the Ordinary of the Mass, while at the private Masses recited by the monks or the chantry priests, there was usually no singing whatsoever.

One should also note that every element of the Ordinary was not included, for example, on each ferial day or Sunday of the year. Thus, while a *Gloria* was ordinarily included on most Sundays of the year, it would have been excluded during Advent and Lent. The *Credo*, on the other hand—sung on virtually every Sunday of the year (except if it was a Mass for the dead, Bib. Maz. 526, fol. 10v) and all principal feasts—was never otherwise sung on a week day. On special feasts additional tropes or the inclusion of a sequence before the reading of the gospel would also change the musical landscape of a particular eucharistic celebration.

Liturgical Vesture

Besides considering variations in texts, music and ritual structure, the ranking of feasts also dictated variations in the use of vessels.

---

[96] Compare Cycle 2 for Easter and Pentecost with Cycle 13 for Sundays of the temporal cycle in Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, pp. 83 and 89 respectively.

[97] Raymond Creytens, "L'Ordinaire des Frères Prêcheurs au Moyen Âge," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 24 (1954), 235–6, nos. 47 & 49.

Great monasteries like St.-Denis and cathedrals like Notre Dame had treasuries of vesture, chasubles and copes spun from precious threads, embroidered with jewels, and dyed in rich colors. The treasury of St.-Denis, a collection of almost mythic proportions, was one of the great treasuries of medieval Europe.[98] Bib. Maz. 526 provides substantial information about many liturgical artifacts employed on specific occasions, and serves as a particular "inventory,"[99] allowing some insight into how vestments would have added particular levels of festivity beyond the addition of texts, the nature of the presider and accompanying ministers, the place of the worship, the musical embellishment of the rite, or other elements previously noted. We will highlight a few of these vestments and vessels to illustrate this point.

Alba: Bib. Maz. 526 makes numerous references to various members of the monastic community who are vested *in albis*. This often happens for the Mass of an important feast, e.g., for the vigil Mass of the patronal feast of St. Denis (October 9, 180r). Besides these ordinary albs, Bib. Maz. 526 also notes that on some special occasions such as the proclamation of the Passion on Holy Thursday, a deacon is vested in an *alba deaurata* (53r).

Cappa: The most frequently mentioned type of vesture in Bib. Maz. 526 is the *cappa*, a term which might refer to what could be considered a ministerial "cope" as well as to the simpler monastic "mantle" or *cappa choralis* which would have been part of every monks wardrobe.[100] Bib. Maz. 526 could be referring to the latter the many times it notes that *omnes sint in cappis*, often for the Principal Mass on an important feast, e.g., on the feast of St. Peregrinus (May 16, fol. 127v). Bib. Maz. 526 also mentions four other types of *cappa*, more properly understood as copes. The *cappa alba*, for example, is worn by the hebdomadarius on Christmas (fol. 15r). The *cappa nigra* is prescribed

[98] For a history of the treasury, see Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis: inventaire de 1634*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1973–1977), 1:3–59.

[99] For a more extensive discussion of this "inventory" see my "The Treasury of St.-Denis according to the Inventory of 1234 (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine 526)," *Revue Bénédictine* 105:1–2 (1995), 167–199.

[100] Bock recognizes that sometimes the *cappa* was not only called *cappa choralis* but also *casula cucullata* which underscores its use as a choir mantle by the monks. Fr. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1866), 2:283–331; also, Charles Dufresne du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. Léopold Favre, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883–1887), s.v. *cappa.*

for some, but not all commemorations of the dead, e.g., it is worn by three cantors at the Principal Mass on the anniversary of Dagobert (January 19, fol. 100v). The *cappa rubea* is worn by three cantors for the Principal Mass on the feast of the Finding of the Bodies of Sts. Denis, Rusticus and Eleutherius (April 22, fol. 119v). Finally, the *cappa festiva* is appointed almost exclusively for the *hebdomadarius* at the Principal Mass of various important feasts, e.g., the First Sunday of Advent (fol. 7v).

Dalmatica and Tunica: On occasion Bib. Maz. 526 notes that deacons are vested in dalmatics and subdeacons in tunicles. It appears that such were the ordinary vesture for these ministers at Mass, except from Septuagesima Sunday until Easter (fol. 112v). Sometimes Bib. Maz. 526 stipulates the wearing of white dalmatics and/or tunicles, e.g., for Midnight Mass on Christmas (fol. 15v). At the Principal Mass on Easter, Bib. Maz. 526 notes that a subdeacon is vested in *regia tunica* for the reading of the epistle.

Infula: One type of vesture prescribed by Bib. Maz. 526 almost exclusively for use during Mass is the *infula* or what we might call a chasuble, but it is also a term that seems to be used generically as synonym for any kind of sacerdotal or eucharistic garb. Thus, the general rubric for Mass from Septuagesima until Easter indicates that *infule* were not only worn by priests, but also by deacons and subdeacons (fol. 33v). Similarly, numerous rubrics for Masses on various penitential days or vigils indicate that *ministri altaris* and not just *sacerdotes* are vested *festivis infulis* (fol. 7v). A *candida infula* is worn by the *hebdomadarius* during Mass on Ember Wednesday in Advent and by the abbot for the reading of the Gospel at Christmas Matins (fols. 11r & 15v) The *alba infula* is worn by the priest at Christmas Midnight Mass (fol. 15v) and by the *ministri altaris* for the Principal Mass on the feast of the Annunciation (March 25, fol. 115v). On Holy Thursday the *ministri altaris* are vested in *rubre infule* for the evening Mass (fol. 51v).

Liturgical Vessels and Artifacts

Even more impressive than the collection of vestments, was the inventory of precious artifacts, vessels, reliquaries and other liturgical "instruments" held at the Abbey of St.-Denis. Bib. Maz. 526 is a rich source of sometimes unusual artifacts that from time to time were employed in the eucharistic liturgy at St.-Denis.

Ampulla: On two occasions the ordinary notes the presence of one or more *preciosa ampulla* during the offertory of the Mass. A single *ampulla* with water is mentioned for the Principal Mass on Christmas Day (fol. 16v) and *ampullis preciosis* are used during the Principal Mass on the anniversary of King Dagobert (January 19, fol. 100v). These could have been one or more of the four crystal cruets noted in later inventories.

Candelabra cristaullina: Candlesticks were carried in some of the many processions and special rituals which punctuated the liturgy at St.-Denis. Bib. Maz. 526 specifically notes their presence twenty times, with virtually no other information about them. The one exception is a set of parallel rubrics for the Principal Mass on Christmas (fol. 16v) and the Principal Mass on Easter (fol. 57r), which indicate that *candelabra cristaullina* are carried from the chevet and placed on the matutinal altar for Mass.

Sceptrum: Bib. Maz. 526 notes that a scepter is employed during the Principal Mass on Christmas and Easter (fols. 16v & 57v). In both cases this scepter is held by the subdeacon as he reads the epistle. This usage suggests that this *sceptrum* could be what is identified in later inventories as the *sceptre de Dagoberti*,[101] linking this artifact to the legendary King buried at St.-Denis, whose anniversary was a duplex feast.

Tabula: The rubrics for the Ember Saturday (fol. 35v) and the Feast of the Purification (February 2, fol. 106r) in Bib. Maz. 526 indicate that texts contained in the ordinary are to be *scriba(n)tur in tabula*, which appears to be a separate list for aiding those who are to lead the offices those days. This text also includes four references to *tabulae eburneae* or *preciosissimae tabulae eburneae*. All such references are to precious ivories which provide the text of the Mass responsory, and possibly the Alleluia and sequence as well, for some of the most important festivals of the year, such as Christmas (fol. 16v). It is likely that such references are to a set of ivory diptychs,[102] which held a single sheaf of parchment for the days chanting of a Mass responsory.

Virgae Regiae: For the Principal Mass on Christmas and Easter Bib. Maz. 526 notes that three cantors are to be assisting in the choir with *regias virgas in manibus* (fols. 16v & 57r). Such cantorial staffs were

[101] Montesquiou-Fezensac 1 & 2, no. 87; 3, pp. 9 & 66.

[102] Such as those dating from the 14th century, now in the Musée de Cluny, Montesquiou-Fezensac 3:133, pl. 114.

common in the medieval period, and a fragment of a cantorial staff dating from the end of the 14th century is in the collection of the Louvre in Paris.[103]

Taxonomic Summary

Drawing these various elements together in a taxonomic table provides an overview of many of the key variables which need to be taken into account when attempting to describe the celebration of a Eucharist during the late medieval period:

The Form					
What rite or usage	*Ambrosian*	*Bragan*	*Parisian*	*Sandionyisian*	*etc.*
When does it occur	*Principal Mass*	*Morning Mass*	*Vigil Mass*	*private Mass*	*etc.*
Why does It occur	*conventual Mass*	*ordination*	*religious profession*	*Requiem*	*etc.*
Where does It occur	*main altar*	*side altar*	*crypt*	*adjoining church*	*etc.*
The Type					
Who leads	*bishop*	*abbot*	*canon*	*prior*	*etc.*
What ministers assist	*cantor[s]*	*deacon[s]*	*subdeacon[s]*	*acolyte[s]*	*etc.*
Who is in the assembly	*monks*	*laity*	*royalty*	*confraternity members*	*etc.*
The Style					
What is the feast	*principal*	*duplex*	*12 lessons*	*3 lessons*	*etc.*
What and how is music performed	*simplex*	*solemn*	*number of texts sung*	*number of singers*	*etc.*
What vesture is worn	*ordinary*	*festive*	*from treasury*	*who wears vesture*	*etc.*
What vessels are used	*ordinary*	*festive*	*from treasury*	*use of special vessels-artifacts*	*etc.*

[103] Montesquiou-Fezensac *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis*, 1 & 2, no. 310, 3:81, 110–112; also, see Montesquiou-Fezensac 1, no. 310 bis.

With this table as a framework, we will now offer a schematic reconstruction of parallel celebrations at Notre Dame Cathedral and the monastery of St.-Denis for the 28th of July, 1280.

Sunday, the 28th of July, 1280: A Comparison

This reconstruction is based upon the primary and secondary sources concerning these two venues previously rehearsed in this essay. While some of the specifics (e.g., texts sung, vesture worn, etc.) are documentable, other specifics (e.g., the eucharistic presider) are a matter of informed conjecture. Thus, this parallel reconstruction is offered not so much as a statement of historical facts than as a historically responsible heuristic which acknowledges and concretizes some of the variables previously discussed. For the sake of comparison and contrast, Sunday, the 28th of July, 1280 was chosen because it is the 6th Sunday after Pentecost[104] which also coincides with the feast of the Consecration of the Altar of St.-Denis, commemorating the supposed dedication of an altar to Sts. Peter and Paul by Pope Stephen II in 754.[105] Since this was not a feast in the calendar of Notre Dame, the Cathedral at Paris would have celebrated the ordinary Sunday Eucharist; the monastery, however, would have celebrated this particular feast of twelve lessons, preempting the Sunday celebration.

Comparing these two liturgies side-by-side provides a detailed image of both the similarities and differences between two main Sunday Eucharists, happening less than 6 miles of each other, on the same day of the week, and on the same date in the same year. The similarities between these two celebrations of Eucharist are both obvious and substantial, as illustrated in the following enumeration:

- both occur around the same time of day;
- both are the principal Mass for Sunday;
- both take place at the main altar of the central church of each complex;
- both have an "inside" (e.g., chapter members and monks) and "outside" (local congregants as well as visitors) component to their participants;

[104] These calculations are according to Peter Blinkley of the University of Toronto at http://www.wallandbinkley.com/mcc/mcc_main.html (accessed 11 March 2009).
[105] Foley, *The First Ordinary*, p. 158.

Cathedral of Notre Dame	Monastery of St.-Denis
The Form	
What Rite: The Parisian "usage"	What Rite: The Frankish-Roman Rite, under the influence of Cluniac reform, as developed at St.-Denis
When did it occur: Principal Sunday Mass, about 8:00 a.m.	When did it occur: Principal Sunday Mass, about 7:00 a.m.
Why does it occur: Main cathedral Sunday liturgy for the cathedral chapter and the laity of the area	Why does it occur: Main monastic Sunday liturgy for the monks
Where does it occur: At the high altar of the cathedral, east of the choir stalls and separated by the rood screen from the nave of the church	Where does it occur: At the main altar of the monastery church, between the stalls and the new chevet and separated by the rood screen from the nave of the church
The Type	
Who leads: Eucharistic presider is a lesser Canon of the cathedral chapter	Who leads: Eucharistic presider is the Abbot of the monastery
What ministry assists: Presider is assisted by a deacon, subdeacon, and acolytes with the music led by a single cantor and small schola of clerics and boys	What ministry assists: Abbot is assisted by one of his deans, three deacons, three subdeacon, acolytes and two cantors leading the music with a full complement of singers including monks and boys
Who comprises the congregation: Congregation is composed of canons and minor clerics of the cathedral in the choir stalls; the household staff of the cathedral compound, laity from the area, many visitors, and some lesser nobility are outside the rood screen in the nave	Who comprises the congregation: Congregation is composed primarily of monks, along with the *iuvenes, pueri* and others affiliated with the monastery (e.g., various *conversi* or *oblati*) in the choir stalls; some visitors and a few laity from the surrounding village are outside the rood screen in the nave
The Style	
What feast is being celebrated: Sixth Sunday after Pentecost with multiple proper texts:	What feast is being celebrated: Feast of the Consecration of the Altar of St.-Denis with multiple proper texts:
Introit Ant.: *Dominus fortitudo*, Ps.: *Ad te Domine clamabo* (Ps. 27)	Introit Ant: *Dicit Dominus*
Oration: *Deus qui diligentibus*	Oration: *Deus qui nobis per singulos*
Epistle: *Sicut per unius delictum* (Rom 5:18–21)	Epistle: *Unusquisque propriam* (1 Cor 3:8–11)
Response: *Convertere Domine aliquantulum*; Versicle: *Domine refugium factus est*	Response: *Locus iste;* Versicle: *Deus cui adstat angelorum chorus*

(*cont.*)

Cathedral of Notre Dame	Monastery of St.-Denis
Alleuia: *Domine refugium*	Alleluia: *Adorabo ad templum*
Gospel: *Dixit Jesus discipulis suis* (Mt. 5:20–24)	Sequence: *Christo inclina*
	Gospel: *Non est arbor bona* (Lk. 6:43–5)
Offertory: *Perfice gressus*	Offertory: *Domine Deus in simplicitate*
Secret: *Propitiare Domine supplicationibus nostris*	Secret: *Annue quesumus Domine*
Communion: *Circuibo et immolabo*	Communion: *Domus mea*
Postcommunion: *Quos celesti*	Postcommunion: *Deus qui*
What music is sung: Music from the *Kyriale,* using the untroped *Kyrie* and other elements of the Ordinary from cycle 13	What music is sung: Music is more festive including the troped *Kyrie—Orbis factor*, and the *Sanctus* in organum
What vesture is worn: Standard Sunday vesture, including the green silk chasuble, with matching green dalmatic and green tunicle for priest-canon, deacon and subdeacon	What vesture is worn: Festive vesture is employed, with the abbot in an "ancient" red and silver threaded chasuble from the treasure, with deacon and subdeacon in recently made red and silver threaded dalmatic and tunic
The rest of ministers are in ordinary Sunday vesture; the canons and other clerics are in choir robes	Two lead cantors are in festive copes, and the entire monastic community is wearing the full monastic habit including their choir mantles [*cappae choralis*] not normally worn for Eucharist
What vessels are used: The gold chalice and paten with small inset jewels that belongs to the Vicar of St. Aignan	What vessels are used: Suger's chalice from the treasury along with the large gold paten thought to be a gift from Pope Stephen also held in the treasury

- both follow the basic structure of the Frankish-Roman rite;
- both are led by an ordained officiant, supported by at least a single deacon, subdeacon, cantor and at least two acolytes;
- the ordinary and proper of the Mass are sung in their entirety in both;
- both display a marked degree of complexity as presumed of abbatial or cathedral worship.

A listing of these similarities demonstrates that they are primarily manifest in overarching patterns of worship, and convergence is recognizable largely at the macro level. One macro difference between the two is the intentionally posited difference in the calendars of the two institutions, with St.-Denis celebrating a particular local feast, and Notre Dame celebrating an ordinary Sunday after Pentecost.

If the devil is in the details, then the "difference" side of the polarity at the heart of any analogy—previously defined as "similarity in difference"—is also in the details. We list a few pertinent such details:

- these liturgies occurred in different buildings, both at various stages of construction or reconstruction, each with their own particularities regarding the acoustics, the interplay of light, sight lines, etc.;
- the primary actors and congregants at the Eucharists are very different (monastics vs. members of a cathedral chapter);
- the number of congregants would have been different, with a larger number of laity at the cathedral;
- the rituals for preparing for the Eucharist would have been different (e.g., the requisite washing of hands by the presider before Eucharist at Notre Dame);
- there would have been difference processions before the principal Mass (at St. Denis, could have included a procession through the cloister, before moving into the church for the Introit);
- there were differences in the structural arrangement of some parts of the Eucharist (e.g., at Notre Dame they would have inverted the *Confiteor-Kyrie* sequence, which would not have occurred at St.-Denis);
- every proper text is different between the two;
- some of the texts of the Ordinary are also difference (e.g., the introduction of tropes during the Kyrie at St.-Denis);
- some of the texts of the standard rite or usage would have been different (e.g., the distinctive prayers at the Offertory employed at Notre Dame);
- each place inserted distinctive texts that did not have a parallel in the other (e.g., at Notre dame the recitation of the antiphon *Adoramus te, Christe* after the prayers at the foot of the altar, and at St.-Denis saluting the consecrated elements before reception with *Ave sanctissima caro Christi*;

- the musical settings of the Ordinary are different;
- the performance styles of the music (e.g., tempi, intonation, pitch, etc.) would have been distinctive;
- some of the ritual gestures would have been dramatically different (e.g., Notre Dame would employ a double elevation of the gifts at the Offertory, and would have elevated the host after the consecration; no evidence for either of these at St.-Denis);
- the color and quality of the vesture of the main ministers would have been different;
- the vesture of the "inner" congregations (chapter members vs. Sandionysian monks) would have been different;
- the quality and value of the main eucharistic vessels would have been different;
- the placement and role of the Eucharist in the daily horarium would have been different.

These differences, largely in the details, would have grown exponentially if we had drawn a sharper comparison: for example, by offering a parallel consideration of the principal Mass on the 28th of July, 1280 at St. Denis with the private eucharistic celebration of a chantry priest at Notre Dame or, conversely, by paralleling the principal Mass that day at Notre Dame Cathedral with the private eucharistic celebration of an ordained monk at St.-Denis. Here the distinctions would have been much starker: multiple ministers versus one minister; much music versus no music; high altar versus side altar; multiple congregants versus no congregants, etc. Nonetheless, this more tempered comparison yet makes the point, we believe, that each eucharistic celebration—be that in the 12th century or the 21st century—is analogous to other eucharistic celebrations of its time and place, in both the possibilities of its similarities and the necessity of its many differences.

Conclusion

While developments in modern hermeneutics may seem a distant dialogue partner from the study of medieval worship in the West, they provide us with important cautions and valuable nuances. Each act of worship, then and now, was and is an event. As such it is unrepeatable and wholly unique. That does not disable us from attempting to offer some insights or sketch broad landscapes of medieval worship, but it

does put us on notice that as responsible historians of liturgy, we need watch our presuppositions and our ensuing language. Unless we are doing archeological ethnography of a particular worship event in a particular time and place, and instead find ourselves more as historical landscape artists, then we must more explicitly embrace the subjunctive and analogous as essential and irreplaceable modes of narrating. Doing so renders us as interpreters on the path of integrity as we take up this exciting and important narration.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Ciferni, Andrew. "The Post-Vatican II Discussion of the So-Called Praemonstratensian Rite: A Question of Liturgical Pluriformity." Notre Dame University: Ph.D. dissertation, 1978.

Foley, Edward. *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis in France (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526)* (Spicilegium Friburgense) 32. Fribourg, 1990.

Robertson, Anne Walters. *The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford Monographs on Music). Oxford, 1991.

Wright, Craig. *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*. Cambridge, 1989.

THEOLOGY OF THE EUCHARIST IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

Gary Macy

The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed some of the greatest changes in the theology of the Eucharist in the history of Western Christianity. Beginning with the debates over the presence of Christ in the Eucharist occasioned by Berengar of Tours, theologians undertook an intense discussion of that presence. Over the course of the next two hundred years, theologians gradually appropriated the newly discovered metaphysics of Aristotle as a scientific aid for explaining how such a presence could occur. Theological discussions of the Eucharistic presence became more precise but also more esoteric. Resistance to a belief in the presence of Christ in the sacrament also marked this period. Starting in the twelfth century, several influential heretical groups denied either that Christ was present in the sacrament or that Catholic liturgy as it then existed could effect that presence. Preachers collected stories of miracles intended to refute heretical claims and miracle hosts became the focus of veneration and pilgrimage. Theologians, in turn, responded to this outpouring of devotion, sometimes with approval and sometime with skepticism.

Throughout this period, however, theologians were equally insistent that the purpose of the presence of Christ in the sacrament was to bring the believer into an increasingly intense spiritual relationship with Christ. This relationship was described in unmistakably ecclesiastical terms. To truly "receive" the body and blood of Christ was to live a life of active faith and charity within the communion of all those who so lived. Based in part on this theology, a set of popular rituals centered on the belief that certain prayers or actions could substitute for sacramental reception when coupled with an active Christian life of faith and charity. This so-called "spiritual communion" became the most common form of lay reception of the sacrament.

At the same time, church authorities determined that a properly ordained priest was the only person who could make Christ present in the Mass, while theological discussions gradually determined when in the liturgy Christ became present, by what means that presence

was brought about and how such a presence was possible. The Council of Lateran IV in 1215 mandated that all laity who had reached the age of reason were obliged to receive the Eucharist once a year from their own parish priest. These changes tended to focus on the moment of consecration as the center of the liturgy and on the priest as mediator of the presence of Christ. The Eucharistic celebration that emerged from these centuries, then, tended to transform the Mass into a spectacle performed by the priest for a laity whose participation in the sacrament took place through devotions other than those of the liturgy itself.

The Celebrant of the Eucharist

All of these remarkable changes began in the eleventh century with the sweeping reforms of ecclesiastical structures generally known as the Gregorian Reform Movement, due to its most famous advocate, Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). Most importantly for the Eucharist, the reform movement would insist that only a properly ordained priest could confect the sacrament, and further, that ordination itself was limited to the three clerical orders of sub-deacon, deacon and priest. This gradual separation of the clerical from the secular realms would more closely define the priest in terms of his ability to make Christ present in the Eucharist.

Describing the understanding of ordination that prevailed up until the reform movement, Yves Congar remarked, "…instead of signifying, as happened from the beginning of the twelfth century, the ceremony in which an individual received a *power* henceforth possessed in such a way that it could never be lost, the words *ordinare, ordinari*, *ordinatio* [before the twelfth century] signified the fact of being designated and consecrated to take up a certain place or better a certain function, *ordo*, in the community and at its service."[1] "*Ordinatio*" before the twelfth century was used to describe the selection for and appointment to any office of Christian service within a particular community. One was appointed for service only to that community, and movement to service in another community was severely condemned (although it certainly happened). Rather than receiving a

[1] Yves Congar, "My Path-findings in the Theology of Laity and Ministries," *The Jurist* 32 (1977), 180.

personal power transferable to any community, a person was chosen and consecrated to perform a particular function within one's own community. Any such selection and consecration was termed an "ordination." The dedication of kings and queens, popes, bishops, priests, deacons, deaconesses, abbots and abbesses were all termed "ordinations" during this period and, in many cases, ordination rites still exist for these positions. There is even some evidence from the early Middle Ages that the Eucharist may have been led by an "ordained" minister other than a priest. Legislation from the fourth, fifth, sixth, eighth and ninth centuries all condemned bishops who allowed women, for instance, to participate at the altar.[2] Communion rites to be lead by women, most likely abbesses, also survive from the eleventh and twelfth century.[3]

The reformers insisted, however, that ordination be understood as bestowing powers that clearly separated the priesthood from other states of life. Starting with the Council of Benevento in 1091, canonists and theologians began to insist that holy orders consisted only of those *ordines* who served at the altar, that is, the deaconate and the presbyterate. The first appearance of this teaching in theological literature occurring in a *sententia* attached to the School at Laon would insist: "The presbyterate and deaconate only are called sacred orders, because the Spirit is given only in them and therefore under no necessity ought they be received by inferiors, but others are possible, as the apostle can be read."[4] This opinion is repeated in several canonists as well as by the important master, Hugh of St. Victor, who taught in Paris from c. 1120 until his death in 1141.[5] Peter the Lombard in his influential *Sentences*, of written c. 1155–1158, offered a theological definition of this new understanding of *ordo*. Peter's definition directly linked order with power: "If, however, one asks: what is that which is here called order (*ordo*), it can indeed be said to be a certain sign, that

[2] Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (New York, 2007) pp. 60–63. On the gradual exclusion of women from contact with the Eucharist, see also Michel Lauwers, "Les femmes et l'eucharistie dans l'Occident médiéval: interdits, transgressions, devotions," in *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident* (Antiquité et Moyen Âge), Nicole Bériou, et al., editors (Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modern) 46 (Paris, 2009), pp. 445–76.

[3] Macy, *Hidden History*, pp. 63–65.

[4] *Sententia* n. 390, "L'École d'Anselme de Laon et de Guillaume de Champeaux," Odo Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, (Gembloux, 1959), p. 283.

[5] Macy, *Hidden History*, p. 96.

is, something sacred, by which a spiritual power and office is given to the one ordained."[6] This theology received its full articulation in the commentary on the *Sentences of Peter Lombard* by Alexander of Hales writing between 1220 and 1227.[7] For Alexander, ordination was defined as "a sacrament of ritual power for some office established in the church for the sacrament of communion."[8] Ordination became, in effect, a ritual that granted a male (and only a male) an irreversible right to preside over the Eucharist. This redefinition of ordination would help create a separate clerical caste that alone had the extraordinary power to change ordinary bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ himself.

This change in the definition of ordination came about slowly, however. Theologians in the twelfth century would still debate whether an ordained minister was necessary to perform the miracle which made Christ present in the sacrament. Teaching in the middle of the twelfth century, William and Thierry of Chartres were described by Abelard (1079–1142) as teaching that the words of consecration confect the sacrament no matter who pronounced the words, even if that should be a woman (*etiam mulier*).[9] A similar position was taken at the same time by the Parisian theologian John Beleth (fl. 1135–1182) who held that the words of institution effected the change even if pronounced by accident and by the laity.[10]

Theories abounded in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries concerning exactly what caused the presence in the sacrament. Some commentaries on the Mass suggested that the sign of the cross made by the celebrant over the bread and wine consecrated; others held that the entire canon worked the change. Still other commentaries suggested that the original prayer of consecration in the early Church was the Lord's Prayer. The Waldensians, started in the late twelfth century by the wandering preacher, Valdes of Lyons, were held to follow this practice by using the Lord's Prayer as the consecratory formula in

[6] *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae* 4.24.13, ed. Ignatius Brady, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Grottaferrata, 1971–81), 2: 405.

[7] Macy, *Hidden History*, pp. 90–93, 105–109.

[8] *Glossa in quatuor libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi* 4.24, (Biblioteca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi) 15 (Florence, 1951–1957), p. 401.

[9] *Theologia christiana* 1.4; CCCM 12, p. 302.

[10] *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 98; CCCM 41A, p. 78.

their liturgies.[11] The late twelfth century theologians Peter of Poitiers (c. 1130–1215) and Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160–12140) suggested that Jesus consecrated the bread and wine by means of a separate blessing, only later instructing the apostles to consecrate using the words of institution.[12]

The issue of a minister's moral standing was also a matter of theological debate. In his attempt to enforce the reform, Gregory VII urged the laity to abstain from the liturgy of a simoniac or a married priest. The result of such decrees was to empower the laity to decide the validity of a particular liturgy. Several eleventh and twelfth century preachers went even further and denied the validity of the sacrifice offered by any unworthy minister. This seems to have been the teaching of the preacher Ramihrdrus killed in Cambrai in 1074 as well as that of the early twelfth preachers Tanchelm and Albero of Merke, both condemned for this "heresy". The Waldensian similarly insisted that only a moral minister could lead a valid liturgy. When the Waldensians could not find such ministers among the priesthood, they turned to worthy laymen and women to lead their liturgies. In this practice, they would seem to be the heirs not only of the Gregorian reform, but also of an older understanding of "ordination". Not all theologians who so taught were considered heretical, however. The monastic theologians Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1092–1169) and Honorius Augustodunensis, (c. 1080–c. 1150) also denied the validity of sacraments offered by simoniacs, schismatics or priests living in concubinage.[13]

These debates left few traces in the writing of later theologians, however. By the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century all theologians accepted and defended the new understanding of ordination as limited to service at the altar centering on the permanent power to make Christ present in the Eucharist. This power was not dependent

---

[11] Gary Macy, "The 'Invention' of Clergy and Laity in the Twelfth Century," *A Sacramental Life: A Festschrift Honoring Bernard Cooke*, Michael Horace Barnes and William P. Roberts eds. (Milwaukee, 2003), pp. 124–31.

[12] Peter of Poitiers, *Sententiarum libri quinque* 4.11; PL 211:1245A–B. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia occidentalis*, 35, ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacque de Vitry: A Critical Edition*, (Fribourg, 1972), p. 226.

[13] On the validity of the Eucharist celebrated by heretical priests, see Gary Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 54–57.

on the moral life of the minister, but rather on the fact his (and again only males were considered capable of ordination) canonically valid ordination. The first official document specifically linking ritual ordination with consecration occurred in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215: "And certainly no one is able to confect the sacrament except priests who have been ritually ordained according to the keys of the Church which Jesus Christ himself entrusted to the apostles and their successors."[14] Priests needed not only to be validly ordained, however. They also needed to intend to effect what the church intended in this ritual, that is to make present the body and blood of Christ. They could not transubstantiate by accident, as had the shepherds in Beleth's miracle story. Richard of Middleton (c. 1249–c. 1302) went so far as to discuss whether a priest could intend to consecrate one of two hosts on the altar, or even just part of a single host.[15]

The official position quickly became so firmly entrenched that it was understood to have been the perpetual understanding of the Church. This enhancement of the power of the priesthood could not help but also enhance the power of the Eucharist. In a mutually reinforcing dynamic, this period also saw a dramatic insistence on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Christ was personally and truly present in every Mass, and only the priest could make this presence possible. The Eucharist became a moment of divine presence and clerical power.

The Real Presence

The first true intellectual struggle over the understanding of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist occurred at the same time as the Gregorian reforms. Starting in the mid-eleventh century, the *scholasticus* of St. Martin in Tours, Berengar (c. 1000–1088), raised serious objections to the then dominant Eucharistic theology of the ninth century theologian, Paschasius (c. 790–860). Influenced by the writings of Augustine as well as by the writing of the ninth century theologian,

[14] C. 1, ed. Antonio García y García, *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum*, (Vatican City, 1981), p. 42.

[15] *Commentaria super quatuor libros sententiarum*, 4.10.2, *Magistri Ricardi de Mediavilla Super Quatuor Libros Sententiarum* (1591; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1963), pp. 128–29.

Ratramnus (d. c. 870) (wrongly identified as John Scotus Eurigena [c. 810–c. 877]), Berengar denied Paschasius' claim that the body of Christ present in the Eucharist was the same as that born of Mary and now present in heaven.

Berengar's position was straightforward. The body and blood present in the sacrament cannot be the same as the historical body of Jesus. The historical body of Jesus must take up space and be seen, felt and tasted as a human body. This body can only exist in heaven. The presence on the altar is the spiritual body of Christ. Furthermore, the bread and wine must continue to exist as bread and wine since they are symbols that point to the spiritual presence of Christ. As Berengar explained, "as attested by all of the Scriptures, the bread and wine are converted by consecration into the flesh and blood of Christ, and it is agreed that everything that is consecrated, and everything blessed by God, is not diminished, not taken away, not destroyed but remains and is of necessity exalted into something better than it was."[16] If the bread and wine were not present, then there would be no symbols to indicate that presence. Berengar's sarcastic replies to his opponents also suggested that if it was the historical body of Jesus that was consumed in the Eucharist then sinners, non-believers and even animals could literally eat and even digest and excrete Jesus' body. Several monastic theologians, most notably John (d. 1078) and Durand of Fécamp (c. 1010–1088), Alberic of Monte Cassino (d. 1088) and Lanfranc of Bec (c. 1010–1089) responded by accusing Berengar of denying the reality of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and thus undermining the efficacy of the ritual. Hugh of Langres (d. 1050), for example, insisted that bread and wine must be changed for the Eucharist to be salvific, "If in their nature and essence, they (the bread and wine) do not have the power of salvation, they have the contrary of it, and thus, as long as they remain in their nature, (the Eucharist) will be a powerless sign."[17]

The controversy continued for over twenty years and involved several of the most famous of the Gregorian Reformers. Pope Leo IX (1048–11054) condemned Berengar's teaching at the Council of Rome

---

[16] *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*, 2.3015–20; CCCM 84, p. 183. See Charles Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy 10878–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino Against Berengar of Tours* (New York, 2003), p. 11.

[17] *De corpore et sanguine Christi contra Berengarium*; PL 142:1327.

in 1050. In 1054 Berengar signed a creed written by the papal legate Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII. In 1059, Berengar signed a second statement of belief written by the influential reform cardinal, Humbert of Silva-Candida (d. 1061). This oath took a particularly materialistic stance, asserting that the presence is "the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that sensually, not only in sign, but in truth (*non solum sacramento, sed in veritate*) they are handled and broken by the hands of the priest and crushed by the teeth of the faithful."[18] The oath entered into Gratian's famous collection of canon law thus providing one important focus for later theological discussions of real presence. Finally, Gregory VII forced Berengar to sign a much milder oath of orthodoxy in 1079 which merely insisted that "the bread and wine which are placed on the altar…are changed substantially into the true and proper vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ…which was born of the virgin…"[19] The oath famously introduced the more sophisticated philosophical term, "substantially" to describe the mode of presence of Christ's body and blood on the altar. Because Gregory accepted Berengar's recantation, he was accused of following the teachings of Berengar by the rebellious German bishops meeting at the synod of Brixen in 1080.

The Berengarian affair left few ripples outside academic circles, but the exchange between Berengar and his opponents started one of the first serious academic debates of the high Middle Ages. Long after Berengar's death, his name would be associated with anyone who denied the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Treatises on the Eucharist directed against "Berengarians" were written by Lanfranc's student, Guitmund later bishop of Aversa, (d. c. 1090/95) by Alger, canon of Liège, (c. 1055–1131) and by Gregory, Bishop of Bergamo (d. 1146). It is difficult to identify who precisely these "Berengarians" might be, but in some cases they seem to refer to the Cathars since the heretical teaching described in several of these tracts is often also ascribed to the Cathars.[20] Discussions of the Eucharist in the twelfth

[18] D. 2 de cons. c. 42; *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols. (1879; repr. Graz, 1960), 1:1328–1329.

[19] Gregory VII, *Registrum*, ed. E. Caspar, *Das Register Gregors VII*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1920–3) 2: 426–7.

[20] Gary Macy, "Berengar's Legacy as Heresiarch," *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, Peter Ganz, R.B.C. Huygens and Friedrich Niewöhner, eds. (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien) 2 (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 47–67. Reprinted

and thirteenth century were driven, then, not just by intellectual curiosity, but also by a serious concern to confront and confound heresy.

The Berengarian debate established a framework for later medieval language about the Eucharist. All orthodox theologians would identify the body of Christ present in the sacrament with Christ's body born of Mary and now present in heaven and understand that identification as a necessary corollary of a belief in the real presence. The issues arising from this teaching dominated theologian thought in this period in a way that few other issues would. Almost every major theologian from this period discussed the Eucharist somewhere in his opus. Although an exact count of such works does not exist, a conservative estimate would put the number of such discussions over two hundred and fifty. It is possible here to provide only a summary of these discussions of the real presence.

The presence of the historical body and blood of Jesus raised several difficult questions, as Berengar had already point out. How could a body be present in such a way that it was not sensed to be present? How could a body be present in more than one place? How could the body of Christ be broken by the priest in the Mass, and received into the mouths of the faithful as the oath of 1059 so crassly stated? What happened if an animal or heretic or infidel consumed the consecrated bread and wine? Finally, how could Christ remain intact if his body and blood were separated in the consecrated bread and wine? These problems, again, were not just theoretical. Cathars were reported to have raised several of these issues to justify their rejection of any presence of Christ in the sacrament.[21]

Lanfranc of Bec early in the discussion distinguished between the "essence" of the body and blood of Christ present on the altar and the "qualities" of the bread and wine that are sensed there. The sensual body of Christ remains in heaven while the essence or power of that same body is on the altar under the species or qualities of bread.[22] Lanfranc thus introduced an important distinction between the mode of presence of the historical body of Christ on the altar, and that same presence in heaven. His language, nevertheless, is inexact and can be confusing. Lanfranc's student, Guitmund, for example, was less than

---

in Gary Macy, *Treasures from the Storehouse: Essays on the Medieval Eucharist* (Collegeville, MN, 1999).

[21] See n. 20 above.

[22] *De corpore et sanguine Domini* 18; PL 150:430C.

subtle in his description of presence on the sacrament. Perhaps, he suggest, the body of Christ really is in a mouse's stomach. After all, there are worse places. The teeth of the faithful really do touch the body of Christ, as the first oath of Berengar suggests, but they merely give Christ a little squeeze.[23] For Guitmund, not just the remaining outward appearance of the bread and wine were affected by changes to it, but also the actual body and blood of Christ.

Gradually a more precise vocabulary emerged to describe the presence of Christ on the altar. Hugh of St. Victor, in his *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*, explained that it was the substance of the bread and wine that changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. The species of the bread and wine remain, however, and if anything unworthy seems to happen, it happens only to the species, not to the substance of the body and blood.[24] In the mid-twelfth century in a work most likely written by the English theologian Robert Pullen, the word "*transubstantiatio*" first appeared to describe the process by which the substance of Christ comes to replace that of the substances of the bread and the wine.[25]

Peter the Lombard in his influential *Four Books of Sentences* declined to state what kind of change took place in the Eucharist, but tended to agree that this was a change in substance.[26] The accidents of the bread and wine meanwhile remain miraculously unsupported by any substance. They can no longer adhere in the now absent substance of the bread and wine, nor could they adhere in the substance of the body and blood since they have very different sensed characteristics.[27] Any changes in the bread or wine take place in the remaining accidents or form of the bread and wine, but do not affect the substance of the body and blood.[28]

Peter summarizes the fairly sophisticated use of Aristotelian categories of his time. By insisting that the substance of the bread and wine changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, several problems were avoided. Substance, separated from its accidents, was

---

[23] *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in eucharistia*; PL 149:1433B–C; 1448 D–1449C.

[24] *De sacramentis Christianae fidei* 8.9–11; PL 176:468A–471C.

[25] Joseph Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio* 46 (1991), 147–170.

[26] *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 4.11.1; 4:296.

[27] *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 4.12.1; 4:304.

[28] *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 4.12.3; 4:306–307.

not sensed nor located in a particular place since both the sensation of a substance and its location were in fact accidents. The substance of Christ's body and blood could be in heaven with their own accidents and present on all the altars of the world without their accidents. Any change that seemed to take place to the bread and wine, including desecration or digestion, really happened to the accidents of the bread and wine that miraculously existed without any substance at all. This position was not unproblematic, however. After all, substances and accidents did not exist independently in Aristotelian thought, so this would involve one or more miracles. Further, if the substance of the body and blood existed wherever the accidents of bread and wine appeared, how did one escape the fact at least the appearance of bread and wine could make their way into the mouths and stomachs of animals, unbelievers and the unworthy? Finally, how could a substantial change take place without a change in the substance of the body and blood?

The Council of Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 famously used the word transubstantiation in its opening creed to describe the means by which the real presence occurred in the Mass. This use, however, was not intended as a formal definition, nor understood to be, by the majority of thirteenth century theologians. There was, in fact, still no common understanding of the category of substance, much less agreement on either the use of the term transubstantiation or on what the word might have meant when used. Theologians at the time fell roughly into three camps in regard to the Eucharistic change. Some believed that bread and wine remained present along with the body and blood of Christ (co-existence); others felt that the substance of the bread and wine were annihilated and replaced with the substance of the body and blood (substitution). Finally a third group argued that the substance of bread and wine was changed into the substance of the body and blood at the words of consecration (transmutation).

Peter of Capuathe Parisian master writing ca. 1201–2, could accept as orthodox all three of these explanations of the change in the sacrament, even though he himself preferred transmutation as an explanation.[29] William of Auvergne, writing perhaps as late as 1240, reviewed the different positions and stated:

[29] Quoted in Hans Jorisson, *Die Entfaltung der Transsubstantiationslehre bis zum Beginn der Hochscholastik* (Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie) 28/1 (Münster, 1965), p. 24.

> It suffices for the piety of faith, which we intend to establish here, to believe and hold that after the priestly blessing has been correctly performed, the bread of life is placed on the altar before us under the form of material and visible bread, and the drink of life is placed before us under the form of visible wine.[30]

By the end of the thirteenth century, coexistence would find few advocates, although some theologians still saw merit in this explanation, the most famous of these being John of Paris, even if they themselves rejected it. The second theory, that of substitution, found many advocates including Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), William of Auvergne, Roland of Cremona (c. 1228–c. 1232), the *glossa ordinaria* on the *Decretum* and Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308) to name only the most important.[31] The third alternative found the most widespread support, Albert the Great (c. 1200–1280) and Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) being the strongest advocates.

As theologians developed more sophisticated appropriations of Aristotle's philosophy, they attempted to situate the Eucharistic change within that philosophy. Theologians in the early thirteenth century would enumerate and compare the different kinds of change suggested by Aristotle and compare those to the substantial change that took place in the Eucharist. All would agree that the change that took place on the altar was different from any change in nature and resulted from a miracle.[32] The most developed of these arguments was that of Roland of Cremona, the early Dominican master. Roland, unlike his contemporaries, asserted that the substantial form of the bread and wine persisted throughout the change and remained to support the accidents even after the substance of the bread and wine had been replaced by that of the body and blood of Christ. The matter of the bread, on the other hand, is annihilated in the change. The substantial form of the bread (*paneitas*) and wine continue to adhere in the body and blood, but as in a place rather than in a subject. This adroit use of Aristotelian categories allowed Roland to account for the continued presence of the accidents of bread and wine without recourse to a miracle since accidents naturally adhere in a substantial

---

[30] *Magisterium divinale*, *De sacramentis*, ed. *Opera omnia* (1674; repr. Frankfurt, 1963), p. 434.

[31] Jorissen, *Entfaltung*, p. 55.

[32] Paul J.J.M. Bakker, *La Raison et le Miracle: Les doctrines eucharistiques (c. 1225–c. 1400)*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Nijmegen, (Nijmegen, 1966), pp. 155–170.

form. The substantial forms, however, do exist miraculously without matter.[33] Roland's sophisticated application of Aristotle's metaphysics to Eucharistic theology would be followed by many other such attempts in the course of the later Middle Age.

Alexander of Hales, writing between 1220 and 1236, was the first to suggest that one of the accidents of the bread and wine, namely quantity, miraculously continued to exist independently of matter after the consecration and itself took on the role of a subject in which the other accidents adhered. This is possible because the other accidents already adhere in quantity which itself inheres in a subject. God, then, can make the potentially independent existence of quantity actually exist as a subject in which the other accidents adhere. Alexander's theology was refined and developed by Dominican Richard Fishacre who taught at Oxford c. 1240–1248. Richard rejected the teaching of Roland since quantity as a mathematical entity, could more naturally take on the role of a subject for the other accidents. Richard's teaching in turn was advanced and developed by the Franciscan master, William of Militona who taught in Paris from 1245 to 1253 and by Albert the Great, the famous Dominican, teaching on the Eucharist in Paris c. 1240–1248.[34]

Thomas Aquinas, the Dominican theologian whose work would become the standard of orthodoxy for Roman Catholicism after the Reformation, inherited then a constructed metaphysics of the Eucharist. Thomas, like his predecessors, argued that at the time of the change, a miracle took place that allows quantity to miraculously support the other accidents of bread and wine as a substance normally would. Quantity was able to do this since it had the potential for such an existence, and since the other accidents already adhered in quantity. The many questions surrounding the existence of the body and blood of Christ had not been resolved, but at least on this issue, Thomas' theology represents a summary of the vexed question of how the body and blood of Christ could be present without being sensed.[35]

The explanation of transubstantiation summarized by Thomas did not go uncontested, even at the time. An extensive debate ensued

---

[33] The position of Roland is discussed in Bakker, *Raison et le Miracle*, pp. 160–164.

[34] On the teaching of Alexander and his successors, see Bakker, *Raison et le Miracle*, pp. 294–302–313.

[35] For a recent discussion of Thomas' position, see Bakker, *Raison et le Miracle*, pp. 294–302.

involving both the larger question of the use of Aristotle to explain Christian mysteries and the narrower question of whether Aristotle's philosophy could be used as had been suggested. While Peter Olivi (c. 1248–1298), the Franciscan theologian, bemoaned the introduction of "the pagan Aristotle" into theological discussions,[36] a more extreme position was taken by Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1277 when he found Aquinas' view on transubstantiation to be contrary to faith.[37] A less critical result was a vigorous debate over the role of quantity in metaphysics and hence its role in sustaining the accidents of bread and wine in the Eucharist. Lively discussions of transubstantiation would continue throughout the Middle Ages.

By the end of the third quarter of the thirteenth century the explanation of how it was possible for the historical body and blood of Christ to be present on the altar had become extremely complex. Ordinary Christians could not be expected to understand the complicated arguments supporting the different theories that comprised transubstantiation. Of course, church officials hardly expected anyone but theologians to understand. For the ordinary layperson, it was enough to believe that somehow Christ was really present in the consecrated bread and wine, that is, to believe in real presence. Contrary to what is still popular believed transubstantiation was not an article of the faith. Theologians could and did get into trouble for their theories of transubstantiation if university or episcopal authorities perceived some heresy in that teaching, especially if they were thought to have implied a denial of the real presence. For the ordinary Christian, however, transubstantiation must have been something like quantum physics for non-scientists today. It is an amazing thing we trust a scientist can explain. To continue the comparison, miracle host stories perhaps played the same role as science fiction movies. They both demonstrate how something powerful and even dangerous is going on here, but the actual explanation of it is best left to the experts.

Reception of the Eucharist

The whole point of the Eucharist as a ritual, however, was to receive the body and blood of Christ as it existed under the appearances of

[36] David Burr, *The Persecution of Peter Olivi* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 31.

[37] On the condemnations of Thomas's theology, see James Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought and Works* (Washington, DC, 1983), pp. 335–338.

bread and wine. Not surprisingly, a good part of the theological discussions from this period were dedicated to describing what constituted a valid communion.

The problem was not straightforward, however. Theologians insisted that the body and blood of Christ were present for all recipients, whether good or bad. Yet, it was clear that only the virtuous benefited from such reception. The question then necessarily arose of why the bodies of sinners or infidels or even animals do not become immortal once in contact with body of Christ through reception. Beginning with Lanfranc, the most intelligent of Berengar's foes, it was customary for theologians to speak of two modes of reception in the Eucharist. Basing themselves on Augustine, worthy reception was described as spiritual communion, and unworthy reception became known as either corporeal or sacramental reception. Both forms of reception assumed that the believer actually consumed the consecrated species. It was agreed that all believers, sinners or not, received the true body and blood. Only the just, however, received the saving effect of this reception. Theologians disagreed about animals and infidels. Some argued all received the true body of Christ, mice and men alike. Others insisted that only believers received; unbelievers and animals ate only the species of bread and wine.[38]

Three forms of reception were imperfectly associated with the different elements of the Eucharist. Sacramental reception entailed reception of both the outward appearance of bread and wine and of the body and blood of Christ, while spiritual communion entailed an effective union of faith and love. Of course, one could also receive both sacramentally and spiritually when one consumed the species worthily.

The most influential theology of the Eucharist from the twelfth century was that which emerged from the cathedral school of Laon and the school of the Augustinian canons at St. Victor in Paris, in part due to the influence these schools exerted on Peter the Lombard in his influential *Four Books of Sentences*. These two schools elaborated a theology that focused on the purpose of the Eucharist. Theologians from these schools understood the function of the sacrament as the celebration of and the growth in an active life of faith and charity. The question soon arose whether one could achieve this effect of worthy reception without actually receiving the consecrated bread and wine. Works associated with the school of Anselm at Laon argued that this

[38] Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p. 47 et passim.

was indeed possible. To describe this form of reception, they introduced a third form of communion, spiritual reception alone. According to these theologians, one could receive the full benefits of the Eucharist by devotional acts that demonstrated a union with God in faith and love.[39]

An anonymous work of the School of Loan, the *Summa sententiarum* (c. 1125–1150) first proposed a framework for this understanding that would be adopted by nearly every later medieval theologian. In this theology, the *sacramenta* (symbols or signifiers) of the ritual were the appearance of bread and wine, the *res sacramenti* (thing symbolized or signified) was an active life of faith and love also defined as the unity of the Church. Between these two lies the real presence that is both signified by the appearance of bread and wine and signifies a life of faith and love (*sacramentum et res sacramenti*). For the *Summa sententiarum* and particularly for Hugh, the great master of the School of St. Victor, the real presence itself cannot be the end result of the ritual. Just as the presence of Jesus on earth was only a means to lead his followers to a deeper spiritual union with God, so too the presence in the sacrament is meant to lead to a spiritual union with Christ acted out in the life of faith and love which constitutes the Church.[40]

The first theologian to address systematically the role of the Eucharist as a symbol was the secular master and later convert to the Franciscans, Alexander of Hales. Alexander pointed out that reception depended upon the recognition of the sign value of the symbol by the recipient.[41] In Alexander's commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, written ca. 1222–23, he explained that since the body of Christ is spiritual food, only an intellectual nature is capable of receiving it. As Augustine had pointed out before him, the outward sign of the bread and wine lead to the inner reality of the presence of Christ. Only an intellect can reach beyond the sign to the reality behind it. Animals then receive simply the outer forms, the taste of bread and wine. Only humans can

[39] Macy, *Theologiesof the Eucharist*, especially pp. 86–96.

[40] *De sacramentis*, 8.13; PL 176:470D–471B.

[41] Ideas similar to Alexander's can be found in earlier works. For references, see Gary Macy, "Reception of the Eucharist According to the Theologians: A Case of Diversity in the 13th and 14th Centuries," *Theology and the University*, John Apczynski, ed. (Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the College Theology Society, 1987) 33 (Lanham, MD, 1990), pp. 15–36; repr. in Macy, *Treasures from the Storehouse*.

understand symbols, and therefore only humans can access the presence of Christ underlying the symbol of bread and wine.[42]

Writing between 1220 and 1236 in a work now known as the *Quaestiones disputatae "Antequam esset frater*," Alexander offered a fuller explanation of this form of symbolic theology. There are three kinds of union possible in the Eucharist according to Alexander. One can be united in thought, in love and in nature to Christ. Those who existed before the coming of Christ could be united in thought and love, but not in nature. Angels, too, having a different nature than Christ, cannot receive him naturally. Then, too, Christ can be received with more or less love, and more or less understanding. This means there are different degrees of reception of Christ. Perfect reception would take place only in heaven, Alexander intimated. Those who receive the sign alone, like Jews and pagans, are united only to the sign, as if it were mere bread. Again there is a union of those who both believe and understand the reason for the sign. Finally, there is the greater union of those who believe and love, and this is spiritual reception.[43]

Alexander also discussed the question of whether only rational creatures have the ability to receive this symbol It would seem that irrational creatures must be able to receive since, once transubstantiation takes place, the body of Christ remains as long as the species of bread remains. If an animal receives the species of bread, it ought as well to receive the body of Christ. If, however, by symbolic reception is meant that the recipient touches the reality behind the sign and not just the sign, then neither animals, nor Jews, nor pagans can be said to receive symbolically. True to his principles, Alexander asserted that to receive symbolically, properly speaking, is to be united either in nature or faith or charity with Christ. Certainly animals cannot then receive. Even Jews and pagans, however they might share in the same human nature as Christ, do not receive symbolically since they do not understand the reality underlying the signs.[44]

For Alexander, then, the presence of Christ in the Mass is simply not present for animals, nor for humans who don't know or don't believe

---

[42] Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in quatuor libros sententiarum*, 13.5., eds., Collegium S. Bonaventurae, *Glossa in quatuor libros sententiarum* (Bibliotheca franciscana scholastica medii aevi) 15 (Florence, 1957), p. 204. Cf. also 10.7, *ibid*., pp. 161–62.

[43] *Quaestiones disputatae 'Antequam Esset Frater,'* 199, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, *Quaestiones disputatae 'Antequam Esset Frater,'* (Bibliotheca franciscana scholastica medii aevi) 19–21 (Florence, 1960), pp. 966–67.

[44] *Quaestiones disputatae*, 205–210, Collegium S. Bonaventurae, pp. 699–700.

the consecrated bread and wine are symbols of that presence. Despite what popular miracle stories might intimate, the presence of Christ in the Eucharist cannot be desecrated by animals since they don't understand symbols, nor even by pagans or Jews who don't believe that the bread and wine are symbols.

Alexander's theology would be very influential. At least three important theologians of the next generation would directly or indirectly follow Alexander's theology. The Franciscans, William of Militona and Bonaventure, and the Dominican, Albert the Great, all followed Alexander in asserting the importance of a true theology of sign in the reception of the Eucharist.

William of Militona, writing ca. 1245–1249, followed Alexander in his lengthy and elaborate explanation of reception. Because it is a sign, understood only by reason or faith, only rational creatures are capable of accessing of the Christ in the Eucharist. Irrational animals are only capable of receiving the accidents of the species, that is the symbol alone. Rational creatures are able receive when they access that signified by the sign through faith or knowledge. Animals receive only the accidents with no substance, so it cannot even be called eating. William argued that reception by unbelievers is only accidental as well, but with the potential for symbolic reception.[45]

William summarized his thought in the following manner: "Therefore an animal is united with the accidents alone; for unbelievers, who inwardly believe nothing, is added an aptitude for symbolic or spiritual reception; for those having a deformed faith is added a knowledge of that to which they are united; to those having a true faith, in which charity is included, is added a union of love."[46]

Bonaventure, perhaps the greatest of the Franciscan theologians, followed his predecessors in emphasizing the importance of the disposition of the recipient in the Eucharist. A long discussion of this issue occurs in his commentary on the *Sentences*. Probably written in the late 1240s or early 1250s, it is possible that he revised the commentary during his teaching career that ended with his election as minister general in 1257. According to Bonaventure, three conditions are necessary for true reception: first, one must be capable of understanding

[45] William of Militona, *Quaestiones de sacramentis*, ed. C. Piana and G. Gál, *Quaestiones de sacramentis* (Bibliotheca scholastica medii aevi) 23 (Florence, 1961), pp. 695–700.

[46] *Ibid*., p. 701.

that symbols point beyond themselves to another reality; secondly, one must believe; thirdly, one must understand the significance of a particular symbol in order to receive. It is because mice and angels cannot meet these requirements, that they are incapable of reception.[47] Angels do not perceive reality by means of symbols and mice are incapable of understanding symbols at all. To put this understanding in more modern terminology, angels immediately perceive the reality underlying sense data. For mice, all there that exists is sense data.

Bonaventure pointed out that symbolic reception must involve reception of the bread and wine as a true signs. First, this means that the consecrated bread and wine must be received as food with the intention of eating them as food. Secondly, the recipient must be capable of understanding a sign, and in fact of understanding *this* sign. The recipient must intend to receive the body and blood of Christ as the Church believes. Therefore, only humans can receive symbolically. Bonaventure disagreed slightly with William of Militona over the question of heretics. Bonaventure conceded that a heretic might receive symbolically if the heretic intended to accept what the Church believes to be present. With this one exception, Bonaventure's presentation is very similar to William's. Bonaventure, however, articulated more clearly the role that symbols play in accessing the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[48]

Bonaventure also made clear the distinction between *situs* and *actus* in rituals. If one objects that the species of the consecrated bread and wine cannot be separated from the substance of the body and blood after the consecration, Bonaventure argued that while this might be true as far as *situs*, that is the body and blood are in the same the place or location as the species. The two may be separated, however, *ad actum*, that is to say that whatever happens to the species does not also happen to the body and blood contained under the accidents. Just as the species are broken by the priest and nothing happens to the body and blood, so too the species can be received by an animal or infidel without touching the body and blood which are contained under this

[47] Bonaventure, *Commentaria in quatuor libros sententiarum*, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, *Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae… Opera omnia*, 10 vols. (Florence, 1882–1902), 4:204.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 204–5.

sign. Only through the intention of the recipient to receive what is believed to lie under the species can the body and blood be attained.[49]

In his commentary on Distinction 13 of Lombard's fourth book, Bonaventure discussed what would happen if a mouse ate the consecrated species. First, he argued that a mouse receives some food, but does not receive symbolically or spiritually. Secondly, he argued that just as a mouse cannot be baptized, so a mouse cannot receive the Eucharist.[50] Bonaventure then went on to discuss two different opinions as to what a mouse eats when it gnaws the consecrated bread. First he describes the thought of those who argue that since the presence of the body and blood lasts as long as the species, therefore as long as the species subsist in the stomach of the mouse, the body and blood are also present. The mouse is not truly said to eat the body and blood in this case, however, for the mouse cannot reach the body and blood either in nature, nor through knowledge nor in love. Bonaventure rejects this opinion for it is offense to piety to think that the body and blood of Christ might be in the stomach of a mouse.[51]

Bonaventure next discussed the opinion of those who argue that the mouse could never eat the body and blood of Christ, for Christ is only under the sign in so far as this sign is directed to human use, and since a mouse is incapable of this, the body and blood disappear and substance of the bread returns. Bonaventure called this opinion "more common, more honest and more reasonable."[52] Bonaventure then asked whether the body and blood of Christ might descend into the stomach of a human. He clearly states that in so far as the effect of the ritual is concerned, the body and blood never descend into the stomach, but pass into the mind of the believer. Whether the substance of the body and blood descends into the stomach is a more doubtful issue, however. Bonaventure cites four different opinions here. The first argues that wherever the species subsist, the substance of the body and blood exists, even in the stomach of a mouse. The second opinion states that the body and blood descend into the stomach of humans alone, and that the substance remains there as long as the species are suitable for refection. A third opinion also holds that the substance descends into the stomach of a human in so far as that act

[49] *Ibid*., p. 205.
[50] *Ibid*., p. 307.
[51] *Ibid*., p. 308.
[52] *Ibid*., p. 308.

is part of reception, but the substance does not remain in the stomach of the recipient. The final opinion recorded by Bonaventure describes the presence as lasting as long as any part of the species is sensed. After the species are no longer sensed, the further presence of Christ is spiritual, not metaphysical.[53]

Bonaventure pointed out that all four opinions have reasons to support them, and that it is difficult to judge between them. He rejected the first opinion again because it would be impious to think of the body of Christ in the stomach of a mouse. He also rejected the fourth opinion for it lacks tightness of thought. A human being, after all, can also sense food in his or her stomach. Bonaventure would, however, accept both of the other positions as probable. It is probable, therefore, that the body and blood are present only so long as the eating takes place, but that they do not remain in the stomach of the recipient. It seemed to Bonaventure more probable, and more reliable to say, however, that the body and blood remain in the stomach of the recipient so long as the species have their proper form and are suitable for human consumption.[54]

For Bonaventure, then, even more than for Alexander and William, the presence of Christ in the Eucharist is only accessible when the consecrated bread and wine are really food, and further that the recipient understands the bread and wine to be symbols of Christ. When the bread and wine can no longer be used as food, for instance if the bread gets moldy or has been chewed by a mouse, there simply is no longer any presence. Nor is there any presence for those who do not understand the bread and wine to be symbols either because they are intellectually incapable of understanding symbols, or because they don't understand that this bread and wine are symbols.

Bonaventure's contemporary, the Dominican Albert the Great discussed this question at least twice during his long career. His earliest treatment, that contained in his *De sacramentis*, was written ca. 1240. In this short discussion, he followed the teaching first expounded by Alexander of Hales. He explained that since the body of Christ is spiritual food, only an intellectual nature is capable of receiving it. As Augustine had pointed out the outward sign leads to the inner reality and only the intellect can so reach beyond the sign to the reality

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 310–311.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

behind it. Animals then receive only outer forms, the taste of bread and wine. Only humans can understand symbols, and therefore only humans can make contact with the presence of Christ underlying the symbol of bread and wine.[55]

A much longer and more important discussion of the reception of the Eucharist takes place in Albert's commentary on the *Sentences*, written in 1249. Albert distinguished two ways in which the Eucharist might be said to be received symbolically, as opposed to spiritually. One could say that in one sense, only the sign is received, with no understanding of what the sign meant. On the other hand, one could receive the sign while understanding its meaning. Infidels can only receive in the first sense.[56] In discussing the requirements for either symbolic or spiritual reception, Albert specified more clearly his concerns in this matter. It is necessary for symbolic reception that some sort of relationship exists between the recipient and thing received. Therefore, at least some sort of faith is required, and so infidels cannot be said to receive. Yet, Albert did not wish to deny that the body of Lord must be present wherever the species of the bread and wine exist.**?30?**

Albert attempted to resolve his dilemma in discussing the further question of whether the body of Christ can be said to pass into the stomach in reception. He answered by arguing that there are two ways that Christ's body can be said to enter into the stomach. The body could enter the stomach and be digested like any other food, and this is clearly impossible. Secondly, the body could be said to merely exist in the place where the bread happens to be, that is, in the stomach. In this case, one might say that Christ's body does enter the stomach. Albert's problem here has to do with the metaphysics involved in the change. "I do not see, rationally, how the body of Christ cannot pass into all places into which the species of bread and wine pass, they being the sign under which the whole Christ is contained, according to the truth of the reality signified (*res*)."[57] In saying this, however, Albert was aware that his opinion ran counter to that of at least some of the other masters, and he was careful to put his ideas forward cautiously.

---

[55] *De Sacramentis*, ed. Bernhard Geyer, *Opera omnia*, 37 vols. (Monasterii Westfalorum, 1951–), 26:65A–B, 66A.

[56] *Commentarii in Sententiarum*, 4.9.3; ed. August and Emil Borgnet, *Opera omnia*, 38 vols., (Paris, 1890–99), 29:218.

[57] *Commentarii in Sententiarum*, 4.9.5; 29:220.

He ended his discussion with the caveat, "And I say this without prejudice, because some masters say the opposite."[58]

Albert made explicit in his commentary that a tension existed between a true symbolic theology and the metaphysics involved in the Eucharistic change. If the Eucharist is truly a sign, then only those capable of understanding such a sign can be said to be capable even of unworthy reception of the body and blood of Christ. Yet if a true substantial change takes place in the Eucharist, then the body and blood must be present wherever the species of bread and wine exist. Albert's solution would seem to be similar to that of Bonaventure. The body and blood exist as long as the species can be sensed, but no connection exists between the recipient and Christ except in faith. Albert did go further than any of his predecessors, however, in emphasizing the importance of metaphysics over the theology of sign by insisting that the body and blood must be present *everywhere* the species exist. This at least implies that the body and blood must be present in the stomach of an animal or infidel, a suggestion Alexander, William and Bonaventure reject. It is no wonder that Albert made this suggestion tentatively.

These tentative suggestions would find a full-fledged defense in the work of the most famous of Albert's students, and indeed the most famous of the Dominicans, Thomas Aquinas. Thomas first tackled the subject of Eucharistic reception in his commentary on the Lombard's *Sentences*, thought to reflect his teaching in Paris from 1252 to 1256. Thomas accepted two forms of reception, symbolic and spiritual. Symbolic reception entails reception both of the species and of the body and blood. Thomas was aware that some theologians admitted forms of reception that included either reception of the species alone or participation in the Mystical Body alone. He accepted the latter, but the former he rejected as inappropriate to the Eucharist, for this would entail a purely accidental reception.[59]

In discussing whether a sinner can receive the body of Christ, Thomas abandoned the usual arguments in favor of such a reception based on the faith of the sinner. Instead Thomas firmly insisted that sinners receive because the change of the substance of the bread and

---

[58] *Ibid*., 29:220.

[59] *Scriptum super sententiis magistri Petri Lombardi*, ed. M.F. Moos (Paris, 1947), pp. 365–366.

wine into the body and blood of the Lord, once it takes place, cannot be reversed except by another substantial change. As long as the accidents of bread exist, the body and blood of Christ continue under that symbol. Only when digestion so changes the species that they are unrecognizable, are the body and blood separate from the species. Thomas clearly followed Albert on this point, "As long as the species are not changed, there is no way for the body of Christ to cease to be here."[60] This principle made Thomas' further discussions of this question awkward, for it would assume then that both animals and infidels receive the substance of the body and blood, both difficult positions to maintain.

Thomas answered these problems by distinguishing, as Bonaventure had before him, between reception as understood in terms of the thing received and reception in terms of the receiver. In terms of what is received, anyone who receives the species receives the body and blood of Christ. In terms of the receiver, however, only those receive who understand this food to be a visible sign of the spiritual reality underlying it. In this sense, neither infidels nor animals can be said to receive the body and blood. Thomas explicitly rejected the opinion of Bonaventure, however, that animals cannot receive the body and blood as it exists under the signs of bread and wine. "This reason is not valid because of two things," Thomas insisted. First, the species are not changed immediately in the stomach of the animal, and therefore no change can take place in the substance supporting these accidents. The host could be removed and still be used. Secondly, just because a thing is not used for its intended purpose, it does not cease to exist. Therefore, Thomas explained, the body and blood of Christ are received into the mouth of animals and descend into their stomach.[61] Even Thomas seemed somewhat uneasy about this rather disgusting conclusion and in one passage Thomas seemed momentarily to forget that he had rejected reception of the accidents alone based on his own metaphysical principles. "Irrational creatures in no way spiritually eat, nor symbolically, because they neither use this eating as a sign, nor eat the sign for the reason that it is a sign. Therefore infidels are not said to eat symbolically who intend to receive what the Church

[60] *Ibid*., pp. 368–9.
[61] *Ibid*., pp. 370–371.

receives, but believe nothing to be here. And similarly someone who eats a consecrated host, not knowing that it is consecrated, does not eat symbolically in that way, because he does not eat the sign except *per accidens*."[62]

Writing some twenty years later, Thomas, in one of his last writings, would merely repeat his insistence that the metaphysics of the Eucharist outweigh the importance of the intentionality of the believer. In the *pars tertia* of the *Summa theologiae*, Thomas presented virtually a repetition of his arguments in the *Commentary on the Sentences*, and once again, Thomas explicitly rejected Bonaventure's argument against reception by animals.[63]

Perhaps not surprisingly, Thomas insisted that transmutation was the only acceptable understanding of transubstantiation. In his theological works, he rejected both co-existence and substitution as theologically and metaphysically unsound. Thomas also commented on the creed of Lateran IV in a letter to the archdeacon of Todi (most likely Giffredus d'Anagni) written sometime in the 1260's. Thomas, as one might imagine, identified transubstantiation with a very technical understanding of transmutation, and held that this is the meaning of the creed of Lateran IV. He went further than this, however, and explicitly held that the creed condemned coexistence: "It (the creed) says, however, *under the species* in order to exclude the error of certain persons who have said that in the sacrament of the altar the substance of bread and the substance of the body are contained together." Thomas then went on to prove this from scripture, again insisting that this is the meaning of the letter of Innocent. Although Thomas did not use the word "heretical" of this opinion, he certainly intended it. The parallel usage of the word "error" for the denial of the real presence makes this clear.[64]

In summary, Thomas' theology differs significantly from that of not only Bonaventure, but other thirteenth century theologians in insisting that any reception of the accidents also includes reception of the Body and Blood. The necessary metaphysical connection between the accidents of the bread and wine and the substance of the Body and

---

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 371.

[63] 3.80, ed. P. Caramello, *Summa theologiae tertia pars* (Rome, 1956), pp. 488–491.

[64] *Expositio super primam et secundam decretalem ad Archidiaconum Tudertinum*, ed. H.-F. Dondaine, *Opera omnia*, (Rome, 1882–), 40: E38, col. 2.

Blood overrode the theological understanding of the Eucharist as a true sign. Like his mentor, Albert, however, he was reluctant to speak of reception by animals or infidels as true sacramental reception. It was more precisely, no reception at all. If metaphysically, the connection between the accidents of bread and wine and the substance of the Body and Blood could not be broken by the intention of the recipient, neither could it be said that there was any connection, even a sacrilegious one, between an unintentional recipient and the Body of the risen Lord contained in the sacrament.

Thomas' approach to this question is extremely important. First, his arguments would, of course, carry great weight during and after the Reformation in debates about the Eucharist. Secondly, and more interestingly for historians perhaps, he was outspokenly in disagreement with several prominent predecessors and contemporaries. His was certainly the minority opinion when he taught it, and it seems, remained the minority opinion at least until end of the thirteenth century, and, outside the Dominican order, beyond.[65]

It was the teaching of Alexander of Hales, William of Militona and Bonaventure that carried the day, however. Their insistence that the Eucharist operated as a true *sacramentum* (sacred symbol) meant that as a symbol, the species of bread and wine allowed access to the underlying reality of the body and blood of Christ only to those who could use symbols, and more specifically, only to those who understood the meaning of this symbol. There was an inherent tension, therefore built into the Eucharistic theology as it developed by the mid-thirteenth century. On one hand, theologians insisted, Thomas and Albert emphatically so, that the real presence of Christ was reliably present in the consecrated species. On the other hand, according to Alexander and his followers, that presence was only available to the faithful. Metaphysics and miracle might cause the presence, but only intention allowed access to it.

---

[65] On this point, see Yves de Montcheuil, "La Raison de la Permanence du Christ sous les Espéces Eucharistiques d'apres Saint Bonaventure et Saint Thomas," *Mélanges théologiques*, 3rd ed., (Paris, 1951), pp. 71–82; Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P., "La Relation au Christ dans l'Eucharistie selon S. Bonaventure et S. Thomas d'Aquin," *Sacrements de Jésus Christ*, J. Dores and Louis-Marie Chauvet, eds. (Paris, 1983), pp. 70–106 and Macy, "Reception of the Eucharist."

Theology and Popular Practice: Spiritual Communion and Eucharistic Miracles

The real presence itself, however, was also a *sacramentum*, that is, a religious sign or symbol. It was not the end result of the Eucharist, but merely pointed to that result. The point of the sacrament (the *res tantum*; literally "the reality alone") was a union of faith and active love. This teaching provided theological support for the growing practice of "spiritual communion," or ritual substitution for sacramental communion. Theologians from the first half of the twelfth century and continuing throughout the Middle Ages would insist that reception of the *res*, that is living a life of union with Christ in faith and love, sufficed for salvation with or without the added graces of sacramental reception. Such a reception of the *res tantum* (the reality signified) was designated as "spiritual reception" and was understood as the purpose of the Eucharist and indeed the real point of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Based on this theology, theologians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would recommend spiritual reception for those too ill to receive sacramental reception, or those for whom sacramental reception would be sacrilegious due to serious sin. Writing in the early thirteenth century, the Parisian theologian William of Auxerre would describe sacramental communion as the prerogative of the priest while the people receive spiritually.[66] Thus a theological justification existed for the infrequent sacramental communion that marked this period.

Further this theology was intrinsically linked to the membership in good standing in the Church. Theologians defined the requirements for such membership differently, but the majority insisted that the quality of reception depended upon a growing union with Christ that manifested itself in a life of faith and active charity. This definition of the *res sacramenti* corresponds exactly with the most common definition of the Church given by theologians of the period. Based on the writing of Augustine, the Church was understood as essentially the community of all the just from the time of Abel (*ecclesia ab Abel*) whether or not those just were members of the institutional Church, or indeed, even Christian. The important studies by Yves Congar demonstrate that for the majority of the theologians of the time, including

[66] *Summa de officiis ecclesiasticis*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15168, fol. 89v2.

Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, the most common definition of the church was that of the Mystical body of Christ made up of all good people.[67] True reception of the Eucharist then was understood by theologians to celebrate and strengthen membership in this union of the saved that is the true Church.

Stories of miraculous reception, or prevention thereof, strengthened belief in the practice of spiritual communion. Sacramental reception could be miraculously supplied to those worthy to receive the Christ but denied access to the sacrament, while sacramental reception could be deadly for those who attempted to participate in a ritual that symbolized a life they were not living. Miracle stories are only the most striking of the form which devotion to the real presence would take.[68]

Within and outside the liturgy, popular devotion centered on the practice of spiritual communion. Although sacramental communion was usually reserved for the annual Easter Duty, there were religious and particularly religious women who wished to receive more frequently, even weekly. In general, spiritual directors discouraged such "familiarity". Instead a whole series of substitutes for sacramental reception, designated as spiritual communion, grew up during this period. By the end of the thirteenth century, the most popular form of spiritual communion involved offering prayer and petition during the elevation after the consecration. However, writers speak of several other practices as well. To take the eulogia or blessed bread was considered a suitable substitute for sacramental communion and was even used for viaticum when no consecrated bread was available. The blessing over the people as well as the kiss of peace were also suggested by theologians as substitutes for sacramental reception by some writers. One anonymous writer from the twelfth century even records the reception of three blades of grass by wounded knights on the battlefield as a suitable substitute for viaticum.[69]

Several very popular commentaries on the Mass from this period were written specifically to urge their readers to greater dedication to the Christian life symbolized and strengthened by the Eucharist. These

---

[67] The classic study of issue is Yves Congar, "Ecclesia ab Abel," *Abhandlungen über Theologie und Kirche: Festschrift für Karl Adam* (Dusseldorf, 1952); reprinted in *Etude d'ecclésiologie médiévale* (London, 1983). See also Congar's *Esquisses du mystère de l'Église*, new edition, (Paris, 1953) and *L'Église de saint Augustin à l'époque moderne* (Paris, 1970).

[68] The theologians approach to miracle stories will be discussed below.

[69] Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, pp. 93–95.

commentaries describe a particular kind of Eucharistic piety: a devotion to Christ in the species, but not an adoration of the species; a great compassion and sympathy for Christ in the passion that went beyond ritual actions to make demands in the believer's moral life. Once again, these writings, originally given as sermons, strengthened the tendency of the period to focus on spiritual communion rather than sacramental communion as the purpose of lay participation in the liturgy.[70]

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, then, witnessed an explosion of devotions to the real presence in the Eucharist. Within the liturgy, the new ritual of the elevation of the consecrated bread and wine became the focus of lay participation in the liturgy, while spiritual communion replaced sacramental communion as the ordinary means of reception for the laity. Popular imagination, however, also saw in the consecrated bread and wine a power that operated outside the liturgy. Miracle hosts were considered relics that drew large number of pilgrims and offered proof against heresy of the continued presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine. For centuries, communities had kept some of the consecrated bread in churches in order to be taken to those sick or dying. This reserved species was more and more also treated as a relic, becoming the focus for extra-liturgical prayer.[71] The power thought to inhere in the body of Christ was even used for magical purposes as the popular stories written to discourage this use attest.

Before this period the consecrated bread in particular had already assumed a kind of extra-liturgical power. In the early Middle Ages, the consecrated bread was carried by travelers for luck and was buried with the faithful to ensure safe passage to heaven. Reception of the consecrated species was used as a form of trial by ordeal, particularly by clergy. If the accused was guilty, the reasoning went, the presence of Christ would publicly expose the guilt of the accused.[72]

---

[70] Gary Macy, "Commentaries on the Mass in the Early Scholastic Period," *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. Lizette Larson-Miller (New York and London, 1997), pp. 25–59; repr. Macy, *Treasures from the Storehouse*. On the importance of this theme in preaching, see Nicole Bériou, "l'eucharistie dans l'imaginaire des prédicateurs d'Occident (XIIIe–XVe siècle)," in *Pratiques de l'eucharistie*, pp. 879–925.

[71] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (New York, 1991).

[72] G.J. Snoeck, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist* (New York, 1995).

Miracle stories concerning the consecrated bread and wine circulated during the early Middle Ages but usually recounted events of the distant past. In the twelfth century this changed dramatically. Peter Browe in his *Die Eucharistichen Wunder des Mittelalters*, collected over a hundred accounts of visions, miracles and wondrous occurrences involving the consecrated species from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[73] Many of the miracles are described as occurring in order to disprove heresy, or discourage the superstitious use of the host for magic. The miracles could take many forms. The consecrated bread might bleed onto the altar cloth, or turn into bloody flesh. In cases like these, where the miraculous flesh or bloodied corporal continued in its transformed state, the remains were treated as relics and became the object of pilgrimage and devotion.

Other forms of miracles were also recorded. Lost in prayer, or plagued by doubts, individuals or entire congregations might see the host shine brightly or be transformed into a small child. Anthony of Padua (d. 1231), the Franciscan preacher, refuted heretics by displaying a consecrated host to a starving donkey who dutifully knelt in worship. Stephen Langton recorded the story of a host lost in the woods, but found weeks later untouched by the forest animals who, out of reverence, refused to eat what might seem like bread. The miracles concerning animals are particularly interesting, since orthodox writers at least believed that the Cathars would offer the consecrated species to animals to prove that there it was nothing but ordinary bread. Miracle stories like that performed by Anthony dramatically reversed the supposed Cathar experiments.

Miracles also occurred to discourage superstitious use of the host. In a story repeated by several late twelfth and early thirteenth writers, a host was stolen in order to make a love potion. When the perpetrator hid the host in a tree, the bees that lived there made a cathedral as a reliquary to house the body of Christ. Several similar stories relate the foiled attempts of the sacrilegious to use the power of the real presence to seduce or produce good crops. The cruelest form of this story justified intolerance by describing how Jews or other non-Christians were miraculously prevented from ritual desecration of the host. In a final form of miracle story, a sick or dying person who could not ordinarily take food miraculously received the body of Christ. The story

[73] P. Browe, *Die Eucharistischen Wunder Des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1938).

usually takes the form of the host melting into the heart of the person when it is laid on their chest. Holy men and particularly women were reputed to have received the host from Christ himself when refused communion by their confessors, or to be able to distinguish miraculously between consecrated and unconsecrated hosts. Sinners in miracle stories, of course, are marvelously revealed as such when they attempt to receive communion and are sometimes even struck dead in the attempt to communicate.

The stories were not just the stuff of popular imagination nor of anti-heretical sermons. The stories were collected and used as theological arguments for the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist by several late twelfth and early thirteenth century theologians. Peter the Chanter, teaching in Paris c. 1170–1193, was one of the first theologians to include miracle host stories in as part of theological discussions. Prepositinus of Cremona, chancellor of Paris from 1206 to 1210, also included a discussion of several miracle stories. Peter the Chanter's students, however, have the most extensive such discussions. Raoul Ardens (c. 1192–1215), Robert Courson (c. 1208–1212/3) and Stephen Langton (c. 1187–1206) and Jacques de Vitry (1220–1221) all included numerous miracle host stories among their theological proofs for the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Curiously, the practice of recounting miracle host stories as part of the theological discussions of the real presence seems to have abruptly ceased by the third decade of the thirteenth century. The most important theologians of the next generation, William of Auxerre, Alexander of Hales, William of Auvergne and Hugh of St. Cher, make no mention of miracle host stories. Later writers starting with the Dominican, Roland of Cremona (c. 1228–c. 1232) seriously doubted the stories of miracles. Thomas Aquinas provided a particularly scathing critique of Eucharistic miracles, describing the preservation of miracle hosts by some bishops as "wicked."[74]

Theologians were not immune to the growing popular devotions to the Eucharist. Spiritual communion may in fact have been inspired by the theology developed in the schools. At the very least, professional theology provided support for this practice. Theologians also

[74] On miracle hosts in theological treatises, see Gary Macy, "Medieval Theology of the Eucharist and the Chapel of the Miracle Corporal," *Vivens homo* 18 (2007), 59–77.

recorded and discussed the numerous miracle stories that circulated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At least in the case of some late twelfth and early thirteenth-century theologians, these stories provided a valuable and valid proof of the real presence. Later theologians may have been suspicious of the miracles, but they could not ignore them. Theology and popular belief were not yet separate endeavors in this period.

Conclusion

The period from 1000 to 1250 in Western Christianity saw a remarkable change in the understanding as well as the practice of the Eucharist. In the eleventh century the debate over the theology of Berengar of Tours began what was arguably the first serious theological debate of the high Middle Ages. During the debate, theologians forged a vocabulary for affirming and explaining the presence of the historical body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar. The threat to that presence was not perceived to have ended with Berengar, however. The denial of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, particularly by the Cathars, was considered a serious threat. The Waldensians attacked orthodoxy by denying that an unworthy minister could validly offer the liturgy. By the end of the century, both of these groups were fading, but probably not perceived to be so by their orthodox contemporaries. Smaller groups continued to challenge the necessity of the Eucharistic liturgy well into the thirteenth century.

The challenge of the heretics demanded a response from the professional theologians and canonists. Gradually, they determined with growing precision who could validly lead the liturgy, at what moment the real presence appeared, and what brought about that presence. More importantly, they endeavored to construct a technical language that would explain how Christ could be truly present in the liturgy and yet not apparent to the senses of the faithful. The result was a complex debate on the means by which Christ became present in the sacrament as well as how and why this presence might persist. By the end of the century, theologians differed over how best to describe the presence of Christ in the Eucharist and while they all agreed that a belief in the real presence was necessary for orthodoxy, they disagreed whether any further specification of that presence was so required.

As a result of the eleventh century reforms, a growing emphasis on the status and power of the priesthood simultaneously augmented the importance of the Eucharist. By the mid-thirteenth century, theologians and canonists had redefined ordination. Rather than the selection and commission by a community to service to that community, ordination was understood to bestow the power to make Christ present on the altar. Only an ordained priest had this power, a power that set him apart from other Christians not only legally, but also spiritually. Ordination and hence the Eucharist became a question of power.

Theologians continued to insist throughout the period, however, that even the real presence on the altar was not as important as the celebration of an active life of faith and charity. The liturgy offered salvation only to those living such a life and neither sacramental reception nor the real presence itself could do more than symbolize and celebrate a life of active faith and charity. This constituted not only true participation in the sacrament, but membership in the Church of the saved. Further, theologians argued, one did not need ritual communion if one already had the result of the ritual. As a result, the practice of spiritual communion largely replaced that of actual reception of the consecrated bread and wine for the majority of the laity.

In short, the Eucharist as experienced by the average Christian and as understood by professional theologians would have undergone arguably its greatest change at any time in Christian history, at least until the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Bakker, Paul J.J.M. *La Raison et Le Miracle: Les Doctrines Eucharistiques (c. 1250–c. 1400)*, 2 vols. Nijmegen, 1999.

Cooke, Bernard. *The Distancing of God: The Ambiguity of Symbol in History and Theology*, Minneapolis, 1990.

Geiselmann, Rupert. *Die Eucharistielehre der Vorscholastik*, Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur-und Dogmengeschichte, 15/1–3. Paderborn, 1926.

Jorissen, Hans. *Die Entfaltung der Transsubstantiationslehre bis zum Beginn der Hochscholastik*, Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie, 28/1. Münster, 1965.

de Lubac, Henri. *Corpus mysticum: L'Eucharistie et l'église au moyen âge. Étude historique*, 2nd. ed., Théologie. Études publiées sous le direction de la Faculté de Théologie S.J. de Lyon-Fourvière 3. Paris, 1949.

Macy, Gary. *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West*. New York, 2008.

——. *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period*. Oxford, 1984.

——. *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist*. Collegeville, MN, 1999.

de Montclos, Jean. *Lanfranc et Bérenger: La controverse eucharistique du XIe siècle*, Études et documents 37. Louvain, 1971.
Radding, Charles and Fancis Newton. *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy 10878–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino Against Berengar of Tours*. New York, 2003.
Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge, 1991.
Schulte, Raphael. *Die Messe als opfer der Kirche. Die Lehre frühmittelalterlicher Autoren über das Eucharistiche Opfer*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forshungen 35. Munich, 1959.
Snoek, G.J.C. *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction*. Leiden, 1995.

THE EUCHARIST AND CANON LAW IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

Ian Christopher Levy

All of the Christian sacraments pertain in one form or another to the Church. Sacraments have no natural place outside of this sacred community. There is never any sense in which a person can really be said to receive or administer a sacrament alone; there is always the larger body of Christ to consider. Hence it is only natural that canon law, which is itself designed to bring rational order to the life of the Church, would devote a good deal of space to the Holy Eucharist, itself the preeminent Christian sacrament, and absolutely integral to the very life of the Church. So central was the Eucharist to the sense of Catholic identity and community that refusal to communicate at major feast days was regarded as nothing less than a rejection of the Church herself. Given the centrality of this sacrament, therefore, the principal concern of the canon law collections was to ensure that the Mass was properly celebrated. As they sifted through the materials at their disposal—patristic quotations, conciliar decisions, papal rescripts—the compilers of these collections, and the lawyers who later commented upon them, were concerned above all else with practical matters. In that sense, theology was not their chief concern, although some rather sophisticated theology could be employed at times in order to resolve difficult practical problems. Actually, we shall see that by the late twelfth century the canon lawyers were taking full advantage of the progress being made in the theological schools. Hence stipulations that stated things rather simply in the early eleventh century—for instance, that a priest who allows the eucharistic host to be eaten by a mouse will do forty days penance—require much more detailed analysis two centuries later. Now the lawyers are asking what precisely that mouse has eaten: just a wafer or the Lord's very own body? What about heretics and infidels; do they receive Christ's body? If someone is too sick to receive the chalice, but only the host, is he or she thereby deprived the Lord's salvific blood; if not, why exactly? These are certainly theological questions which were taken up by the masters in Paris, but they also speak to 'real world' concerns that needed rational answers. Indeed, the lawyers

had to tackle these questions precisely because canon law—inasmuch as it is a science—must pursue a course of reasoned inquiry. To their credit, the canonists were not content to repeat bare assertions: they had to provide a coherent rationale to support their conclusions.

Regino of Prüm

Although this essay is devoted to the Eucharist in later medieval canon law, a word should be said about an early collection that not only gives us some insight into eucharistic practices at the end of the Carolingian era, but one that also provided material for later collections. In about the year 906, at the request of Archbishop Rathbod of Trier, Regino of Prüm compiled the *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*.[1] His collection was designed to assist bishops in their visitations as they dealt with both the clergy and laity of their diocese. In assembling this work, Regino drew upon canonical collections such as the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, the *Hispania*, the *Dacheriana*, and the Pseudo-Isidorian collection. In addition to these sources he also incorporated material from the councils and penitentials of the Frankish church. It must be noted, however, that Regino felt free to alter, and add to, this material so as to bolster its authority and thereby serve his larger purposes.[2] A number of the canons concerning the Eucharist would be incorporated into later collections, most notably the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms which proved to be widely influential in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. So as not to be overly repetitive we will save our examination of much of this common material for the following section.

As one might expect from such an early collection, the eucharistic canons found in Regino's work place much greater emphasis upon practical concerns than upon theological exposition, although one does find brief theological reasons offered on occasion to explain the significance of a particular stipulation. Generally the canons set down

---

[1] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et Disciplinis Ecclesiasticis*, ed. F.G.A. Wasserschleben (1840; repr. Graz, 1964). The text may also be found in PL 132:175–400. See the recent edition with German translation by Wilfried Hartmann, *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm* (Darmstadt, 2004).

[2] Paul Fournier and Gabriel le Bras, *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1932), 1:244–68; Roger Reynolds, "Law, Canon: To Gratian," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* [hereafter *DMA*], ed. Joseph Strayer, 13 vols. (New York, 1982–89) 7:406–407.

the 'nuts and bolts' required for a proper celebration of the Eucharist. One finds, for instance, a canon stipulating that only the cleanest linens may cover the altar.[3] As for the corporal, it must be made from the cleanest and purest linen, and no other material—whether more or less precious—may be mixed with it. And note here the theological justification: it is because the corporal symbolizes the shroud that wrapped the Lord's body in the tomb. Nor may the corporal be left on the altar after the Mass; rather, it should be placed either in the book of sacramentaries or stored with the chalice and paten in a very clean place.[4]

That the altar is a place reserved for the priest is evinced by the canon which maintains that when the faithful bring up their offerings they shall be received by the minister who will then place the offerings upon the altar.[5] In fact, Regino presents a number of canons that restrict the laity's interaction with the consecrated host. Here at the outset of the tenth century the lay men and women may not receive the host in their hands;[6] they are forbidden to take the host to the sick;[7] and women must not approach the altar.[8] Many of these canons will be recounted by Burchard of Worms as we shall see just below. At all events, with regard to the offering itself, it may only consist of what the Lord himself has established: hence no milk, honey, or animals.[9] Only bread along with the wine mixed with water is acceptable. And here again we are offered a brief, and well established, theological explanation for this stipulation: the mixture of wine and water symbolizes the union of Christ and the people.[10] This reflects ancient practices in place by the second century; and it was Cyprian who proposed its symbolic value.[11] In fact, this canon, like the one equating the corporal with Christ's burial shroud, testify to the deeply symbolic quality of virtually every aspect of the Mass. Finally, the vital soteriological role that the Eucharist played in the life of the faithful is evinced by the canon

[3] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 60, p. 52.
[4] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 69, pp. 55–56.
[5] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 63, p. 53.
[6] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 202, p. 102.
[7] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 121, pp. 77–78.
[8] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 200, p. 102.
[9] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 64, p. 53.
[10] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 67, p. 54.
[11] Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans., Francis Brunner, 2 vols. (Westminster, MD, 1992), 2:38–40.

which stipulates that the priest should always have a eucharistic host prepared for the sick, lest anyone die without having communicated.[12]

Burchard of Worms

Burchard of Worms completed his *Decretorum Libri XX* around the years 1008–12, a project that was part of his greater effort to improve the level of pastoral care within his diocese. Burchard was assisted in this endeavor by Bishop Walter of Speyer and Olbert, the future abbot of Gembloux. Of the total 1,785 canons, Burchard drew some 900 from just two collections: Regino of Prüm's aforementioned *De ecclesiasticis* and the *Collectio Anselmo dedicata*, an anonymous work composed c. 885 and dedicated to Anselm II, the Archbishop of Milan. The rest of the canons were taken from a wide variety of sources including the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, the *Collectio Hibernensis*, and the Pseudo-Isidorian collection, in addition to material drawn from both Roman law and Germanic tribal law. Finally, Burchard also drew upon the Church Fathers, chief among them Gennadius, Augustine, Gregory, and Isidore of Seville. Even more so than Regino, however, Burchard felt free to take liberties with the material that he used, especially when it came to the inscriptions that preceded the canons. Thus he would sometimes alter the attribution in order to make canons conform to his own approved list of authorities. He would even add—albeit unacknowledged—his own material to some canons so that they might better comply with the rest and thereby create a more consistent text.[13]

There are many canons in Burchard's collection which pertain to the correct celebration of the Mass.[14] A consistent theme throughout

---

[12] *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 70, p. 56.

[13] For the definitive study of Burchard's *Decretum* see: Harmut Hoffmann and Rudolf Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms* (Munich, 1991). For more on Burchard and his work see Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident*, 1:364–421; J. Pétrau-Gay, "Burchard de Worms," in *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique* [hereafter *DDC*], ed. R. Naz, 7 vols. (Paris, 1935–65), 2:1141–57; Stanley Chodorow, "The Decretum," in *DMA* 4:128; Roger Reynolds, "Law, Canon: To Gratian," in *DMA* 7:407–408; James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London, 1995), pp. 32–33; Greta Austin, "Jurisprudence in the Service of Pastoral Care: The *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms," *Speculum* 79 (2004), 929–59.

[14] Rather than note the source of every canon that I will cite from Burchard's *Decretum*, I refer the reader to the list found in Hoffmann and Pokorny's *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*, pp. 173–244. They provide the original source of each canon where possible as well as the collection from which Burchard has drawn it.

is the separation of the spiritual and the temporal. This is borne out in canons that lay great emphasis on the related principles of reserved sacred space and the clear distinction between the priesthood and the laity. First of all—barring some otherwise great necessity—the Mass may only be celebrated in sacred spaces.[15] More precisely, the Mass should only be celebrated in places which have been consecrated by the bishop.[16] For it is reasoned that if the Jews, who served in the shadow of the law, had offered their holy sacrifices in divinely designated places, this is all the more reason why Christians in the age of grace and truth should worship in spaces consecrated to God. Hence it is only in these sacred buildings that the Mass should be sung and heard, again unless some grave necessity prevents it—thereby in keeping with the ancient principle that necessity knows no law.[17] In practical terms, therefore, bishops and priests should not celebrate the Mass in private homes.[18] Nor should the laity demand such a thing, as this is deemed tantamount to polluting the holy mysteries. As noted, though, there are times when a priest may have to celebrate Mass outside of a church, if on a journey, for instance. But even then it must be performed in a clean place, in a tent, and not without a consecrated table.[19]

As for the priest himself, the moral state of the celebrant was of great importance. Indeed, it would have to be in light of the general efforts to increase the stature and authority of the priesthood. Thus we read that priests who are vexed by various demons and passions are prohibited from handling the sacred mysteries and thus should not minister at the altar.[20] Providing, then, that the priest is morally fit, he must proceed correctly, which means that he is obliged to celebrate Mass in all of his sacerdotal vestments: amice, alb, stole, maniple, and chasuble. And these vestments must be very clean.[21] When at the altar

---

[15] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.57; PL 140:684A–B: "De Ecclesiarum enim consecratione, et de missarum celebrationibus non aliubi, quam in sacratis Domino locis absque magna necessaitate fieri debet…"

[16] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.56; PL 140:683D.

[17] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.58; PL 140:684C–685C.

[18] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.60; PL 140:686A: "Quod non oporteat in domibus oblationes celebrari, ab episcopis vel presbyteris."

[19] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.61; PL 140:686A.

[20] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.72; PL 140:689A: "Bene siquidem majorum regulis definitum est ut, daemoniis aliisque passionibus irretitis, mysteria sacra tractare non liceat."

[21] *Decretorum libri XX* 2.50; PL 140:634C.

his head must be uncovered.[22] Jungmann notes that legislation passed in the ninth century, such as at the Synod of Mainz in 813, prohibited priests from celebrating the Mass alone, thereby attempting to preserve the social nature of the Eucharist.[23] Hence the canon here which requires at least two other people be present at the Mass to respond to the priest. Indeed, the plural forms in the liturgy itself require this, as when the priest offers the words *Dominus vobiscum*, or asks in the secret prayer, *Orate pro me*.[24] Furthermore, a priest who celebrates Mass must also communicate.[25]

Part and parcel of the increased emphasis on the solemnity of the Mass, and the reverence shown to the consecrated host, was a clarification of boundaries between the clergy and laity. Priests must not pass off to the laity what are increasingly regarded as exclusively clerical duties. We have already touched on this with Regino of Prüm, and here we see that Burchard will present many of the same canons aimed at rolling back what was perceived to be the laity's co-option of sacerdotal tasks, and thus correcting the intrusion of the laity—especially the female laity—into sacerdotal space. For it is lamented that priests—who sometimes do not even communicate themselves—are handing the chalice to common women, or to laymen, who cannot recognize the value of this spiritual food. Instead, the canon instructs the priest to reverently consume the consecrated host and then hand the chalice and bread to the deacon and sub-deacon who are ministering at the altar with him. He may place the cup and bread in their hands. No layman or woman, however, may receive the body of Christ in their hands, but only in their mouths.[26] And only those in holy orders may communicate at the altar.[27] Nor may priests give the body of Christ to any layman or woman for the purpose of bringing it to the sick.[28] Canons dealing with women state, moreover, that they

---

[22] *Decretorum libri XX* 2.231; PL 140:673A.

[23] Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 1:225–26.

[24] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.74; PL 140:689C.

[25] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.78; PL 140:690B.

[26] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.76; PL 140:689D-690A: "Nulli autem laico aut feminae Eucharistiam in manibus ponat, sed tantum in os ejus cum his verbis ponat: Corpus Domini et sanguis…" Cf. *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 202.

[27] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.33; PL 140:758D: "Solis autem ministris sacro ordini deditis ad altare accedere, et communicare liceat." This is not from Regino of Prüm, but from the *Collectio Anselmo dedicata* 10; 104.

[28] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.30; PL 140:758B: "Pervenit ad notitiam nostram, quod quidam presbyteri in tantum parvipendant divina mysteria, ut laico, aut feminae sacrum

may not approach the altar nor assume duties assigned to men.[29] Did Burchard have specific reason to include these canons; were these active situations that a reforming bishop felt compelled to address here at the outset of the eleventh century? Or were these canons merely gathered up with the hundreds of others drawn from the *De ecclesiasticis* and the *Collectio Anselmo dedicata*, all of which may propose sound practice even if they have no immediate application? Perhaps there is no way to answer these questions definitively, but there is good evidence to suggest that women were still distributing communion throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries.[30]

As we have seen the altar is a sacred space that must be treated with the utmost respect. It is the place where the Lord's body is consecrated, his blood drunk, where the relics of the saints are hidden, and where the prayers of the people are offered up in the sight of God. Hence (as noted with Regino) it should be covered with only the cleanest linens and cloths, and nothing may be placed upon it apart from the relic case and Gospel books. With the completion of the Mass the chalice and paten, the book of sacramentaries, along with the priestly vestments, are then to be stored in a clean place under bolt.[31] Nor may the sacred vessels be put to any other use than the service of divine worship.[32] And once again we see that the corporal upon which the sacred oblation is immolated should be of the purest and cleanest linen. It should not remain on the altar except during the time of the Mass, but should be placed within the book of the sacramentaries, or hidden away in a clean place with the chalice and paten.[33] The precise fabric of the corporal is very important. Mass must not be celebrated upon silk or dyed cloth, but rather upon pure linen consecrated by the

---

corpus Domini tradant ad deferendum infirmis, et quibus prohibetur…Quod quam sit horribile, quam detestabile omnium religosorum animadvertit prudentia." Cf. *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 121.

[29] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.100; PL 140:693C: "Quod non oporteat mulieres ingredi ad altare, et ea contingere quae virorum officiis deputata sunt." Cf. *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 200.

[30] See Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination* (New York, 2008), pp. 61–63. See also Jean Leclerq, "Eucharistic Celebrations without Priests," *Worship* 55 (1981), 160–68, esp. 165–67.

[31] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.97; PL 140:693A.

[32] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.105; PL 140:694C.

[33] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.98; PL 140:693B.

bishop, for it was in just such clean and fine linen that Christ himself was laid in the tomb.[34]

Burchard will repeat many of Regino's stipulations regarding the sacrificial elements. The chalice must contain the mixture of wine and water, thereby recalling the blood and water that flowed from the side of Christ at his crucifixion, as well as symbolizing the union of believers with Christ.[35] No element may be neglected, therefore, but nor may anything be added beyond what the Lord himself commended to his disciples: bread along with the mixture of water and wine.[36] Hence it is explicitly forbidden for the priest to offer up such things as honey or milk, nor cider in the place of wine, nor any sort of animal.[37]

The eucharistic elements themselves are, of course, to be shown the greatest care both inside and outside the celebration of the Mass. Drawing largely upon the Irish penitential, *Excarpsus Cummeani*, the canons state that if through negligence the blood from the chalice is spilled on the ground it must be licked up and the priest will do forty days penance. A spill that remains on the altar can be sucked up by the minister resulting in only three-day penance.[38] A host that decays through age is to be burned and the ashes buried beside the altar.[39] Any priest who fails to take good care of the consecrated hosts, such that they are eaten by a mouse or some other animal, must do forty days penance. If he loses the host and it is not found, then twenty days penance.[40] If wine can be spilled, so too can the host be vomited. Hence any layman who vomits up the Eucharist owing to drunkenness or gluttony will do forty days penance. If a cleric, monk, or deacon also forty days; if a priest seventy days; and a bishop ninety days. If, however, a person has vomited due to illness, then the penance is only seven days.[41] Yet the person who vomits up the Eucharist which is

[34] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.99; PL 140:693B–C.
[35] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.2; PL 140:752c–753A.
[36] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.3; PL 140:753A.
[37] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.8; PL 140:754B.
[38] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.47; PL 140:761C.
[39] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.50; PL 140:762B.
[40] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.51; PL 140:762B: "Qui non bene custoderit sacrificium, et mus, vel aliquod aliud animal comederit illud, quadraginta dies poeniteat."
[41] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.46; PL 140:761C. This canon is not from the *Excarpsus Cummeani*, but rather the *Excarpsus Bedae-Egberti*, and can be found in Regino's *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* L. 1, c. 151.

then licked up by dogs will do one hundred days of penance.[42] Here, then, we have a set of established penances befitting the different sorts of malfeasance, but we still have to wait about a hundred years for metaphysical discussions of these ill-treated hosts.

No matter the increased emphasis on the distinctive roles of the priesthood and laity during the celebration of the Mass, the Eucharist remained the principal sacrament of Catholic unity which bound the faithful together throughout the liturgical calendar. Hence the laity were expected to communicate at the very least three times a year: Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. Only grave sins should impede reception.[43] Reception at these three times is not simply preferable; it is a clear indication of one's faithfulness to the Church. Indeed, it is stipulated that those who do not receive communion on these holy days will not be considered Catholics.[44] The fact is that frequency of communion among the laity declined after the fourth century, such that the Synod of Agde (506) decreed the minimum communion to be the aforementioned three occasions: Easter, Pentecost and Christmas. Despite an attempt during the Carolingian period to re-establish communion during every Sunday Mass such frequency was never recovered. Jungmann opines that the decline may be attributed to penitential practices such that, by the tenth century, sacramental confession was required before any reception of communion. The requirements of ritual purification prior to reception also intensified for married couples and for women. There were demands for fasting or abstinence from meat, thus calling for greater and greater devotional commitment. It may indeed be for this reason that the idea of spiritual communion developed in the twelfth century.[45]

---

[42] *Decretorum libri* 5.48; PL 140:762A: "…si vero canes lambuerint talem vomitum, centum dies qui evomit, poeniteat."

[43] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.17; PL 140:756A.

[44] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.23; PL 140:757A: "Saeculares vero, qui in Natali Domini, Pascha, et in Pentecoste non communicaverint, catholici non credantur, nec inter catholicos habeantur."

[45] Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:360–64. Theologians throughout the twelfth century discussed the possibility of spiritual communion whereby the *res sacramenti* of the Eucharist could be received by the devout even apart from actual communion with the *sacramentum*. For if the consecrated host were a means to spiritual union with Christ, then it seems possible that one could bypass that intermediary stage and move right to the ultimate reality. On this see Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 73–105.

That one must be properly disposed to receive the Eucharist is certainly borne out in the canons. For example, a man must refrain from sexual relations with his wife for three, five, or even seven days, prior to receiving holy communion.[46] One should not, moreover, receive communion following a meal, or even after very light refreshment, except in the case of receiving the viaticum.[47] The laity, however, also have the responsibility of exercising a modicum of discernment regarding the qualifications of the celebrant. Thus they are not to receive the Eucharist from the hands of a priest who is incapable of fulfilling the rite through the prayers, readings and other observances of the Mass—in other words an illiterate priest should not celebrate the Mass.[48] On the other hand, the laity should not set themselves up as arbiters of clerical morality. Hence one finds a canon—here when the Gregorian reforms are still some decades in the future—that the laity may not abstain from the offerings of a married priest as though his married state prohibited him from celebrating the Mass.[49]

Anselm of Lucca

Anselm of Lucca was a Benedictine monk born in 1036, made bishop of Lucca in 1073, and a cardinal by 1079. He died in 1086. Anselm was also a trusted friend and supporter of Pope Gregory VII. Indeed, his *Collectio Canonum*, which he completed by 1083, was a work very much intended to bolster the Gregorian reform effort and proved to be of considerable influence. Drawing on previous collections, including the work of Burchard, Anselm devoted seventy chapters in Book Nine to the sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and Eucharist.[50] Here he drew heavily upon Augustine when dealing with the question of sacraments administered by heretics and simoniacs. That is only to be expected since these were matters of central concern for the Gregorian

---

[46] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.22; PL 140:757A.

[47] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.35; PL 140:759A.

[48] *Decretorum libri XX* 5.36; PL 140:759A: "Sacrificium non est accipiendum de manu sacerdotis, qui orationes, vel lectiones, et reliquas observationes in Missa, secundum ritum implere non posset."

[49] *Decretorum libri XX* 3.75; PL 140:689D: "Si quis decernit prebyterum conjugatum tanquam occasione nuptiarum quod offere non debeat, et ab ejus oblatione ideo se abstinet, anathema sit."

[50] Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident*, 2:25–37; and A. Amanieu, "*Anselme de Lucques*," in *DDC* 1:567–78.

reformers in their attempt to wrest the clergy out from under lay control even as they sought to establish higher standards of clerical conduct. The effort to strengthen the unique authority of the priesthood in all things sacramental is certainly evident in Anselm's collection. Hence we read that the priest may only celebrate Mass in a place consecrated by the bishop.[51] It is also stipulated that only priests have the right to preach;[52] and only consecrated priests (*sacrati sacerdotes*) may celebrate Mass or offer sacrifice at the altar.[53] Now we also see one of the hallmarks of the Gregorian reform program, namely the push for clerical celibacy, as the canons stipulate that priests and deacons must remain chaste and live apart from women.[54]

As noted above, it is in Book Nine that the Eucharist receives the most attention. Here one finds the basic precepts that one would expect: only bread and wine mixed with water are to be offered;[55] the sacrifice must be celebrated upon pure linen that has been consecrated by the bishop.[56] Yet there is now more attention given to the theological dimension of the Mass. The miraculous nature of the eucharistic transformation is emphasized: the presence of Christ's body on the altar is said to exceed the natural order, as did Christ's birth from the Virgin Mary.[57] The flesh of Christ is true food and drink;[58] and we eat this body of Christ in order to become participants in eternal life.[59] Given the increased emphasis placed upon the host as the vivifying body of the Lord, greater specificity will be required when discussing its reception. Early law collections, as we have just seen with Burchard, certainly demanded due moral preparation. But what happens if someone is not prepared—what do they receive? Here we have an answer: although evil recipients of the Eucharist do indeed receive the true body of Christ, it will not be effective for their salvation; instead they bring judgment upon themselves (1 Cor. 11:29). Hence those who consume the Eucharist unworthily (*indigne*) receive

[51] *Anselmi Episcopi Lucensis Collectio Canonum una cum Collectione minore* 7, c. 118, ed. Fridericus Thaner, 2 vols. (Oeniponte, 1906–15), 2:414.
[52] *Collectio Canonum* 7, c. 122; 2:415.
[53] *Collectio Canonum* 7, c. 119; 2:414: "Sicut non alii quam sacrati Domino sacerdotes debent missas cantare nec sacrificia super altare offerre…"
[54] *Collectio Canonum* 7, c. 124–127; 2:416–17.
[55] *Collectio Canonum* 9, c. 1; 2:459.
[56] *Collectio Canonum* 9, c. 2; 2:459.
[57] *Collectio Canonum* 9, c. 9; 2:461.
[58] *Collectio Canonum* 9, c. 7; 2:461.
[59] *Collectio Canonum* 9, c. 8; 2:461.

no benefit from it. Having said that, however, the canon affirms that this remains the true body of Christ even as the wicked eat it to their own condemnation.[60]

Ivo of Chartres

Born c. 1040 in Beauvais, Ivo of Chartres studied in Paris and Bec (perhaps under Lanfranc) before being raised to the bishopric of Chartres in 1090. He died in 1116. Ivo's *Decretum*, compiled in 1093–94, is a massive work containing some 3,760 fragments drawn from the fathers, councils, and papal decrees. It was divided into seventeen parts, dealing with matters of law that concern the sacraments, clerical estates, papacy, laity, homicide, and excommunication—in short, issues that touch upon every aspect of life within Christian society. Ivo was certainly reliant upon early canonical sources, most notably Burchard of Worms. Yet Ivo also drew upon a wide variety of theological sources that were not limited to the Church fathers. Indeed, he called upon Carolingian authors such Rabanus Maurus, Hincmar of Rheims, and Haimo of Auxerre, in addition to sources as recent as the eleventh-century writers Lanfranc of Bec and Fulbert of Chartres. Yet the *Decretum*, while enjoying short-term success, ultimately proved too unwieldy for later generations who relied instead upon a smaller collection also attributed to Ivo.[61]

Ivo has long been considered to be the author not only of the *Decretum*, but also of a shorter collection known as the *Panormia* which was produced some years later and proved to be very popular throughout the Middle Ages. Recent scholarship, however, has called the authorship of the *Panormia* into question. There are various reasons to doubt that the *Panormia* was the work of the same man who authored the *Decretum* in light of its reconfiguration of common material and its use of separate sources. Here, though, we can just note what the relationship

---

[60] *Collectio Canonum* 9, c. 10; 2:462: "…sic indigne quisque sumens Dominicum sacramentum non efficit, ut quia ipse malus est malum sit, aut ad salutem non accipit nichil acceperit. Corpus enim Domini et sanguis Domini nichilominus erat etiam illis quibus Apostolus ait: Qui manducat, inquit, indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit."

[61] See Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident*, 2:55–99; L. Chevailler, "Yves de Chartres," in *DDC* 7:1641–66; A. Becker, "Ivo von Chartres," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* [hereafter *LThk*], ed. J. Höfer and K. Rahner 11 vols. (Freiburg, 1957–67) 5:826; Stanley Chodorow, "The Decretum," in *DMA* 4:128; Roger Reynolds, "Law, Canon: To Gratian," in *DMA* 7:411.

between these two works meant for the Eucharist in medieval canon law. In the first part of Book Two of the *Decretum* there is a collection of patristic eucharistic sources that is also found in a separate work written by Ivo in response to the Berengarian controversy (*Ep.* 287; PL 162:285–88). As for the *Panormia*, even as its compiler drew upon the *Decretum* for some eucharistic canons, he occasionally confused this material, mixing up, for instance, Augustine and Ambrose. Yet he did not simply get the fathers wrong, he also attributed to Augustine eight passages which are really the work of Lanfranc. And the greater significance of this is that—given the popularity of the *Panormia*—these mis-attributions made their way into many later works of theology and canon law, most notably via Gratian of Bologna who relied upon the *Panormia* when compiling his own *Decretum* a few decades later.[62] Clearly this is significant since such an error thereby read eleventh-century theology back into the patristic era and thus imbued it with all the authority that the fathers enjoyed.

Given the fact that all the canons in the *De sacramento eucharistiae et celebratione missarum* section of the *Panormia* can be found in Gratian's *Decretum*, we will postpone our analysis of this material.[63] Something should be said, however, with regard to Ivo's treatment of the Eucharist in his *Decretum*. That this was a matter of great concern to him is evinced by the fact that he devoted the whole of Book Two to this topic: *De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini*.[64] Here one finds sometimes lengthy quotations from the fathers, most notably Augustine and Ambrose, which affirm the doctrine of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist. Yet, as touched upon above, Ivo will also incorporate recent material drawn from Lanfranc of Bec in his debate with Berengar of Tours. Included as well is the *Ego Berengarius* confession produced at the 1059 Roman council convened by Pope Nicholas II. This document, written by Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida and signed by Berengar, is famous for its extremely materialistic depiction

---

[62] Here I am dependent upon the illuminating study by Christof Rolker, "The Earliest Work of Ivo of Chartres. The Case of Ivo's Eucharist florilegium and the Canon Law collections Attributed to Him," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 93 (2007), 109–27. See also Rolker's *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge, 2009). My thanks also to Dr. Martin Brett for his help on these matters.

[63] *Panormia* cc. 123–162; PL 161:1071C–1084A.

[64] *Decretum* 2, PL 161:135A–200A. Ivo's *Decretum* is being re-edited by Martin Brett and Bruce Brasington, sections of which can currently be found on-line.

of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. In fact, Ivo begins with the theological material concerning real presence before turning to the practical matters of sacramental administration that we find in Burchard of Worms. And although there are rubrics, Ivo presents all 143 chapters without comment. On the practical front one will find such stipulations that the laity must receive communion at least three times a year: at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.[65] Laymen and women are not to be entrusted with the host to take to the sick.[66] And priests are not to celebrate solemn Masses alone.[67] There are many more in this vein, but it is the theology that sets Ivo apart from Burchard. One is struck by the sheer amount of space Ivo devotes to theological material. This seems to reflect the belief that one must first get the theology right before more quotidian concerns can be properly addressed. Clearly, the issue of real presence was now deemed so important to the proper administration of, and care for, the Eucharist that Ivo felt obliged to provide patristic quotations that can run to four columns in the *Patrologia Latina* edition. The space devoted to Lanfranc of Bec is the most extensive of all, thereby evincing Ivo's commitment to bring some of the best, and most recent, theological scholarship to bear upon legal questions.[68]

Gratian of Bologna

It was about the year 1140 when the great canonist Gratian of Bologna published his *Decretum*, a work that proved to have an enormous influence upon medieval jurisprudence for centuries to come. Gratian mainly relied upon earlier collections for his material rather than original sources. It should be noted that Peter Landau maintains that—despite the similarity of material—Gratian scarcely utilized Burchard of Worms and instead principally relied upon the *Panormia, Tripartita*, Anselm of Lucca, *Polycarpus*, and the Collection in Three Books.[69] A considerable amount of space is devoted to the Eucharist in

[65] *Decretum* 2, c. 27; PL 161:167A.
[66] *Decretum* 2, c. 39; PL 161:169B.
[67] *Decretum* 2, c. 127; PL 161:196A.
[68] *Decretum* 2, c. 9; PL 161:152D–160D. See Lanfranc of Bec, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*; PL 150:407–442.
[69] Peter Landau, "Gratian and the *Decretum Gratiani*," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth

the third section of the work known as *De consecratione*. Here, though, something should be said about the composition of the *Decretum* as a whole because there has been much discussion of the process by which this work evolved. In recent years Anders Winroth has convincingly argued that there are in fact two recensions of the *Decretum*, the first one of which is still extant, although the form that circulated throughout much of the Middle Ages is an expanded version of Gratian's original and more concise work. The first recension, according to Winroth, would not have included the *De consecratione* section.[70] Landau concurs with Winroth's theory of two-stage composition, and concludes that Gratian had completed an earlier version by around 1140, whereas the more common version was completed later in about 1145. As for *De consecratione*, Landau also believes that it did not belong to the first recension.[71]

We will steer clear of these larger questions of transmission and revision, but one important point worth making is that the *De consecratione* section is the only one lacking the explanatory comments, the so-called *dicta Gratiani*, which were designed to reconcile the various discordant canons and thus impose a measure of order on such a large collection. Although it is debated whether Gratian himself had authored *De consecratione*, John van Engen believes that he did. Van Engen notes, for instance, that Paucapalea included this section in his gloss as did Omnebene in his abbreviation. He also points out that very few manuscripts are missing the whole of this section. That later commentators had relatively little to say about *De consecratione* may only be evidence of their own principal interests rather than the provenance of the section itself. And finally, the lack of *dicta* may merely reflect the fact that Gratian had collected his sources but never managed to reach that final stage of work where he would have provided his commentary.[72] No matter who the author of this section may

---

Pennington (Washington, DC, 2008), pp. 22–54, esp. 30–33; and Landau, "Burchard de Worms et Gratien: à propos des sources immédiates de Gratien," *Revue de Droit Canonique* 48 (1998), 233–44.

[70] Anders Winroth, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1–32.

[71] Peter Landau, "Gratian and the *Decretum Gratiani*," pp. 24–25, 37–40.

[72] John van Engen, "Observations on 'De Consecratione'," in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress on Medieval Canon Law*, ed. S. Kuttner and K. Pennington (Vatican City, 1985), pp. 309–20.

actually have been, for the purposes of this essay we will refer to him simply as Gratian.

Distinction One of *De consecratione* deals with sacred spaces, stipulating for instance that the sacrifice may only be offered upon an altar and in places consecrated to God,[73] and that it is illicit to do otherwise.[74] It is in Distinction Two, however, that Gratian specifically treats the Eucharist. Unlike previous canonists, Gratian takes up the Eucharist prior to Baptism. Van Engen surmises that there may be two reasons for this. First of all, it is illustrative of the increased importance of the Eucharist in the life of the Western Church. And second, as a practical matter it makes sense that it would follow upon the treatment of sacred spaces, namely those places reserved for the priest to celebrate Mass.[75] The opening canons of this section offer the traditional material regarding the precise form of the offering. Thus the first canon states that the Eucharist must consist of bread and of wine that is mixed with water.[76] In fact, wine without water, or the opposite, is not permissible.[77] It is essential that the minister himself communicate following consecration; the one who refuses to do so should be cut off from the Church.[78] And while the laity may receive the consecrated host alone, the priest should also partake of the chalice.[79] Only priests may administer the divine sacraments; lay men and women are not to bring it to the sick.[80] And while the Mass is being celebrated the laity are not to enter into the priest's space.[81]

Gratian also devotes a good bit of attention to the question of eucharistic reception. As one might imagine preparation for communion is vital, since the person who communicates unworthily (*indigne*) acquires not salvation, but rather damnation. Recalling to mind, therefore, Christ's great act of humility as he became obedient even unto death on the cross (Phil 2:7), one ought to prepare oneself with faith and devotion to receive the bread and cup of the Lord.[82] Relatively frequent communion is by no means discouraged, although daily communion

[73] D. 1 de cons. c. 11; *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols. (1879; repr. Graz, 1960), 1:1297.
[74] D. 1 de cons. c. 14; Friedberg 1:1297.
[75] John van Engen, "Observations on 'De Consecratione'," p. 317.
[76] D. 2 de cons. c. 1; Friedberg 1:1314.
[77] D. 2 de cons. c. 2; Friedberg 1:1314.
[78] D. 2 de cons. c. 10; Friedberg 1:1317.
[79] D. 2 de cons. c. 12; Friedberg 1:1318.
[80] D. 2 de cons. c. 29; Friedberg 1:1323.
[81] D. 2 de cons. c. 30; Friedberg 1:1324.
[82] D. 2 de cons. c. 25; Friedberg 1:1322.

is not necessarily praiseworthy.[83] One should not be overly scrupulous, however; the Eucharist is, after all, a remedy for sin.[84] Indeed, one ought not to refrain unless deserving of excommunication; otherwise it is better to receive the Lord's medicine.[85] As it was, though, most people did not communicate very often and thus we see again that the minimum is set at three times a year: Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.[86] It remains the sign of genuine adherence to the Church, for (as noted earlier) those who do not communicate on these three days should not be reckoned Catholics.[87] Merely showing up for Mass on these days is not enough; people attending the Mass should receive communion unless prevented by grave sins (*pro gravibus criminibus*).[88] And while it is true that someone in a state of mortal sin should not receive communion, those people stand condemned who attend Mass but refuse to communicate in order that they may continue in their sinful ways. Their duty is to repent so that they might then be prepared to fulfill this sacred obligation.[89] Thus it falls to the clergy to correct those who refuse to receive communion.[90] Again, though, one must also be properly disposed to communicate, which means for a man that (as we have seen) he should abstain from intercourse with his wife for anywhere from three to seven days, nor should he be numbered among those who had not communicated during Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.[91] Later, in 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council decreed that every man and woman receive communion at least once a year (Decretal., 5.38.12).

If, by the twelfth century, the Eucharist was increasingly becoming a focal point of ecclesiological unity, then this emphasis on unity in communication was directly tied to the greater emphasis placed upon Christ's real presence in the host. Thus one finds that the sacrifice of the altar is a sacrament of unity whereby one is incorporated

---

[83] D. 2 de cons. c. 13; Friedberg 1:1318–19.
[84] D. 2 de cons. c. 14; Friedberg 1:1319.
[85] D. 2 de cons. c. 15; Friedberg 1:1319.
[86] D. 2 de cons. c. 16; Friedberg 1:1319.
[87] D. 2 de cons. c. 19; Friedberg 1:1320.
[88] D. 2 de cons. c. 17; Friedberg 1:1320.
[89] D. 2 de cons. c. 18; Friedberg 1:1320: "Si quis intrat in ecclesiam Dei, et sacras scripturas audit, et pro luxuria sua auerit se a communione sacramenti, et in obseruandis misteriis declinat constitutam regulam disciplinae, istum talem proicendum esse de ecclesia catholica decernimus, donec peniteniciam agat, et ostendat fructum penitenciae suae, ut possit communione percepta indulgentiam promereri."
[90] D. 2 de cons. c. 20; Friedberg 1:1320.
[91] D. 2 de cons. c. 21; Friedberg 1:1320–21.

into the body of Christ—that holy fellowship which is the Church.[92] As we have seen, proper reception has emerged as a very important question. The rubric for *Qui discordat* maintains that a person who is alienated from Christ does not receive "the truth of Christ's body," but only the outward sacrament. The whole canon goes on to state that such a person does not eat or drink the Lord's flesh and blood. And if one were to accept the sacrament of so great a reality (i.e., Christ's body) one would do so to one's own judgment.[93] And yet we read just a bit later in *Sicut Judas* that "the one who comes to the table unworthily does nevertheless receive the body of Christ." Judas is the prime example of one who receives evilly (*male*). Thus anyone who unworthily (*indigne*) consumes the body of Christ does not receive it unto salvation (*ad salutem*), even as that person does receive the body.[94] Clearly, the larger point of these canons is the demand for preparation in faith and morals upon reception of the sacrament. Yet we are still left with two rather different takes on what the unworthy communicant actually receives when the consecrated host is placed in his or her mouth. This is the place where one would have hoped for the very sort of explicative commentary that the *De consecratione* section does not provide. As shall see below, the *Glossa Ordinaria* will provide some measure of resolution.

At all events, Gratian does not mean that the priest should necessarily prohibit the wicked from receiving communion. Instead, the priest ought to warn the person who insists upon communicating that he should fear the consequences.[95] All of this attention to eucharistic reception is integrally related to the increased attention given the eucharistic elements. Indeed, one is struck by the inclusion of so many canons devoted to real presence itself. For the rubric of the very next canon affirms that "the substance of the bread and wine are converted into the body and blood of Christ."[96] And just a bit further on it is said

[92] D. 2 de cons. c. 63; Friedberg 1:1337: "Hunc cibum et potum societatem uult intelligi corporis et membrorum suorum, quod est ecclesiae in predestinatis."

[93] D. 2 de cons. c. 65; Friedberg 1:1338. The rubric states: "Sacramentum, non ueritatem Christi corporis accipit, qui ab eo discordat." The canon states: "Qui discordat a Christo, nec manducat eius carnem, nec sanguinem bibit, et si tantae rei sacramentum ad iudicium suae perditionis."

[94] D. 2 de cons. c. 68; Friedberg 1:1338–39. The rubric states: "Et qui indigne accedit tamen corpus Christi accipit."

[95] D. 2 de cons. c. 67; Friedberg 1:1338.

[96] D. 2 de cons. c. 69; Friedberg 1:1339: "Quibus exemplis preter naturam substantia panis et uini in corpus et sanguinem Christi converti probetur."

that "the sacrament is celebrated, not only under a figure, but in the truth of the Lord's body and blood."[97]

Apart from the question of unworthy reception is the critical issue of the heretical priest administering the sacrament. This question came to the forefront in the late eleventh century as the papacy made strenuous efforts to stamp out simony and clerical concubinage. And yet despite calls for the laity to shun openly sinful clergy, the Augustinian principle of *ex opere operato* remained intact. Hence it is affirmed that the principal question to be considered is not who offers (i.e., the priest), but to whom the sacrifice is offered, namely God. In other words, the unrighteousness of the priest does not invalidate the sacrament—it is objectively valid.[98] Gratian had made this same point earlier in the *Decretum* (C. 1, q. 1) where he drew upon a series of Augustine's anti-Donatist works all to the effect that God confers grace through both good and evil ministers.[99]

The bulk of Distinction Two is devoted to the manner in which the Eucharist functions as a sacrament with its consequent visible and invisible dimensions. Partly due to Gratian's reliance upon the *Panormia*, with its mis-attributions, there is a lot of recent theology in these canons presented under patristic guise. Passages attributed to the likes of Augustine and Gregory are often the work of Paschasius Radbertus, Lanfranc of Bec, Alger of Liège, and Guitmund of Aversa. The principal aim of including these canons is to affirm the real presence of Christ's body and blood under the appearance of bread and wine; faith grasps the reality of Christ's body which is not otherwise apparent to the senses.[100] The presence of the "true body" (*verum corpus*) is insisted upon throughout, although it is never explained with any precision. Indeed, as noted above, there are no comments—no *dicta Gratiani*—to lend the sort of theological clarity one might want. But then again, that was not the task of the canonist. It was the fact of the real, albeit mysterious, presence that had to be confirmed. For once real presence is established a greater body of law can be built upon that foundation dealing with all sorts of practical matters such as reservation

[97] D. 2 de cons. c. 72; Friedberg 1:1342: "Non solum sub figura, sed etiam in ueritate dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum celebratur."

[98] D. 2 de cons. c. 26; Friedberg 1:1322–23: "…id est, quia ante Dominum, ut plus in eis ualeret nomen Domini, ante quem oblata sunt, quam pessimum meritum eorum, a quibus oblata sunt."

[99] C. 1, q. 1, c. 30; Friedberg 1:371.

[100] D. 2 de cons. c. 34–41; Friedberg 1:1324–1328.

of the host, veneration, destruction, worthy reception and the like. As it is, in the absence of any attempt to harmonize the discordant canons pertaining to Christ's presence in the Eucharist, one cannot piece together a thoroughly coherent theology from these pages. Here is the 1059 confession *Ego Berengarius* which speaks of Christ's body being broken in the hands of the priest and crushed in the teeth of the communicants.[101] Replete as it is with such strongly sensual language, the twelfth-century theologians—notably Peter Lombard—were quick to provide the very sort of explanatory glosses which are missing here.[102] The following fifty-five canons address real presence all to the effect that, despite appearances to the contrary, the priest confects the real body of Christ in the Mass. Theologians will have to figure out the niceties of this process, but such an emphasis on real presence certainly served its ecclesiological purposes.

Rufinus of Bologna

We noted above that the *De consecratione* section of the *Decretum* lacked the explanatory glosses (*dicta*) that might help make sense of otherwise disparate texts. Among the first commentaries on Gratian's work was Rufinus of Bologna's *Summa Decretorum*. Composed around the years 1157–59, it proved to be the most influential commentary over the next two decades, a work whose mark was left on such canonists as Bernard of Pavia, Huguccio of Pisa, Johannes Teutonicus, and Bernard of Parma.[103] Nowhere was the need for direction more evident than with the famously difficult canon *Ego Berengarius* (D. 2 de cons. c. 42). For his part, Rufinus freely admits that there seems to be a discrepancy between this canon's assertion of breaking apart Christ's body in the hands of the priest and the canon *Qui manducant* (D. 2 de

[101] D. 2 de cons. c. 42; Friedberg 1:1328–1329: "…sed in ueritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri…"

[102] See Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, 4.12.3; ed. Ignatius Brady, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Grottaferrata, 1971–81), 2:306–307. For more on the *Ego Berengarius* confession see Gary Macy, "The Theological Fate of Berengar's Oath of 1059: Interpreting a Blunder Becomes Tradition," in *Interpreting Tradition: The Art of Thelogical Reflection*, ed. Jane Kopas (Chico, CA, 1984), pp. 27–38; repr. in *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville, MN, 1999), pp. 20–35.

[103] Kenneth Pennington and Wolfgang P. Müller, "The Decretists: The Italian-School," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234*, pp. 121–73, esp. 136–37; and Robert Benson, "Rufin," in *DDC* 7:779–84.

cons. c. 58) which specifically says that communicants do not break Christ into parts, since such partition only takes place on the level of the sacrament (*in sacramento*). To resolve this apparent contradiction, Rufinus notes that it is one thing to contend that the sacrament is present without the truth of Christ's body, and thus treated merely as a bare sign—which is rejected here. It is another to believe that Christ's body is not crushed and divided in itself, but rather in its sacramental form—which is affirmed. In this way Rufinus can at once preserve the real presence of Christ's true body and still maintain that this same body is never injured during the Mass.[104]

Rufinus was also very keen to affirm the full effect of eucharistic reception which is the result of the true presence of Christ's body. Hence he spends a good deal of time on the canon *In Christo pater* (D. 2 de cons. c. 82), which is attributed to the Church father Hilary of Poitiers, but actually drawn from the recent theologians Guitmund of Aversa (d. 1095) and Alger of Liège (d. 1132). By means of this sacrament the communicant is united to Christ not only through the will, but in unity of nature and substance. Thus the Eucharist is the perfect sacrament of unity, since all those who worthily receive it are made one with Christ.[105] This is the ideal for faithful Catholics, but Rufinus must also tackle the vexing question as to what exactly those outside of the fold might receive were they to communicate. Commenting on *Accesserunt Iudei* (D. 2 de cons. c. 92), although with no real explanation, Rufinus simply asserts that no unbeliever, whether pagan, Jew, or heretic, receives the body and blood of Christ.[106]

---

[104] Rufinus of Bologna, *Summa Decretorum*, ed. H. Singer (1902; repr. Paderborn, 1963), pp. 555–56: "Sed aliud est putare sacramentum ibi esse sine veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini, et ideo in solo sacramento tractari: quod hic improbatur; aliud est credere corpus Domini, quod ibi est, non secundum se, sed in sacramento conteri et dividi: quod ibi affirmatur."

[105] Rufinus of Bologna, *Summa Decretorum*, p. 558: "Asserit ergo nos unum fieri cum filio, non tantum unitate voluntatis, sed etiam unitate nature et substantie, et hoc per sacramentum corporis et sanguinis eius.… Constat quia sacramentum eucharistie perfectum sacramentum est unitatis, unde quicunque illud digne percipit, unum cum Christo efficitur."

[106] Rufinus of Bologna, *Summa Decretorum*, p. 560: "…si de corporali, credatur quia nullus, qui non credit, hoc est gentilis vel Iudeus vel hereticus, corpus Christi vel sanguinem accipit."

Stephen of Tournai

Not long after Rufinus had published his *Summa Decretorum* his student Stephen of Tournai published his own *Summa* around 1166, which also proved to be very influential in its own right. Although he often follows his former master quite closely, he does offer some original remarks. His originality shines through especially in the realm of theology. In fact, he considered himself a theologian and was certainly conversant with the works of Augustine, Peter Lombard, and Hugh of St Victor among others.[107] If someone, for instance, were not to receive the chalice—and the laity often did not—the question naturally arises as to whether one is thereby missing the full reality of Lord's body and blood. According to Stephen, when commenting on *Conperimus autem* (D. 2 de cons. c. 12), the whole Christ is present under both species and thus is consumed by the communicant no matter which one he or she receives.[108] Another rather practical matter, especially given the marginal competence of some priests, concerns the bare minimum required to consecrate the host. In his comments on *Panis et calix* (D. 2 de cons. c. 39) Stephen argues that the words *Hoc est corpus meum* are themselves effective for the process of transubstantiation to occur. As to whether this process actually takes place by degrees (*pedetentim*), as the words are being uttered, is a pointless question according to Stephen. A sound faith simply believes that the whole process of transubstantiation has taken place when all of those words have been spoken.[109]

As he continues, Stephen notes that there is some dispute among the theologians concerning the rubric for the canon *Quod ante benedictionem* (D. 2 de cons. c. 40). For here it is said that, "What before the blessing was the bread and the wine is, after the blessing, the body and blood of Christ." Stephen notes that Peter Lombard had dealt with this

---

[107] Pennington and Müller, "The Decretists: The Italian School," pp. 136–37; and G. Lepointe, "Étienne de Tournai," in *DDC* 5:487–92.

[108] Stephen of Tournai, *Die Summa über das Decretum Gratiani*, ed. J.F. von Schulte (1891; repr. Aalen, 1965), p. 271.

[109] Stephen of Tournai, *Die Summa über das Decretum Gratiani*, p. 273: "Hoc est corpus meum, hic e. s. etc. fit transsubstantiatio. Sed utrum hoc pedetenim fiat, ut verba dicuntur, quaerere aut disquirere supervacuum est; hoc sana fides credit et praedicat, ut omnibus verbis illis dictis tota transsubstantiatio facta sit."

issue extensively in his *Sentences*.[110] Yet, he says, some doctors in our own time such as Robert of Melun, Richard of St Victor, and Adam Parvipontanus have not come to agreement on the meaning of the words in this rubric. Robert of Melun and Richard of St Victor have conceded that what was bread is now the body of Christ. Yet they did not respond to the objection that this would mean that something is now the body of Christ that was not always the body of Christ. Adam Parvipontanus will not accept either the statement that 'what was the bread is now Christ's body' or that 'what was the bread is not Christ's body.' Adam says that 'what was the bread is converted, transformed, and transubstantiated into the body of Christ,' since all these words of communion are admissible. But he will not allow the phrasing 'is, will be, or was,' lest it be thought that the body comes about from the matter of the bread like a bird from an egg.[111] As far as Stephen is concerned, the term 'transubstantiation' is simply a synonym for 'conversion' or 'transformation.' No single term has a monopoly and any one of them may be admitted when addressing the consecrated elements. In line with Adam Parvipontanus, he will not accept statements such as: 'the bread is, will be, or was the body of Christ,' again because it would imply that Christ's body is somehow born of the bread, or emerges from the bread, as from a hatched egg. Rather, says Stephen, the bread is converted into the body; but the bread never will be the body. The point here is that the bread cannot be identified with the body of Christ as though the former gives rise to latter, sharing the same material substratum. In fact, the bread and the body are two wholly separate substances that have nothing in common.[112]

When commenting on *Ego Berengarius* (D. 2 de cons. c. 42) Stephen takes the standard line that the tearing and division here does not refer to Christ's body in its own nature, but only by way of its sacramental presence—*sed non in sui natura*.[113] And finally, when commenting on *Accesserunt Iudaei* (D. 2 de cons. c. 92), Stephen poses the question in different terms than did his master Rufinus. For the latter it was a

[110] *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, 4.11.2; 2:296–99.

[111] Stephen of Tournai, *Die Summa über das Decretum Gratiani*, pp. 273–74.

[112] Stephen of Tournai, *Die Summa über das Decretum Gratiani*, p. 274: "Id quod fuit panis etc. convertitur, transformatur, transsubstantiatur in corpus Christi; cum enim omnia verba communionis admittantur, ut transsubstantiatur convertitur et huiusmodi, transsubstantiatum ut est vel erit vel fuit non admittitur, ne tanquam ex materia fieri credatur ut avis ex ovo…"

[113] Stephen of Tournai, *Die Summa über das Decretum Gratiani*, p. 274.

matter of heretics and non-believers receiving the host, but for Stephen the question turns not so much on those who do not accept the Catholic faith as those who do, but nevertheless live wickedly. He notes that many authorities deny that the evil and reprobate eat the true flesh of Christ. For his part, however, Stephen believes that the canon is better understood if one takes it to mean that they do not eat unto their own salvation. In other words, it is the true flesh, but it is of no benefit to them.[114]

Huguccio of Pisa

By about 1190 Huguccio of Pisa completed his *Summa Decretorum*.[115] This was a massive effort which utilized the work of some of the best recent theologians such as Peter Lombard, Peter the Chanter, Peter Comestor, and Gilbert de la Porrée among others. In addition to the text of the *Decretum*, which he was commenting upon, Huguccio relied on Burchard of Worms for patristic texts and looked to later materials after Gratian, such as the 1079 Council of Rome and the 1179 Third Lateran Council, as well as the papal decretals as late as Gregory VIII, including those of Alexander III.[116]

A good amount of Huguccio's commentary on *De consecratione* would find its way into the *Glossa ordinaria* on the *Decretum* compiled a few decades later. Here, though, we can look at his treatment of some central issues. With respect to the process of conversion, Huguccio notes that the eucharistic elements are consecrated through the priest's benediction at which point the bread and wine pass (*transisse*) into the flesh and blood of Christ. Following the consecration, therefore, the flesh and blood are contained underneath the species of bread and wine. It is the blessing, or consecration, which

---

[114] Stephen of Tournai, *Die Summa über das Decretum Gratiani*, p. 276: "Sec quia multis suprascriptorum auctoritatibus ostensum est, quia veram Christi carnem etiam mali et reprobi comedunt, melius subauditur: *nemo illam carnem*, scil. ad salutem suam…"

[115] The edition of the *Summa decretorum* which I have consulted is the thirteenth-century Codex Admontensis 7. The microfilm was provided by the Hill Monastic Library (9102) in Collegeville, Minnesota with the kind permission of the Admont Stiftsbibliothek.

[116] Kenneth Pennington, "Huguccio," in *DMA* 6:327–28; A.M. Stickler, "Uguccio de Pise," in *DDC* 7:1356–62.

effects this conversion.[117] When the priest speaks the words *Hoc est corpus meum* Christ's body—by divine power—begins to exist where it had not existed before. No doubt this is all a miraculous event. For the bread and wine are converted into the body and blood of Christ by the very divine power that created the universe from nothing. Here in 1190 there is still some flexibility in the vocabulary used to describe this process as Huguccio can state all in the same sentence that the bread is converted (*convertitur*) or changed (*mutatur*) or transubstantiated (*transubstantiatur*). Such verbs have their nominal equivalents as one refers to a conversion (*conversio*) or change (*mutatio*) or transubstantiation (*transubstantio*). The bread passes into the body of Christ (*transit in corpus Christi*) and thus becomes (*fit*) Christ's body. Thus to the extent that one may equate the bread with the body of Christ, it is because Christ's body begins to exist (*incipit esse*) beneath the outward appearances (*species*) of the bread. As for the substance of the bread, it ceases to exist entirely. It is reduced to nothing, or is resolved into prime matter, even as all its accidents still remain there miraculously.[118] The substance of bread has ceased to exist (*desinit esse*) now that Christ's body begins to exist (*incipit esse*) beneath its species.[119] Thus the fact that one may still refer to 'bread and wine' following the consecration is because the species remain. Yet these are accidents without a subject (*sine subiecto*)—the very accidents which used to inhere in the substance of the bread and wine, such as color, taste, and weight. Now, deprived of their natural subject, they are upheld by divine and miraculous power.[120]

When commenting on the *Ego Berengarius* confession, Huguccio made it clear that although Christ's body is hidden beneath the species of the bread, it is consumed by the faithful not merely with respect to

---

[117] *Nos autem*, D. 2 de cons. c. 41, fol. 429ra.

[118] *Quia corpus*, D. 2 de cons. c. 35, fols. 427vb–428rb: "Panis convertitur, mutatur, transubstantiatur. Transit in corpus Christi. Hoc est corpus meum prolata a sacerdote virtute Dei corpus Christi incipit esse vel latet ubi prius non erat, sciliciet, sub specie panis illius.… Panis est corpus Christi, id est, sub specie panis est vel latet corpus Christi, id est, sub specie panis incipit esse vel latet. De pane fit vel efficatur vel conficiatur corpus Christi, id est, sub specie panis incipit esse vel latet.… Si queris quid fiat de illius panis substantia, dico quod ex toto desinit esse, quia redigit in nichilum vel in pristinam materiam, accidentia tamen omnia, ut diximus, sunt remani ibi miraculose."

[119] *Panis est*, D. 2 de cons. c. 55, fol. 431vb.

[120] *Species et similitudo*, D. 2 de cons. c. 34, fol. 427va.

the outward sacramental manifestation, but in the very truth of the thing itself—*non tantum in sacramento sed in rei veritate*. Having said that, though, Huguccio offers the standard proviso that Christ's body is neither broken nor divided inasmuch as that occurs only on the level of the outward sacrament—*in sacramento sine corpore Christi*. And unless the confession is thus understood a major heresy can arise. For the true body of Christ (*verum corpus Christi*) is immortal, impassible, and incorruptible, and thus cannot possibly be broken or crushed in its actual being (*veritate rei*).[121]

The body of Christ received in the Eucharist, therefore, is the glorified post-resurrection body which can suffer no injury. It is received by the communicant as a whole under any part of the fractured species.[122] In fact, it was important to confirm not only that Christ's body remains impassible, but also that one can be confident that the small portion of the host which one receives does in fact contain Christ's salvific body in its entirety. In other words, the one body of Christ present on the altar is not subsequently parceled out to the communicants. It for this reason that Huguccio insists that the whole body of Christ exists beneath any part of the species whatsoever. Thus the recipient of any portion receives the whole Christ.[123] The size of the morsel one receives has no bearing, therefore, on the amount of Christ's body that is present. For the whole body occupies no greater space than does the part, nor any less the part than the whole. This is, after all, a body that has been resurrected to immortality and thus exists in a sort of spiritual state (*quasi spirituale*).[124] And it should be added that whole and intact Christ (*totus et integer*) is contained and consumed under both the bread and the wine, which means that it is impossible to consume the body apart from the blood.[125]

What happens to Christ's body following consumption was clearly a matter of concern for the canonists. Huguccio points out that the mystical bread, which is the body of Christ, is not like any other bread that enters into the stomach. It does not pass through the intestines, since it is food for the soul not the body. It is the bread of life that confers life upon those who worthily (*digne*) consume it. Hence even

[121] *Ego Berengarius*, D. 2 de cons. c. 42, fol. 429ra–b.
[122] *Qui manducant*, D. 2 de cons. c. 58, fol. 432va.
[123] *Singuli autem accipiunt*, D. 2 de cons. c. 77, fol. 436rb.
[124] *Ubi est pars*, D. 2 de cons. c. 78, fol. 436rb.
[125] *Conperimus*, D. 2 de cons. c. 12, fol. 424va.

as the host enters into the stomach, the body of Christ does not. And this means, in turn, that the bread's species cease to exist as a sacrament within the stomach since they no longer signify the presence of Christ's body at this point. Just where along the line the species cease to be a sacrament, Huguccio ultimately leaves to God. But if he had to venture a guess, he believes that the body of Christ is present so long as the species can be seen and tasted. Once the species can longer be sensed then the sacrament ceases to exist and the body of Christ is no longer present in the one who consumes it.[126]

We have just seen above that Huguccio referred to the Eucharist as conferring life upon those who worthily receive it. Indeed, it is a sacrament of unity for the worthy recipient as that person is made one with Christ.[127] On the other hand, though, mortal sin renders one unfit to receive the Eucharist—this is what alienates someone from Christ. Hence not everyone who communicates receives Christ's flesh spiritually (*spiritualiter*). Sinful communicants are not incorporated into the body of Christ, which is the Church, simply by eating Christ's flesh even were they daily to consume that body born of the Virgin. In that sense they can be said to receive nothing, since they are not incorporated into the unity of the Church which is signified by his flesh.[128]

Finally, one will recall that canon law had long stipulated that a valid Eucharist entailed not only bread and wine, but water mixed with the wine in the chalice. Indeed, neither wine nor water should be offered alone, since both flowed from Christ's side when pierced with the lance. Yet eucharistic discussion generally centered around the bread and wine, and then following consecration, the body and blood. What precisely became of the water in the conversion process was not, for the most part, a focal point of the discussion. Huguccio, however, was concerned with the water and presented a detailed analysis of its conversion following consecration. Briefly put, he believed that, whereas the wine is converted into the blood of Christ, the water is converted into the aquatic humors (*humores aquaticos*). Thus when Christ's side was pierced it was not actual water (*vera aqua*) that

[126] *Non iste panis*, D. 2 de cons. c. 56, fol. 432rb.
[127] *In Christo Patre*, D. 2 de cons. c. 82, fol. 437ra.
[128] *Qui discordat*, D. 2 de cons. c. 65, fol. 433ra: "Quod non sit nisi per mortale peccatum. Nec manducat carnem eius spiritualiter, id est, non incorporatur corpori Christi quod est ecclesia in manducando, id est credendo, licet cotidie sumat corpus Christi de virgine natum."

poured out along with the blood, but rather these aquatic humors which Scripture referred to as 'water' merely on account of the resemblance.[129] Just below we shall see that this theory was not well received by a pope whose own analysis of the question became a staple in future collections.

The Decretals

Despite the pervasive influence of Gratian's *Decretum* throughout the Middle Ages, it always remained a private collection. In 1234, however, a collection of papal decretals and conciliar statements compiled by Raymond Peñafort was published by Pope Gregory IX—the *Decretales Gregorii IX*, otherwise known as the *Liber extra*. The opening document was originally a statement of Catholic orthodoxy issued by the Fourth Lateran Council convened under Pope Innocent III in 1215. It was known by its opening word, *Firmiter*, and was often cited in later discussions of Christ's eucharistic presence.[130] Yet the greater context of this rather lengthy statement makes it clear that the Eucharist, although certainly integral, was not the principal concern. In fact, this is a detailed creedal statement that moves through the Trinity and Incarnation before reaching belief in the Catholic Church. As it turns out the term 'transubstantiation' is only used in passing as part of a subordinate clause belonging to a sentence whose central point is to affirm the general authority of the Church, and specifically the unique sacramental prerogatives of the priesthood, in response to heretical movements such as the Cathars and Waldensians. No doubt the Eucharist is vitally important to the life and unity of the Church, but providing a precise scholastic definition of the manner in which Christ is present in the Eucharist was not the intention of this statement. "There is one Universal Church of the faithful, outside of which no one at all is saved, in which Jesus Christ is at once the priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar underneath the species of the bread and wine, the bread having been transubstantiated (*transsubtantiatis*) into the body and

[129] *In sacramentorum*, D. 2 de cons. c. 1, fol. 422rb–va.

[130] For more on this see Gary Macy, "The 'Dogma of Transubstantiation' in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994), 11–41; repr. in *Treasures from the Storeroom*, pp. 81–120.

the wine into the blood by divine power, in order to perfect the mystery of unity that we may receive from him what he received from us. And no one can confect this sacrament unless he is a priest who has been duly ordained (*rite fuerit ordinatus*) in accordance with the keys of the Church which Jesus Christ himself granted to the apostles and their successors."[131]

Even if this statement was not principally intended to address the metaphysics of eucharistic presence, it was a powerful pronouncement nonetheless. For there can be no doubt that the Council did intend to cement the relationship between real presence and sacerdotal authority. We have just observed the emphasis placed upon real presence by the twelfth-century canonists. Worthy reception was certainly a main concern, but so too was the proper administration of this sacrament. Real presence demands a true priesthood. The statement issued by Lateran IV has clear soteriological ramifications: the ultimate purpose of holy communion is to be united with Jesus Christ through the reception of his body, and this body can only be made present by a man who has received his ordination to the priesthood within Holy Mother Church.

As important as *Firmiter* proved to be for subsequent eucharistic theology, even greater significance was attached to a papal decretal issued some thirteen years earlier which was directly concerned with the Eucharist. It is found in a section of the *Decretales* (L. 3, t. 41) specifically dedicated to the celebration of the Mass, the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the divine offices. It is here that we find a letter written in 1202 by Pope Innocent III to the Archbishop of Lyons. This letter would receive a great deal of attention over the next two centuries both for what the pope said about the consecrated elements and what he said about the formula of consecration itself. Here too is a relatively early use of the term 'transubstantiation' which has found its way into canon law. The Archbishop had written to Innocent regarding "the form of the words which Christ himself spoke when he

[131] *Decretal. Greg. IX*, L. 1, t. 1, c. 1; Friedberg 2:5: "Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur, in qua idem ipse sacerdos est sacrificium Iesus Christus, cuius corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui rite fuerit ordinatus, secundum claves ecclesiae, quas ipse concessit Apostolis eorumque successoribus Iesus Christus."

transubstantiated (*transsubtantiavit*) the bread and wine into his body and blood." Specifically, he was concerned with the fact that the canon of the Mass employs wording that does not precisely replicate what is found in the Gospels. To this query Innocent responded that the Church rightly accepts many things regarding the words and deeds of Christ that are not found in the Four Gospels, and yet have been supplied by the apostles, whether in the Pauline Epistles or the Book of Acts. Whatever may be added in the canon of the Mass, therefore, can be supported from other places in the New Testament. It should be said that Innocent was certainly not appealing to an extra-scriptural tradition. He merely sought to guard against a strict literalism, and thereby allowed the Church a certain degree of freedom in the words employed for the liturgy.[132]

At this point Innocent turned his attention to the question of the eucharistic elements themselves. Here he presents a basic, although rather non-technical, affirmation of Christ's real presence against those who claim that "the truth of the body and blood of Christ is not present in the sacrament of the altar, such that only an image is present." Rejecting this error, Innocent asserts that the Eucharist is a "mystery of faith," inasmuch as the species of the bread and wine are outwardly perceived, while "the truth of Christ's flesh and blood are believed, and so too the power of unity and charity."[133] In this vein, Innocent explains the threefold nature of the Eucharist along commonly accepted lines: there is the visible form consisting of bread and wine; the truth of the flesh and blood; and finally the spiritual power of unity and charity. Thus the first is the *sacramentum et non res*; the second *sacramentum et res*; and the third *res et non sacramentum*.[134] Unity and charity depend upon the genuine presence of Christ's body outward appearances notwithstanding. This is what is

[132] *Decretal. Greg. IX*, L. 3, t. 41, c. 6; Friedberg 2:637–638. See Paul de Vooght, "La Décrétale Cum Marthae et son Interprétation par les Théologiens du XIV Siècle," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 42 (1954), 540–48.

[133] *Decretal. Greg. IX*, L. 3, t. 41, c. 6; Friedberg 2:638: "…dicentes, in sacramento altaris non esse corporis Christi et sanguinis veritatem, sed imaginem tantum…Sed tales ex eo laqueum erroris incurrunt…Dicitur tamen mysterium fidei, quoniam et aliud ibi creditur quam cernatur, et aliud cernitur, quam credatur. Cernitur enim species panis et vini, et creditur veritas carnis et sanguinis Christi, ac virtus unitatis et caritatis.…"

[134] *Decretal. Greg. IX*, L. 3, t. 41, c. 6; Friedberg 2:638: "Forma est panis et vini, veritas carnis et sanguinis, virtus unitatis et caritatis. Primum est sacramentum et non res. Secundum est sacramentum et res. Tertium est res et non sacramentum."

ultimately important to the pope; he makes no effort to endorse a particular scholastic explanation of that presence.

Innocent also addressed the question as to whether the water together with the wine is converted into the blood of Christ, noting that the opinions of the schoolmen vary on this issue. Some claim that there had flowed from Christ's side at his crucifixion the two principal sacraments in the blood of redemption and the water of regeneration. Thus the water and wine mixed in the chalice are both changed (*mutantur*) by divine power. In other words, they each undergo their own conversion. Others believe that the water is transubstantiated along with the wine into Christ's blood, since the water passes into the wine when mixed with it in the chalice. In that sense the water has already been absorbed by the wine which is then converted into blood. Pope Innocent finds both of these theories quite plausible. There is still another opinion, however, which Innocent reckons downright impious, namely that the water is converted into phlegm. For according to some—as we saw with Huguccio—it was the aquatic humor that flowed from Christ's side rather than water. Yet such people, according to Innocent, have clearly missed the greater sacramental value of the water. For, as mentioned above, when Christ was pierced two sacraments flowed from his side: blood and water, the latter of which signifies baptismal regeneration. After all, says the pope, we are not baptized in phlegm! For the Lord himself proclaimed that one must be reborn by water and the Holy Spirit (Jn. 3:5). In the end Innocent concludes that it is "more probable…that the water together with the wine is transmuted (*transmutari*) into the blood, since this more clearly manifests the properties of the sacrament," inasmuch as the water united with the wine symbolizes the people joined together in Christ.[135]

---

[135] *Decretal. Greg. IX*, L. 3, t. 41, c. 6; Friedberg 2:638–39: "Quaesivisti etiam, utrum aqua cum vino in sagnuinem convertatur. Super hoc autem opiniones apud scholasticos variantur.… Illud autem est nefarium opinari, quod quidam dicere presumperunt, aquam vidilicet in phlegma converti. Nam et de latere Christi non aquam, sed humorem aquaticum mentiuntur exisse, non attendentes, quod de latere Christi duo fluxerunt sacramenta, et quod non baptizantur in phlegmate, sed in aqua, iuxta quod Dominus protestatur: 'Nisi quid renatur fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, non intrabit in regnum Dei.' Verum inter opiniones praedictas illa probabilior iudicatur, quae asserit, aquam cum vino in sanguinem transmutari, ut expressius eluceat proprietas sacramenti." For a comprehensive analysis of this question (and how it relates to Huguccio) see Christoph Egger, "Papst Innocenz III. Als Theologe," *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 30 (1992), 55–123.

Some years later in a decretal of 1208, Pope Innocent III addressed a rather interesting practical question. As he recounts here in *De homine*, the pope was asked what a priest ought to do were he aware of having committed a mortal sin and yet finds himself in a situation where he must celebrate Mass. One idea apparently being canvassed was that the priest could fake it (*simulat*) by omitting the words of consecration such that he consumes mere bread and wine. This way he could manage to avoid offending God while still satisfying the people's expectation that they had attended Mass. As one might guess, Innocent does not care for this solution. He notes first of all that false remedies should be rejected when they prove to be even more grave than the genuine dangers they are meant to avert. Now Innocent makes it very clear that a priest who is aware of his own crime should abstain from celebrating Mass; indeed, he would sin gravely were he to proceed in an irreverent manner. Yet this priest would no doubt sin even more gravely, says the pope, were he fraudulently to simulate consecration. Better to consecrate, therefore, and throw himself upon the mercy of God than to be guilty of mocking God and deceiving the people.[136]

Eucharistic decretals issued by other popes contained within the *Liber Extra* include one from Pope Honorius III in 1219 regarding the reverence owed to the consecrated host. He calls upon priests to teach the people that when the host is elevated during the celebration of the Mass they should all reverently bow. And when taken to the sick the host should be respectfully transported in a proper state with lights preceding, all for the sake of increasing devotion to the host which is itself the radiance of eternal light.[137] Veneration of the host only grew throughout the Middle Ages and in 1264 Pope Urban IV instituted

---

[136] *Decretal. Greg. IX*, L. 3, t. 41, c. 7; Friedberg 2:640: "Quum ergo falsa sint abiicenda remedia, quae veris sunt periculis graviora, licet is, qui pro sui criminis conscientia reputat se indignum, ab huiusmodi sacramento reverenter debeat abstinere, ac ideo, peccet graviter, si se ingerat irreventer ad illud; gravius tamen procul dubio videtur offendere qui sic fraudulenter illud presumpserit simulare, quum ille culpam vitando, dum facit, in solius misericordis Dei manum incidat, iste vero culpam faciendo, dum vitat, non solum Deo, cui non veretur illudere, sed et populo, quem decipit, se adstringat."

[137] *Decretal. Greg. IX* , L. 3, t. 41, c. 10; Friedberg 2:642: "Sacerdos vero quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut, quum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, quilibet se reverenter inclinet, idem faciens quum eam defert presbyter ad infirmum. Quam in decenti habitu superposito mundo velamine ferat, et referat manifeste ac honorifice ante pectus cum omni reverentia et timore, semper tamen lumine praecedente, quum sit candor lucis aeternae, et ex hoc apud omnes fides et devotio augeatur."

the Feast of Corpus Christi. His decree entered into the Clementine Constitutions (1317) under the title *Si Dominum*. Here the "corporeal presence" of the Savior is affirmed: Christ is present in the host in his proper substance even if under different appearances. It may be worth noting that this decretal, issued in the middle of the thirteenth century, never employs the word 'transubstantiation.' Nor in fact does the pope draw upon any of the refined scholastic terminology that was being applied to the Eucharist by this time. There was apparently no desire to explain the conversion process, but simply to affirm the host as an object of veneration. The Eucharist is deemed "the most excellent sacrament, to be adored, to be venerated, worshiped and glorified." Pope Urban pointed out that although this sacrament is frequently celebrated at daily masses, it was judged fitting that at least once a year that a day be set aside for a yet more solemn celebration, especially for the purpose of confounding the faithlessness of the heretics.[138]

The Glossa ordinaria *on the* Decretum

We have seen that various canonists such as Rufinus, Stephen, and Huguccio were producing commentaries on Gratian's *Decretum* throughout the latter half of the twelfth century. The opening decades of the thirteenth century then witnessed the publication of the *Glossa ordinaria*—or standard commentary—originally compiled by Johannes Zemecke (aka Teutonicus), a canonist who had studied and taught in Bologna from 1215 to 1220.[139] Completing his work sometime prior to 1215, Johannes relied heavily upon the earlier *Glossa palatina* of Laurentius Hispanus (c. 1214) as well as Huguccio's *Summa decretorum*. Indeed, we will find Huguccio's comments on the Eucharist echoing throughout. The *Glossa ordinaria* was then put into its final

[138] *Clementinae*, L. 3, t. 16, c. 1; Friedberg 2:1174–77. See 2:1176: "O excellentissimum sacramentum! O adorandum, venerandum, colendum, glorificandum, praecipuis magnificandum laudibus … Licet igitur hoc memoriale sacramentum in quotidianis missarum solenniis frequentetur: conveniens tamen arbitramur et dignum, ut de ipso semel saltem in anno ad confundendam specialiter haereticorum perfidiam et insaniam memoria solennior et celebrior habeatur."

[139] J. Gründel, "Johannes Teutonicus," in *LThK* 5:1091–92; Stanley Chodorow, "The Decretists," in *DMA* 4:127–28; A.M. Stickler, "Bartholomäus," in *LThK* 2:11.

form by Bartholomeus Brixiensis in 1245 after he had a chance to incorporate material from the 1234 *Liber extra*.[140]

While the *Glossa ordinaria* was itself a commentary on the *Decretum*, it could also bring to bear recent papal decretals for the purposes of elucidating these canons. Thus when commenting on the canon *In Sacramentorum* (D. 2 de cons. c. 1), the Gloss appeals to *Cum Marthae* as it notes that there are three things contained in this sacrament: the visible form of bread and wine; the truth of Christ's body and blood; and the spiritual power i.e., the power of unity and charity which is the eternal union and love of Christ towards the Church. The first is *sacramentum tantum*; the second *sacramentum et res sacramenti*; and third *res sacramenti tantum*. It is here that the Gloss also recounts three common opinions regarding the conversion of the bread into the body of Christ—all of which are deemed perfectly orthodox. The first asserts that the substance that was once bread is later the flesh of Christ. This is supported, says the Gloss, by the canons *Panis est* (D. 2 de cons. c. 55) and *Quia corpus* (D. 2 de cons. c. 35). Here, then, we have what amounts to the conversion theory as one substance passes into another. The second opinion (similar to what we found in Huguccio) holds that the substance of the bread and wine cease to exist even as their accidents—such as taste, color, and weight—remain; and that it is underneath these accidents that the body of Christ begins to exist. In support of this annihilation/succession theory, the Gloss looks outside of the *Decretum* itself to the opening chapter of the *Liber extra*, namely *Firmiter*. Finally, the third view maintains that the substance of the bread and wine remains there in the same place and under the same species along with the body of Christ. This, according to the Gloss, is supported by the *Decretum* canon *Ego Berengarius* (D. 2 de cons. c. 42). Here we have the theory of consubstantiation. As far as the Gloss is concerned all three opinions confess, in one way or another, that the body of Christ is really present, although the second is preferred for being especially accurate (*verior*).[141]

---

[140] Rudold Weigand, "The Development of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Gratian's *Decretum*," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period*, pp. 55–97, esp. 82–89.

[141] *Decretum Gratiani Emendatum et Annotationibus Illustratum vna cum Glossis* (Paris: 1601), col. 2356: "Vna asserit quod illa substantaia, quod fuit panis primo, postea est caro et sanguis Christi…Secunda opinio tenet quod substantia panis et vini ibi desinit esse, et remanent accidentia tamen, scilicet sapor, color, pondus, et similia: et sub illis accidentibus incipit ibi esse corpus Christi. Tertia tenet quod remanet ibi

When commenting on *Species et similitudo* (D. 2 de cons. c. 34) the Gloss recounts the three aforementioned positions, but also provides rejoinders as the previous discussion is reiterated and enhanced. Hence, whereas one position holds that the substance of the bread and wine are present after consecration, and thus are not converted into the body of Christ—hence the theory of remanence—this seems to be refuted by the canons *Nos autem* (D. 2 de cons. c. 41) and *Panis est* (D. 2 de cons. c. 55). Supporters of this position explain, however, that they are not denying Christ's presence. For they say that prior to consecration there was only bread, but now afterwards, these elements are not alone, since the body of Christ is also present. The Gloss then goes on to note that other people claim the bread and wine cease to exist, but there are two different opinions as to just how this occurs. Some say that the bread and wine are changed, or converted, into the body of Christ, while others say that they are reduced to nothing (*in nihilum*) or resolved to a state of primordial matter (*primordialem materiam resolvi*). As for the remaining accidents, they are said to be held in the air (*in aere*) miraculously without a subject (*sine subiecto*). Thus nature gives way to a miracle. And here again Innocent III's decretal *Cum Marthae* looms over the discussion as it is invoked as an authoritative source for this final position.[142]

The Gloss on *Quia Corpus* (D. 2 de cons. c. 35) notes that, with regard to the word *convertuntur*, some will say that the elements are converted, others transubstantiated, and still others that they pass into the body of Christ. All of this is fine, according to the Gloss, but one may not say that they 'become' or 'begin to be' the body of Christ, precisely because nothing may become Christ's body. Nor does the bread become Christ's body as though something were added to it. Nor, again, is the bread united to the body of Christ in some sort of hypostatic union, for then something inanimate (bread) would be identified with the body of Christ. And we cannot liken this process to the conversion whereby food is converted into flesh, since that is a form of corruption. For while under that scenario it is true that the substance of the bread would cease to exist, there would still be no generation. Rather, the Gloss concludes that one may assert that there

substantia panis et vini et in eodem loco et sub eadem specie est corpus Christi. . . . quilibet tamen opinio fatetur ibi esse corpus Christi. Secunda opinio verior est . . ."

[142] *Decretum Gratiani . . . cum Glossis*, col. 2375.

is a genuine transubstantiation only to the extent that a new essence is generated.[143]

Concern with the mechanics of consecration is also evident when commenting on *Quod ante benedictionem* (D. 2 de cons. c. 40), where it is asked at what moment precisely during the consecratory prayer the conversion of the elements occurs. Here the Gloss observes that although the words (*Hoc est corpus meum…*) are successively spoken, the consecration itself is not successive. The bread is corrupted in an instant—at the last instant of the speaking of the words.[144] In this vein, the question arises in *Cum omne crimen* (D. 2 de cons. C. 7) as to whether the body and blood of Christ are consecrated separately. Some say that there is no transubstantiation until the final syllable of the entire formula has been uttered. Others believe that when the priest says the words *Hoc est corpus meum* the bread is transubstantiated, although only on the condition that it is immediately added: *Hic est sanguis meus*—otherwise it is not. For its part, the Gloss maintains that if the two things are said together without a hiatus (*per copulativam*) then with the utterance of the phrase *Hoc est corpus meum* the bread is transubstantiated into the body, and with the utterance of the following phrase the wine is then transubstantiated into the blood. But if there is a hiatus between the two phrases, then the transubstantiation of the bread would only occur when the final syllable of the second phrase is uttered.[145]

Along similar lines, when commenting on *Panis est* (D. 2 de cons. c. 55) the Gloss contends that with the utterance of the words *Hoc est corpus meum*, the bread and wine pass into (*transeunt*) the body and blood of Christ. This is due to the efficacy of Christ's own words. Such considerations also touch on the precise sacramental nature of the elements. Hence as long as the bread is there prior to the consecration no *sacramentum* is actually present because the bread at this point signifies nothing. But when the bread starts to pass into (*transire*) the

---

[143] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2377: "Bene dicit convertuntur, vel transubtantiantur: ut alii transeunt, vel transeant: sed non fiunt. nec incipiunt: nihil enim fit vel incipit esse corpus Christi.… Unde potest dici quod sit ibi vera transsubtantiatio quantum ad hoc: ut nova essentia ibi generetur."

[144] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2381: "…et licet verba successive proferantur: non tamen successive consecratio sit: sed in uno instanti corrumpitur panis. scilicet. in ultimo instante prolationis verborum."

[145] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2361. My thanks to Professor Joseph Goering for his help on this passage.

body of Christ the species of the bread immediately begin to signify the body of Christ and thus becomes a sacrament.[146]

The words used to refer to the elements before and after consecration will also be of interest given the transformation that has occurred. Commenting on *Species et similitudo* (D. 2 de cons. c. 34) the Gloss notes that despite the fact that the words 'bread' and 'wine' are still employed following consecration, they refer to something that is no longer present. Indeed, says the Gloss, Scripture calls the species of bread 'bread' and the species of wine 'wine'; and even refers to the body of Christ as bread and wine. All of this is directed against those who claim that the substance of the bread and wine still remain following consecration, because (as they say) they are not converted into the body of Christ. As we have seen, these people argue that although bread and wine were the only things present prior to consecration, they are no longer alone because the body of Christ is also present with them. Here too the Gloss notes that the canons *Nos autem* and *Panis est* would seem to refute this position.[147]

As for that tricky canon *Ego Berengarius* (D. 2 de cons. c. 42), the Gloss affirms that this is indeed the very body of Christ born of the Virgin Mary. Yet the exceedingly realistic language must also be addressed. The Gloss adopts the standard position: the fracture spoken of in the canon refers only to the species. Thus even as the species of the bread are broken and torn into parts, the body of Christ is wholly present and intact. In fact, as we saw with Huguccio, the Gloss warns that unless the language of fracture and crushing is rightly understood, this confession will lead to a great heresy. The point is made very clear: all of this refers to the species, since the body of Christ cannot be broken into separate parts.[148]

There were some very important pastoral questions raised with respect to the fate of the consecrated host in the celebration of the Mass. Earlier we had noted the stiff penances meted out to those who might vomit the host and, even worse, let that host be devoured by dogs. What happens when the ordinary communicant receives the consecrated host into his mouth? Does the Lord's body pass all the

---

[146] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2393.
[147] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2375.
[148] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2382: "Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in maiorem incides haeresim quam ipse habuit: et ideo omnia referas ad species ipsas; nam de Christo corpore partes non fecimus…"

way through his stomach and intestines? Commenting upon *Non iste panis* (D. 2 de cons. c. 56), the Gloss contends that the bread is not incorporated in the manner of other foods which are digested in the stomach. For this is the food of the soul rather than the body. There was clearly some discomfort with the notion that the body of Christ might pass through the human digestive tract along with the consecrated host. The Gloss appeals to Huguccio who (as we have seen) believed that, although the species does enter the body, it will not exist there as a sacrament. How long the process takes for the host to lose its sacramental quality, just how far it proceeds through the throat, still remains an open question. What is certain is that it ceases to be a sacrament within the recesses of the human body. Nevertheless, says the Gloss, were one to vomit the host it must be treated with reverence, since it was a sacrament at one point.[149]

And what, then, of the consecrated hosts which are reserved only to be destroyed by rot or eaten by animals? The Gloss addresses such questions when commenting upon *Qui bene* (D. 2 de cons. c. 94) which prescribes the penance due to those who fail to protect the Eucharist with the result that it is eaten by a mouse. Here the Gloss insists that one cannot say that a mouse eats the body of the Lord, since it immediately ceases to be a sacrament once the mouse begins to chew it. Now one might object that it would not be so unfitting were the mouse to consume the body of Christ, since some very wicked people also consume it. Here the Gloss draws upon the opinion of the Sienese canonist Benencasa (d. 1206) who claims that the Lord's body cannot be consumed by the mouse, since it immediately ceases to be a sacrament at that moment. Nor, however, could it be re-consecrated, since there is no longer any bread there; it is now only species. Does it cease to be a sacrament if a mouse or spider simply walks across Christ's body? No, says the Gloss, it does not cease to be a sacrament in that instance.[150]

---

[149] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2394: "H(uguccio): Species tamen bene vadunt in corpus, sed numquid ibi est sacramentum, non quia desinit ibi esse corpus Christi et tamdiu est ibi sacramentum quamdiu est corpus Christi. Sed quamdiu hoc sit, id est, usque ad quem locum procedat per gulam, nescio. Sed licet non sit sacramentum cum est in corpore, si tamen euomuerit illud, cum veneratione est seruandum quia sacramentum fuit."

[150] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2421: "Nec dicendum quod mus sumat corpus domini; statim enim desinit esse sacramentum ex quo ab eo tangitur. Si tamen dicatur quod sumat non est magnum inconveniens: cum sceleratissimi homines istud

Clearly, there were a lot of questions pertaining to the species themselves, including the precise relationship of the bread and wine. The canon *Conperimus* (D. 2 de cons. c. 12) speaks of priests who were abstaining from the blood and thus consuming only the body. Why is it sacrilegious to consume one without the other? The Gloss notes that each species has its unique signifying function: the species of the bread only signify the holy body, while the species of wine only signify the sacred blood. Nevertheless, Christ is wholly (*integre*) consumed under both species. Hence if a person is sick, or due to some other necessity, one can consume the body without the wine. In fact, the Gloss contends that it is impossible for the body of Christ to be consumed without the blood and vice versa. The body and blood of Christ both exist under the species of the bread and similarly under the species of the wine. Yet the Gloss stresses that there should still be a double consumption of the body and blood precisely because the species of the bread signify the flesh and the species of the wine refer to the soul, inasmuch as wine is the sacrament of the blood which is the seat of the soul. The consumption of both species thereby signifies the greater incarnational mystery that Christ assumed both flesh and soul. Having said that, the Gloss will not allow that wine is transubstantiated (*transsubstantiatur*) into the body of Christ nor bread transubstantiated into the blood. Rather bread alone is transubstantiated into the flesh and wine into the blood, despite the fact that wherever Christ's flesh is present it is always accompanied by his blood. The flesh is present by way of transubstantiation, therefore, whereas the blood is there given its integral connection to the body, just as Christ's soul is present by way of its union to the body rather than through the process of transubstantiation.[151]

---

sumat, sed B(enencasa) non concedit quod ab eo sumi possit; immo statim desinit esse sacramentum. Sed iterum non possit consecrari: quia non est ibi iam panis; immo tantum species. Sed numquid desinit esse sacramentum si transit super illud corpus mus vel aranea? Non credo quod desinat esse sacramentum." See A.M. Stickler, "Benencasa," in *LThK* 2:200.

[151] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, cols. 2364–65: "…quia certe sub specie panis est corpus et sanguis Christi: immo totus est Christus; similiter sub species vini.… Haec tamen propositio non est concedenda, Vinum transsubstantiatur in corpus Christi, nec ista panis transsubstantiatur in sanguinem: sed potius panis tantum transsubstantiatur in carnem, et vinum tantum in sanguinem: tamen vbicumque est caro, ibi est sanguis: sed caro est ibi per transsubstantiationem, et sanguis per commistionem: sicut anima est ibi per vnionem, non per transsubstantiationem."

In this vein, with respect to the canon *Ubi pars est* (D. 2 de cons. c. 78), it must be said that the amount of bread has no bearing on the fullness of Christ's presence. The Gloss follows what we have seen with Huguccio, noting that there is no less of Christ's body under a smaller quantity of bread nor more under a greater quantity. For wherever part of the species exists the whole body is present; and wherever a part of Christ's body is present—be it hand or foot—there too is the whole body. This is not to say, however, that all the members are mixed up as if the head were mixed with the hands and feet. It simply means that where part is present so is the whole. This is because the whole occupies no greater space than the part and vice versa, since Christ's body has a spiritual presence as it were, which is the case with every body that has been resurrected to immortality.[152]

That Christ's body is called spiritual, as the comments on *Sic in Sanctificando* (D. 2 de cons. c. 2) point out, is because there is nothing that can hinder it, just as it is recorded that Christ had passed through the locked door (Jn. 20:19). On the other hand this body does exhibit itself as palpable, which a spirit clearly could not do, since a spirit has no flesh and bones. This body is also called spiritual because it signifies our redemption and because it works in celestial ways. For it renders a celestial reality, namely the union of Christ with the Church.[153] Indeed, this is the ultimate purpose of the Eucharist: abiding union with Jesus Christ. Commenting on *In Christo pater* (D. 2 de cons. C. 82), the Gloss points out that whereas Christ is one with the Father through the nature of divinity and unity of substance, we abide in Christ by way of the human nature he assumed and the very flesh that we consume in the sacrament. And it is then by way of Christ that we are united to the Father.[154] The comments on *Sacrificium* (D. 2 de cons. c. 32) note that in the body of Christ there are three parts: species, truth, and figure, here appealing to Innocent III's *Cum Marthae*. The visible sacrifice, that is the visible form, is the bread that signifies the invisible sacrament which is the body of Christ that remains invisible to us. For the glorified body is not seen by men unless by way of a

[152] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2411: "…sed ubi pars, ibi totum. Quia non maiorem locum occupat totum quam pars, et e converso, cum sit quasi spirituale, quod est de omni corpore quod resurrexit ad immortalitatem. H(uguccio)."

[153] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, cols. 2357–58.

[154] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2413: "Nos vero sumus vnum cum Christo per humanam carnem quam assumpsit, et ipse in nobis vnum est per propriam carnem, quam in sacramento eius sumimus."

miracle. The body of Christ functions here as an invisible sign since it is itself a sacrament of the Church. The Gloss admits that using the term 'sacrament' in this way does not seem to comply with the common definition of a sacrament as 'the visible form of invisible grace.' For in this instance the body of Christ is invisible to us and yet a sacrament of the Church—thus not a visible form. Nevertheless it can be still meet the common definition precisely because Christ's body is indeed visible to those in heaven, even if not to us here on earth.[155]

We noted above when looking at Gratian's *Decretum* that two different views were expressed as to whether the wicked receive Christ's body during communion. As it stood *Qui discordat* (D. 2 de cons. c. 65) stated that wicked people do not receive the truth of Christ's body no matter how often they communicate. Yet here in the Gloss we read that while it is true that the wicked do not eat spiritually (*spiritualiter*), nor are they incorporated into the Church, they do in fact consume the body of Christ sacramentally (*sacramentaliter*).[156] This qualification of spiritual and sacramental consumption thereby permits the reconciliation of *Qui discordat* with the canon *Sicut Judas* (D. 2 de cons. c. 68). The Gloss notes that it is asked here whether or not wicked people receive the body of Christ, and the answer is that they do—Judas being the prime example. He did indeed receive Christ's body even as he did not receive it unto salvation (*ad salutem*). But here again the point is made that Judas only received the Lord's body sacramentally (*sacramentaliter*), which is to say that it had no spiritual effect.[157] Hence by drawing a distinction between sacramental and spiritual reception, the Gloss was able to reconcile two conflicting canons. Remember that in the comments on *Qui bene* (D. 2 de cons. c. 94) it was noted that some people saw no reason why a mouse could not receive Christ's body when it is admitted that sinners do receive it. Although the Gloss does not go into great detail, it does seem to recognize a clear distinction between human beings and animals—the first possessed of rational intentionality and the latter not.

Finally, what is a priest to do when a sinner comes forward to receive communion? The comments on *Non prohibeat* (D. 2 de cons. c. 67)

---

[155] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, cols. 2374–75.

[156] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2398: "Dicitur hic, quod qui malus est, non manducat spiritualiter, nec incorporatur ecclesiae, licet quotidie sacramentaliter sumat corpus Christi."

[157] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2399.

confirm that the priest should not prohibit secret sinners (*occultos peccatores*)—as opposed to notorious sinners—from consuming the body of Christ, even as he should warn them to fear God and realize just what is they are consuming, namely the body of Christ himself. Ideally, the priest's admonition will stir the sinner to refrain from unworthy reception, but if he does not wish to refrain, then better to give him the host than to withhold it. Ultimately, the priest cannot stand in judgment of this person's conscience.[158]

The Decretalists

Henry of Segusia, otherwise known as Hostiensis owing to his elevation to the see of Ostia, was one of great canonists of his age. Born in 1200 near Turin, he had been a student in Bologna along with Sinibaldo dei Fieschi (the future Pope Innocent IV). His major works are the *Summa Aurea* which dates to 1253 and his *Lectura in quinque libros decretalium* which he was working on until his death in 1270.[159] Hostiensis displayed a genuine interest in theology evinced in his extended remarks on Innocent III's decretal *Cum Marthae*. His comments testify to the broad range of views concerning eucharistic presence that persisted deep into the thirteenth century. In his commentary on the *Decretales* Hostiensis speaks of four opinions regarding the body of Christ, the first three of which can be found in the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the *Decretum*. The first states that the substance which was previously bread and wine is later the body and blood of Christ. The second that the substance of the bread and wine cease to exist although their accidents still remain—the body of Christ having succeeded the substance of the bread. Like the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the *Decretum*, Hostiensis believes this opinion to been approved in the Decretal chapter *Firmiter*. And the third acceptable opinion affirms the remanence of bread and wine together under the same species as the body of Christ; this is supported by *Ego Berengarius* (D. 2 de cons. c. 42). According to Hostiensis, any one of these opinions confesses that the true body of Christ is present on the altar. Finally, though, a fourth opinion is deemed unacceptable because it claims that the body of Christ is not

[158] *Decretum Gratiani…cum Glossis*, col. 2399.

[159] Elisabeth Vodola, "Hostiensis," in *DMA* 6:298–99; A.M. Stickler, "Heinrich von Segusia," in *LThK* 5:200; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 214.

present on the altar in truth, but only by way of an image or a figure. In fact, Hostiensis reckons this opinion heretical and finds it to have been reproved by the decretal *Cum Marthae*, which indeed it had. We see that Hostiensis was willing to admit a range of terminology just so long as it affirmed Christ's real presence. Thus if someone says that the bread is transubstantiated into the body of Christ this is true. And if another says that the bread is converted or changed, this also is true. Yet Hostiensis goes on to make a point we have seen before: that strictly speaking the bread neither was, nor is, nor will be, the body of Christ. This is because the substance of the bread is never identical to the substance of Christ's body. Thus if one were to say that the bread becomes (*fit*) the body of Christ this is not really true, if by that you are referring to the matter. If, on the other hand, one were to say this referring to the conversion, such that the bread is converted into Christ's body then it is accurate. Thus Hostiensis notes that *Cum Marthae* never employs the term *fit*, but rather *mutatur* or *commutatur*, or again *transubstantiatur*.[160]

As Hostiensis continued to comment on *Cum Marthae* he addressed Innocent's discussion of the conversion of the mixed contents of the chalice. According to Hostiensis, it is not the water as such that is transubstantiated into Christ's blood, but that the water insofar as it is mixed with the wine is transubstantiated. Together the water and wine are simultaneously transubstantiated into the blood of Christ. Offered together this mixture of water and wine signify the union of Christ and the Church. Yet Hostiensis then turns his attention to some more practical concerns. Here he notes that if, by an act of carelessness, the priest had forgotten to add water there would still be a true sacrament, but not a perfect one. In keeping with the doctrine of concomitance, Hostiensis affirms that although it is bread alone that is transubstantiated into the body of Christ, and water with wine into the blood, nevertheless the whole Christ is under both species. Yet what would happen if the chalice contained water alone without the wine?

---

[160] *In Tertium Decretalium librum Commentaria* (1581; repr. Turin, 1965), fol. 163ra: "In prima vero opinione omnes catholici conueniunt, scilicet, quod illa substantia, quae prius fuit panis et vini, postea fit corpus et sanguis, ita tamen, vt hoc quid dicit, fit, notet conversionem. Omnia enim verba, quae notant conversionem, vel transubstantiationem proprie hic ponuntur, vt si dico panis transubstantiatur in corpus Christi; haec est vera. Item si dico convertitur, vel mutatur." See also his *Summa aurea*, L. 3, *De Presbytero non baptizato* (1573; repr. Turin: 1963), col. 1197.

Say, for instance, the priest had just consumed the body and then looked down only to discover that there was no wine in the chalice, but only water. Some say that the priest should not start all over again from the beginning, but should proceed and repent of his negligence. Others think that he should pour wine into the chalice and then repeat the entire consecration prayer for the blood from the words 'In like manner…' all the way to the end. Yet if he fears creating a scandal by prolonging the Mass, it is sufficient that he say only those words by which the blood is actually consecrated: thus from 'In like manner…' through 'Do this in memory of me.' But what if the priest does not realize that there is only water until he has actually drunk from the chalice and tastes it in his mouth? In this instance he should carefully let it out of his mouth back into the chalice if this can be done without scandal. Yet he would then have to place it reverently into the sacrarium since it is possible that a morsel of Christ's body will now be in the water. Thus the contents must not be sprinkled on the ground, or treated in any disrespectful manner; nor, however, should it be swallowed.[161]

Just as there was a Gloss for Gratian's *Decretum*, so there was also a *Glossa Ordinaria* compiled for the *Liber extra*, which was largely the work of the canonist Bernard of Parma (d. 1266). We can look briefly at its comments on two decretals, although it must be admitted that they shed little additional light on the original material. The gloss on *Cum Marthae* notes that underneath the form of bread that we see rests the truth of Christ's body and blood, together with the truth of unity and charity, which are believed to be present. The visible form of the bread is defined as the *sacramentum et non res*, while the body of Christ is *sacramentum et res*, and finally there is the union and charity which is *res et non sacramentum*. In this sense, says the Gloss, the bread is a sacrament of a double reality (*geminae rei*); while Christ's body is sacrament of one thing and the reality (*res*) of another; and finally there is that ultimate reality (*res*) signified by the two previous sacraments.[162] Here the three standard opinions of Christ's presence are given: the substance that was earlier bread and wine is later the

[161] *In Tertium Decretalium librum Commentaria*, fol. 163rb–va.

[162] *Corpus juris canonici emendatum et notis illustratum. Gregorii XIII. pont. max. iussu editum. Romae: In aedibus Populi Romani, 1582.* 3 parts in 4 volumes. UCLA Digital Library Program. *Corpus Juris Canonici (1582)*, Part II: *Decretales d. Gregorii papae IX*, col. 1370.

body and blood of Christ; the substance of the bread and wine cease to exist and only their accidents remain; and that the substance of the bread and wine remain together with the body of Christ. Perhaps one interesting item indicative of changes in eucharistic orthodoxy is that a marginal note in the 1582 edition flags this final opinion (i.e., remanence) as a heresy specifically condemned at the Council of Trent.[163] At any rate, the comments on *De homine* by and large reiterate Pope Innocent III's position that a priest aware of his own mortal sin may not fake the consecration. The Gloss certainly makes it clear that priests in mortal sin should not be saying Mass, but the thrust of this decretal concerns a priest's obligations when confronted with an unforeseen crisis. Perhaps he is suddenly called upon to preside at a funeral Mass; he can hardly shirk his responsibility in this time of immediate need—what should he do? The Gloss poses such a question. Can a priest in a state of sin consecrate the host in time of necessity if there is no one to whom he can confess at that moment? Yes he can, says the Gloss, just so long as he proposes to render satisfaction later, and then goes to confession as soon as possible.[164]

When Johannes Andreae (d. 1348) commented on *Firmiter* in the fourteenth century he re-affirmed the principle—perhaps against schismatic and heretical groups—that the Eucharist cannot be celebrated without a priest. The words of consecration alone are not sufficient; they must be said by a properly ordained priest.[165] Commenting on *Cum Marthae*, Johannes largely follows Hostiensis, and does so when he lays out the various theories of eucharistic conversion, although he also makes a point of recounting Thomas Aquinas's objections to the annihilation theory (ST 3.75.2).[166] The commentary of the Italian

---

[163] *Corpus juris canonici emendatum et notis illustratum… Decretales d. Gregorii papae IX*, col. 1370. For the Tridentine canon see *Enchiridion Symbolorum Defintionum et Declarationum*, 36th ed., ed. H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer (Rome, 1976), no. 1652.

[164] *Corpus juris canonici emendatum et notis illustratum… Decretales d. Gregorii papae IX*, col. 1374: "Sed nunquid talis sacerdos potest celebrare, si habeat contritionem cordis: quia forsitan dum instat necessitas celebrandi, non potest habere cui confiteatur? Satis potest dici quod sic, dum tamen habeat propositum satisfaciendi; et illud postea quam cito potest confiteatur."

[165] *In quinque Decretalium libros Nouella Commentaria*, with an introduction by Stephan Kuttner (1581; repr. Turin, 1963), *Super primum*, fol. 8a. For more on Johannes see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 216–17.

[166] *In quinque Decretalium libros Nouella Commentaria*, *In quartum…*, fols. 219b–222a.

canonist Anthony de Butrio (d. 1409) is largely dependent upon earlier commentaries such as those of Johannes Andreae and Hostiensis. When commenting on *Firmiter*, he too seems mainly concerned, with regard to the Eucharist, to affirm that only a priest can confect the body of Christ and may do so through the power of the keys. Again we find that the words of consecration are not sufficient unto themselves without a duly ordained priest.[167] When commenting on *Cum Marthae*, he recounts the various positions on conversion outlined by Hostiensis, and then later by Johannes Andreae, and follows the latter in laying out Thomas Aquinas's objection to annihilation.[168] And again, following Hostiensis, he recounts the procedure for a priest who discovers that there had only been water in the chalice when he consecrated.[169]

Conclusion

It seems fair to say that the golden age of canon law with respect to the Eucharist lasted from the middle of the twelfth century, beginning with the first major commentaries on Gratian's *Decretum* by the likes of Rufinus of Bologna and Stephen of Tournai, and concluding by the middle of the thirteenth century with the *Glossa Ordinaria* that was begun by Johannes Teutonicus and completed by Bartholomeus Brixiensis. For it was during this period that the study of the Eucharist as a matter of law was infused with the corresponding study of the Eucharist as a matter of theology. The canonists of this time were not content merely to set in place a coherent list of sanctions and directives sufficient to ensure that the sacrament was properly administered. Rather, as we mentioned at the outset, they saw the necessity of bringing rational argumentation to bear so as to provide genuine support for these canons. Indeed, we find theological opinions placed side by side which are intended to reflect the *status quaestionis* even as the canonist himself attempts to offer some resolution of the matter. That theology was considered vitally important for the law is evident at least from the time of Ivo of Chartres and then later with Gratian. No doubt, the very selection process itself of patristic and

[167] *Super Prima Primi Decretalium Commentarii* (1578; repr. Turin, 1967), fol. 7a.
[168] *Super Tertio Decretalium Commentarii*, fol. 191a.
[169] *Super Tertio Decretalium Commentarii*, fol. 192a.

early scholastic sources was to take a theological stand. But it would fall to later generations to offer a theological synthesis of the material—or at least point out that discrepancies exist which need to be taken into account. Perhaps historians should be wary of making sweeping judgments about any age, but it is difficult to deny that something very special—indeed something very good—was happening from about 1150 to 1250. The enmity that would come to characterize the relationship between canonists and theologians in the Late Middle Ages was still some years away. The strict separation of law and theology into distinct—even competing—sciences had not yet taken hold at this time. The canonists in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries relied upon the theologians to help them make sense of practices that would have to be rational if they were to stand. The legal collections of the canonists addressed some of the most basic concerns of the diocesan clergy in the administration of the Eucharist and were expected to provide reasons not just assertions. This confidence in reason—which is at the heart of jurisprudence—made the turn to theology not only natural but imperative.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Brundage, James. *Medieval Canon Law*. London, 1995.
Fournier, Paul and Gabriel Le Bras. *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident*, 2 vols. Paris, 1932.
Hartmann, Wilfried and Kenneth Pennington (eds.). *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234*. Washington, DC, 2008.
Hoffmann, Harmut and Rudolf Pokorny (eds.). *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*. Munich, 1991.
Rolker, Christof. *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres*. Cambridge, 2009.
Winroth, Anders. *The Making of Gratian's Decretum*. Cambridge, 2000.

POPULAR ATTITUDES TO THE EUCHARIST

Miri Rubin

The Eucharist and the People of Europe

When discussing the "popular" aspect of the Eucharist it is hard to separate laity from clergy, learning from practice, the aspirations of privileged people from those of peasants and artisans. This is true not only because communities of worship in parishes were socially mixed—imagine the sole parish church of a late medieval rural community with gentry in pews and others standing in rows behind them—but also because the message of the Eucharist was similarly taught and clearly expounded very widely.[1] The sole exception to this general rule may be those mystics and visionaries, those professional religious, who dwelt in cells within communities of intense devotional creativity, and whose engagement with the Eucharist reached a remarkable symbolic density and originality.[2] Their eucharistic languages were grounded in the images of God made Flesh, and was based on the reiteration offered by the Eucharist to each and every believer. In their utterances were often found arresting images of union with God and annihilation, of bodily sharing, of mothering and self-offering through the Eucharist.

The Eucharist posed a test of faith to believers, as it was meant to do. The encounter with the Eucharist, above all at annual Communion, was envisaged by the designers of the Mass as the moment of personal testing and awareness. For the reception of the Eucharist—of

---

[1] Attempts to define popular religion have expanded the field of enquiry and the sources studied, but are also fraught with difficulty. While there is a valid distinction to be made between the access educated people had to religious writings, they also shared in rituals and liturgy with parishioners who were less well off. The attempts to distinguish sharply between "clerical" and "lay" religious cultures is equally too simple. For some of the issues see, Leonard E. Boyle, "Popular Piety in the Middle Ages: What is Popular?" *Florilegium* 4 (1982), pp. 184–93 and John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2005).

[2] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, CA, 1987); see also the visual expressions in Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998).

the consecrated host—was the culmination of a process of self preparation and examination. It followed the period of intensified Lent preaching, the stringency of fasting and abstinence, the preparation for confession and penance, building up to the moment of reception.[3] If the well-prepared believer could indeed accept that the host was God's body, the Corpus Christi which had hung from the Cross, a great deal of comfort and assurance was in store: the promise of salvation and an extraordinary union with God. People described the experience of Communion as one of sweetness, satiation, joy and comfort.

Nothing so ambitious had been envisaged in discussions of the Eucharist during the first Christian millennium. Yet the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the emergence of an ecclesiastical system, which we may call bureaucratic, that upheld some newly formulated principles of faith and Christian life. Central to these were the sacraments, which were offered to believers by parish priests, guided by their bishops.[4] These were accountable for the work of instruction and liturgy, within a framework of rules and regulations touching on all aspects of religious practice. The parish priest—that crucial worker of wonders at the altar—operated a system of instruction, moral guidance, discipline, supervision, and maintenance of church fabric. He preached, heard confessions, visited the sick, and managed his church's patrimony. He made God's body at the altar, and offered communion to deserving parishioners once a year. The ritual at the altar, which always resulted in the priest's own communion, was directed by rules and hedged with difficulties. Careful instruction regulated the appearance at the altar and the space around it: with candles and hangings, with fine vessels, appropriate books for liturgical readings and prayers, and vestments which marked the priest's body with the sign of the cross, in the varying liturgical colors white, purple or green. The powerful promise was that the priest, by the grace of ordination, possessed the power to confect Christ's body at the altar: God's body that hung on the Cross and that suffered and made redemption possible; the historic body of the adult Christ.

---

[3] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 63–71.

[4] Miri Rubin, "Sacramental Life," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, IV. 1100–1500*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 219–37.

Making the Eucharist for the People

As we have seen in previous chapters, there was precious little discussion of the nature of the sacrament of the Eucharist before the year 1000. Questions were occasionally raised in the context of a few Christological debates. Interest is evident in the monastery of Corbie where two monks became locked in dispute in the 830s: how real was Christ's presence in the consecrated host? Paschasius Radbert innovated in claiming a very real presence of the historical Christ in the appearance of bread, while Ratramnus was more traditional.[5] But even so, there was little discussion of the reality of tasting, rather this was a discussion of grammar, of the meaning of the biblical words "This is My Body," enunciated by Christ at the Last Supper, and at the altar daily by every priest.

The formative discussions of the Eucharist took place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in cathedral schools of northern France, under the eye of popes and the theologians who supported and advised them.[6] The sacramental program with the Eucharist at its heart was then disseminated through the directives (canons) decided at vast ecumenical councils, which were in turn applied by each and every bishop in his diocese. Initiatives promoted by a Council could travel quickly and become practice in European regions within a few years, though regions differed in the degree of administrative efficiency underpinning their ecclesiastical affairs. In this way, through the work of theologians, popes, and bishops, a widespread parish practice evolved from the late twelfth century, and reached every Christian European.

It was of crucial importance for the sacraments' reality to be asserted if these were to act as the mediators of grace, as organising rituals of the Christian lifetime. Based on collective meals that developed among the Christ's followers in the period of Christian emergence, sacraments became highly specified individual experiences: confession, penance and communion became a cluster of procedures by which the individual was made accountable, disciplined and rewarded. The

---

[5] Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period. A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians, c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 21–31.

[6] See, for example Charles M. Radding with Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino against Berengar of Tours* (New York, 2003).

sacramental meal was becoming a personal repast, an annual reward for contrition, confession and the making of amends. It also tested belief. Nobody pretended that it was easy to believe in the reality of Christ historic body within the piece of bread offered to the altar by members of the community. Writers were cautious when discussing "tasting God".[7]

Having introduced this immensely attractive and yet precarious ritual package of taste, sound and sight into European parishes, popes and bishops continued to guide the priesthood towards effective offering of God's body at communion.[8] There were guide books and interpretative tracts; there were visitations that noted deficiencies in vestments, vessels and practices. There was also a lively vernacular literature for guidance to the laity, as to what they should think, what images they summoned to mind when they prepared for reception of God. Yet there is precious little description of the personal experience of ordinary believers, as they tasted God, beyond the widely shared sense that He was sweet.

The transcendent was thus made to seem mundane by turning the sacrament of the altar into a meal; in every church the semblance of the believer's own humble—or sometimes sumptuous—meal was reproduced. This gave an opening for possibly transgressive acts too, bred from the over-familiarity which the domestic inspired. One of the most common and intriguing *exempla* of the later Middle Ages—one whose origins are much earlier, but which reached the highest elaboration and frequency in later times—is the Mass of St Gregory (Fig. 53).[9] The versions differ, of course, but at the core is the simple and insistent question of an otherwise pious woman: how could it be that the bread she had made with her own hands, in her own oven, was made into the body of Christ? The use of images of food and drink, of meal and table, elaborated in more detail and with more force than ever before by the end of the twelfth century involved believers in several ways. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 required that all believers—*omnis utriusque sexus*—participate in the annual ritual of Communion. But there was more. Parishioners were also called to help maintain and

[7] On this concept see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 70, 107.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 83–98.
[9] Caroline Walker Bynum, "Seeing and Beyond: the Mass of St Gregory in the fifteenth Century," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton, NJ, 2006), pp. 208–40.

Fig. 53 *Mass of St. Gregory*, Spanish Painter, ca. 1490–1500, Oil and gold on wood, 28 3/8 × 21 7/8 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (photo: Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

supply the altar with its needs. Indeed, some of the most compelling reasons for the development of churchwardens and the collection of parish funds were the new requirements for the Mass.

Turning the altar into a table from which God's body was received involved a large variety of items: chalice and paten (Fig. 54), linen cloths and candles, two types of bread and two of wine. Legislative energy and imagination were invested in the creation of the symbol whose

Fig. 54 Paten and Chalice, ca. 1230–1250, Silver, partly gilt, niello, jewels. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection (photo: Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

appearance and meaning were in harmony. Statutes from western France of ca. 1216 ordained that the host be round and form a full circle: "That the host should be whole and form an entire circle."[10] The synods of Nîmes, Arles and Béziers of 1252 insisted that it be made of the finest wheat: "hence we prohibit that hosts be made of any grain but pure and carefully chosen wheat."[11] The verse cited by the English

[10] "Quod hostia sit integra and integrum habeat circulum," *Statuts synodaux français du XIIIe siècle: Les Statuts de Paris et le Synodal de l'Ouest (XIIIe siècle)* I, ed. O Pontal, (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie) 9 (Paris, 1971), c. 6, p. 142.

[11] "Hostias autem de alio quam de puro et mundo et electo grano frumenti fieri prohibemus," *Les Statuts synodaux français du XIIIe siècle: Les Statuts de 1230 à 1260* II,

bishop William Russell in 1350, summarised the teaching about this most important food: "Christ's host should be white, wheaten, thin, not large, round, unleavened, not mixed."[12]

Manuals for priests insisted that the meal be made of the noble white corn. Wheat, and no other grains, so common in European regions and in the diets of the poor, was to be used. The *Manipulus curatorum* of ca. 1333, spells it out: "And I say it should be made of wheat, because in other bread, such as coarse wheat or barley or of any other grain but wheat, the Mass cannot be celebrated."[13] The hosts were cooked, and here again the tension between the accessible image of cooking and the honor due the special food of the altar is apparent. The hosts of religious houses were baked under the supervision of the sacrist. In parishes the situation was less formal and more varied: recesses in church walls, blackened by fire may have been baking areas.[14] William of Blois, bishop of Worcester, decreed in the synodal statutes of 1229 that the host be baked, not fried; that wax is used, rather than oil or fat. He expected some hosts to be deficient in their shape and color, and thus reminded priests to choose for the altar only "those host of appropriate whiteness and roundness."[15]

The ritual designed at the altar was enacted in a space separate from the laity, but also available to them, as a stage is to spectators. The ritual unfolding, and especially the moment of the elevation (Fig. 55), was a focal point at which parishioners were invited to join in with prayer and exclamation.[16] Suitable phrases were created in all European languages, and these created a role for parishioners. The *Lay Folk's Mass*

---

ed. O. Pontal (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie) 15 (Paris, 1983), c. 73, p. 326.

[12] "Unde versus: candida, triticea, tenuis, non magna, rotunda, expers fermenti non mista, sit hostia Christi", *Concilia magnae Britanniae et hiberniae AD 446–1718* III, ed. David Wilkins (London, 1737), c. 2, p. 11.

[13] "Dico etiam de tritico, quia in alio pane sicut in pane de siligine vel ordeo vel de quocumque alio grano nisi de tritico non posset celebrari missa," Guido de Monte Rocherii, *Manipulus curatorum* (London, 1508), fol. xx^{r}.

[14] For some examples see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 42–3.

[15] *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church II (1205–1313)*, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), vol. 1, c. 1, p. 170.

[16] On collective prayer see J.-B. Molin, "L'Oratio communis fidelium au Moyen Age en Occident du Xe au XVe siècle," in *Miscellanea Liturgica in onore di sua eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro* II, Rome: Desclée, 1967, pp. 408–13. On awareness of the liturgy's unfolding see John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985), p. 67.

Fig. 55 *Elevation of the Host at Mass*, ca. 1475, from a "Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin," Flemish (Bruges or Ghent, attr. Master of James IV of Scotland), Add. 35313. Folio No: 40 (detail). (Photo: HIP/Art Resource, NY).

Book, a manual composed in the diocese of York in the late-twelfth century and translated into English in the thirteenth, recommended:

> Welcome, Lord, in the form of bread
> For me you suffered a terrible death.
> Just as you bore the crown of thorns
> You suffered so I may not be forlorn.[17]

Lay people were encouraged to fall to their knees and expostulate. Those who had access to written texts could benefit from poems composed for the occasion, like the series of 32 Hails, to Jesus, by the Augustinian friar John Audelay (d.c. 1426), among which:

> Hail! Gracious Lord in thy Godhead,
> Hail! Faithful figure in form of bread,
> Hail! Material matter in thy manhood,
> Worship should be offered to you.
> Hail! Father and Son and Holy Ghost,
> Hail! Maker of the Earth's Center most mighty,
> Hail! Almoner of this holy host,
> Three persons in Trinity.[18]

Here is an area of practice we might call "vernacular liturgy". It was shared by most lay people. It was taught at the mother's knee and reinforced by the more formal instruction offered by priests in adolescence in preparation for Confirmation.[19] Like the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*, eucharistic prayer involved invocation and gesture, sometimes prompted by the Latin rhythm of the liturgy celebrated by priests. These were widespread devotions, and thus popular, familiar, so much so that they were invoked and inserted into other popular forms of religious experience, such as religious drama. In vernacular religious plays devotional tags and even short Latin exclamations were put into the mouths of dramatic figures, but also invited from the audience of spectators.[20]

---

[17] *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, ed. T.F. Simmons (Early English Text Society) 71 (London, 1879), p. 40, lines 237–40.

[18] *The Poems of John Audelay*, ed. Ella Keats Whiting (Early English Text Society) 184 (London, 1931), no. 8, p. 62, lines 7–14 (my translation into Modern English).

[19] On instruction of the Eucharist see Hervé Martin, *Le Métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du moyen âge (1350–1520)* (Paris, 1988), pp. 312–15.

[20] Pamela M. King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City,* Westfield Medieval Studies (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 169–80.

Those lay people privileged with education and leisure were able to combine the duties of parental instruction with some composition and explanation in the vernacular. The French nobleman Jean de Joinville, composed sometime between 1250 and 1251, during his sojourn in Acre as a crusader in the entourage of King Louis IX, a guidebook for laypeople, which could be used as easily by a dying pilgrim/crusader as by a member of Joinville's household. It is an unadorned exposition on faith and the sacraments: Baptism and the Eucharist appear illustrated side-by-side. He explained:

> We must believe in the sacraments shared by the Holy Church, which are as follows: that is to say, in baptism, in the sacrament of the altar, in marriage, or the pardon of sins, and in every other holy sacrament that Holy Church teaches us to believe.[21]

The routes to salvation were to be taught by parents to children, and by householders to domestic servants too.

The art of parishes—wall paintings, carved fonts, vessels and vestments—all combined to reinforce the message of the action at the altar, and to forge links with the parishioners.[22] These were sometimes the embroiderers of altar linen, or the providers of pennies towards the purchase of a new chalice, or the bakers of the blessed bread which was distributed to parishioners at the end of the Mass.[23] While papal, royal and princely courts, cathedrals, religious houses and confraternities developed elaborate and costly liturgies of the Mass, sometimes accompanied by music composed for the occasion, most celebrations of the Mass were more modest in their external aspects, and more familiar.

The liturgical genius of the Mass lay in the making of the wonder of the Eucharist—bread transformed into God's body at the altar—

---

[21] "Nous devons croire es communs sacremens de sainte Eglise, qui ci aprés sont point: ce est a savoir, en baptesme, ou sacrement de l'autel, en mariage, ou pardon des pechiez, et es autres saint sacrement que sainte Eglise nous ensaigne a croire," *Text and Iconography for Joinville's Credo*, ed. Lionel J. Friedman (Cambridge, MA, 1958), p. 45. On the combination of word and image see François Boespflug and Yolanta Zaluska, "L'Eglise et les sacrements dans le *Credo* de Joinville," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 79 (2005), pp. 173–91.

[22] *Decorating the Lord's Table. On the Dynamics between Image and Altar in the Middle Ages*, ed. Søren Kaspersen and Erik Thunø (Copenhagen, 2006); on provision for the altar see French, *The People of the Parish*, pp. 188–90.

[23] Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish, Community life in a Late Medieval Diocese* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 25–6.

Fig. 56 Piscina from a church in Dorset (photo: E&E Image Library/HIP/TopFoto).

into something familiar and simple. There is a truly "domestic" aspect to the enactment of the ritual of the Mass, in movements familiar to anyone who has worked in a kitchen or kept house: the celebrant covers and uncovers the food, breaks and eats it, clears the vessels and collects the crumbs, wipes the drops of wine with clean cloths (Fig. 56). There is a remarkable mundanity in the movements of the priest, gestures he had made hundreds of time before, and was probably yet to perform many times more. It was compelling to see the intimate routine unfold—for his prayer was silent, secret, at this stage. There must have been something comforting about these workaday movements, for they enacted a sort of competence. The Mass depended on the busy priest, the proud householder, hard at work, feeding his people, caring for the living as well as the dead.

This fashioning of the priest into the maker of bread, the server of a meal, was a significant achievement. A tremendous amount of symbolic power resided in the activities of the altar. In them were enfolded the unique blend of familiar practice and transcendence, material and grace, which were the defining formulae of the medieval sacramental world. Even though visitation records show us clearly just how imperfect was the adherence to the standards of liturgical housekeeping laid down by councils and customaries,[24] from around 1200, in a manner that was both systematic and imaginative, the business of the altar, and particularly the eucharistic business of the altar, encompassed the whole Christian story and became, in the unforgettable words of the Fourth Lateran Council, the duty of every man and woman. The use of the universal symbol of meal and food to contain and enact the central mystery of incarnation, death on the cross, and resurrection, unleashed within the religious culture a language rich in associations: there was taste and sound, there was touch and sight and smell too. Christians were offered the chance to eat God, a meal prepared by the priest at the altar, and served as he turned to the congregation.

The Eucharist in Practices

A rich language of sensual delight thus developed: for like all food this was to be tasted seen, smelt, and tasted. Given the insistence that

[24] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 45–7.

Christ's body was present, and indeed shared with believers as a gift of love, and a boost of grace, it seems surprising that tasting God is rarely described in any detail, and is overwhelmingly described simply as "sweetness". The body of Christ is *suavis, dulcis*, the host melts in the mouth to create a pleasant sense of well-being.[25] The experience of sweetness was laden with symbolic meaning: it is the flavor of mother's milk, and was an uncommon flavor for medieval folk—unused to the rush of energy and delight that sugar was to offer to Europeans in later centuries. This sweetness was sometimes likened to the taste of manna, sweet as honey, and the fifteenth-century *Mary Magdalene Play*, Mary and Martha address Christ: "O, Lord Jesus, our mellifluous sweetness,/Thou art greatest Lord in glory!" and later Mary turns to her son with: "O Jesus, thy mellifluous name/must be worshipped with reverence!".[26]

Mystical writers tended to be more fulsome when describing their Eucharistic experiences. A typical discussion of eating God associated with a religious woman is this section from the life of Juliana of Cornillon (1193–1252):

> When they asked her what she wanted to eat, she concealed the richness of her spiritual banquet as far as she could and said in jest that she would like better and more delicious food. Now she meant the spiritual feast with which she had been fed, but not satiated, a little earlier.... But her sisters, thinking she meant physical food, brought out the best they could have at mealtime. Juliana, who disdained physical food—not in words but in reality—showed it was no the kind of food that she longed to eat and that she referred to cryptically as "better and more delicious." Yet to keep peace among the sisters, she tasted a little against her own appetite...[27]

Her real nourishment came from eating the Eucharist, and she could do so only rarely, as nuns were not meant to take frequent communion.

---

[25] Only sweetness was associated with the Eucharist, from among the eight tastes usually listed: greasy (*unctuosus*), bitter (*amarus*), salty (*salsus*), sharp (*acatus*), harsh (*stipticus*), salty like the sea (*ponticus*), vinegary (*acetosus*), C.M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, (New Haven, CT, 2006), pp. 105–16.

[26] The Play of Mary Magdalene is edited in *The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and e Museo 160*, eds. Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy and Louis B. Hall Jr. (Early English Text Society) 283 (Oxford, 1982), p. 50, lines 794–5, and p. 73, lines 1446–7 (my translation into modern English).

[27] *The Life of Juliana of Mont-Cornillon*, trans. Barbara Newman (Peregrina Translations Series) 13 (Toronto, 1988), pp. 37–8.

> But when she received the most holy Body of Christ, her only beloved and chosen…then she was filled with such abundant dew of grace and devotion that her soul would melt like wax in the fire [Song of Songs 5:6] and her spirit fail within her [Ps 76:4].… Surely this bread tasted much sweeter and fresher, more delicious and more spiritual in Juliana's heart than the manna once did in the mouths of a carnal and stiff-necked people.[28]

Then thirteenth-century mystic, Hadewijch, from the region of Brabant, was devoted to God's body: wanting any other food was tantamount to gluttony. She described her Eucharistic union:

> I was chosen [to receive revelations] in order that I might taste Man and God in one knowledge.[29]

Stories were told of people touching the Eucharist too, although they were taught not to do so, and sound emanated from the words of the priest and the expostulations of the congregation. What was true of the Eucharist was also true of other sacraments, but this arch-sacrament, the one which was the *sine qua non* of knowing, adult life, offered the quintessence of the domestication of the means for salvation, of the elementary forms of Christian religious life.

The experiences of women who were not enclosed in nunneries or attached to them, like Juliana, tended to be more explicit. The Umbrian lay woman Angela of Foligno (1248–1309), lived as a well-to-do married woman, until her conversion. She the dictated her experiences to a Franciscan confessor. She too enjoyed the sweetness of God's body. So much so, that she kept the consecrated host on her tongue much longer than she was mean to do. She described her experience of it:

> …sometimes. When she made communion the host expanded in her mouth and she tasted neither the bread nor the [ordinary] meat which we know. Certainly it has the savor of meat but with a completely difficult taste, which "I do not know how to compare to anything else in this word." It went down with great ease and sweetness and not with the difficulty to which she was accustomed. She said that it softened quickly and was not hard as it usually was. And it had such sweetness that had "I not heard it said that a person ought to swallow quickly I would have held it freely in my mouth with great delay. But at such times I remember suddenly that I ought to swallow quickly, and the body of Christ

[28] *Ibid*., pp. 39–41.
[29] Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, p. 153.

> goes down whole with that savor of unknown meat, nor do I have to drink anything afterwards. But this does not normally happen and so I make a great effort that no crumb of the host remains between my teeth."[30]

Angela conveys an ethnography of sorts, of those practices attached to eating God. The problem of pieces of the host remaining between the teeth was resolved in many places by offering a sip of unconsecrated wine, for symbolic symmetry and each of swallowing. The hosts were crude and hard, homemade—unlike the delicate modern wafers which literally melt in the mouth. The savor of meat—it is after all a body—sometimes mingled with the overwhelming sweetness. This sweetness was meant to be the apprehension of the soul once the tongue touches the accidents of the bread. Eating God was an experience mediated by the mind, beyond the raw sense perception.

The experience of tasting God was sometimes confused by the custom of offering blessed bread to parishioners. But there was an opportunity here too, for the duty of provision was often divided between parish households. Giles Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury, ordered in 1256 that households provide in rotation: "Blessed bread, with candles, every Sunday of the year, in each Church of the Christian world."[31] Gifts to the parish hence sometimes took the form of sheaves of corn for the making of flour. The meal at the altar thus involved parishioners, priest and planners. There was a great deal of care to make communion and its substitutes familiar—like bread—but also to retain the creative and compelling tension between the simplicity of bread and the body it became at the altar. All over Europe bishops ordered at their synods that the priest maintain their altar well: with suitable pyx and chalice, pax and linen, all made of suitable (*idonei*) materials: silver gilt vessels, fine white linen or silken cloths.

The provision of wine similarly tested the ingenuity of planners, priests and people. Wine was reserved for clerical communion and in some parts of Europe—most famously Bohemia in the early-fifteenth century—this tipped the symbolic balance away from the domestic

---

[30] Angela of Foligno, *Le Livre de l"expérience des vrais fidèles. Texte latin publié d'après le manuscrit d'Assise*, ed. and trans. M.-J. Ferré and L. Baudry (Paris, 1927), par. 80, p. 166.

[31] "Et debent invenire panem benedictum cum candelis qualibet dominica per annum, in omni eccelsia de mundo christiano," *Councils and Synods II*, vol. 1, c. 8, p. 513.

message. If lay people did not receive the wine then in what sense were they full participants in the meal? In the hands and words of charismatic Hussite preachers, this reception of wine was turned into a focus for other type of ethic and political discontents.[32] In other parishes the provision of wine posed several problems: old wine could turn to vinegar, wine was expensive, diluted wine might lose its potency, and unlike this fortunate part of Europe, there were regions where beer was the most common form of alcohol. The vision of the theologian and liturgical expert John Beleth's (fl. 1135–1182) was far from practicable, for he hoped that ripe grapes might be squeezed into the chalice in readiness for the Mass. A letter by pope Honorius III (1148–1227) inveighed against the custom whereby wine was too diluted. The wine had to be more plentiful than water in the chalice.[33] Bishop William Russell summarized the issue in 1350, stressing the superiority of red wine, and of proper proportions:

> The sacrament is well made in white wine, but not in wine-vinegar, because in it all the powers of the substance have been transformed, and the wine's power is lost. And a moderate amount of water should be placed so that the wine is not absorbed by the water, but rather the water by the wine.[34]

Communion was received only annually by most Christians, but the nexus of meal, the participation in a domestic ritual made public, and in the responsibility for maintaining the symbolic edifice which was its promise.

The Eucharist in the Forest of Symbols

Symbols are embedded in linguistic processes that are dynamic and they generate new forms and meanings as they are made to encounter new symbols in new contexts. And so out of the meal at the altar and

---

[32] H. Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley, CA, 1967), chapter 3, pp. 96–104; Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, pp. 211–12.

[33] "Perniciosus in tuis partibus inolevit abusus, videlicet, quod in majori quantitate de aqua ponitur in sacrificio quam de vino: cum secundum rationabilem consuetudinem Ecclesiae generalis plus in ipso sit de vino quam de aqua popnendum," Decretals of Gregory IX, lib. 3, tit. 41, c. 13; *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–81) 1:643.

[34] "In albo tamen bene conficitur sacramentum, et non de aceto, cum in aceto mutantur omnes substantiales vires et vinum non amisit. Et aqua in tam modica quantitate apponatur, ut non vinum ab aqua sed aqua ab vino absorbeatur," *Concilia* III, c. 2, p. 11.

the mother of God were born some new visual and textual frames for apprehension of the holy in late medieval Europe. Inasmuch as the Eucharist was food, baked in an oven, it was a symbol of nurture and provision. This aspect of the Eucharist sometimes intersected with the most prominent mother figure, the Virgin Mary, that feeder, nurturer, comforter.[35] The great poet and mystic, Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179) composed much liturgical poetry on Mary; she occasional likened Mary's womb—where Christ was made—as the place where the wheat of the host was made too, as in *O viridissima virga*:

> So the skies rained dew on the grass
> and the whole earth exulted,
> for her womb brought forth wheat,
> for the birds of heaven
> made their nest in it.[36]

With great poetic licence and imagination the German poet Frauenlob (d. 1318) described Mary's contribution to the Eucharist:

> I am the field that bore in season
> Wheat for the sacred mysteries.
> I threshed, I milled, I baked the bread—
> soft, not hard, with smooth oil spread.[37]

There was a density and richness in eucharistic thought fertilised by encounter with the Virgin Mary. Most popular instruction to parishioners retained greater simplicity. Bishop of Paris, Ranulph de la Houblonnière preached to Beguines—lay women who formed communities for religious communal living—in Paris ca. 1273, and spoke of Christ's body of Mary, who might be considered "the first priestess".[38] A salutation to be said during the Mass addressed God:

---

[35] Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London, 2009), esp. parts 3 and 4.

[36] "Unde celi dederunt rorem super gramen/et omnis terra leta facta est,/quoniam viscera ipsius frumentum protulerunt/et quoniam volucres celi/nidos in ipsa habuerunt," *Symphonia. A Critical Edition of the Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum [Symphony of the Harmony of Celestial Revelations]*, trans. Barbara Newman, (Ithaca and London, 1988), no. 19, pp. 127–8.

[37] "Ich binz ein acker, der den weize zitig brachte her,/dam it man spiset sich in gotes tougen./ich drasch, ich mul, inch buch linde und nicht harte,/wan ich mit olei ez bestreich," Frauenlob's *Song of Songs*, trans. Barbara Newman (University Park, 2006), lines 25–8, pp. 24–5.

[38] "Vere possumus dicere quod ipsa fuit prima presbiterissa que umquam fuerit in terra", Nicole Bériou, *La Prédication de Ranulphe de La Houblonnière: sermons aux clercs et aux simples gens à Paris au XIIIe siècle* II (Paris, 1987), p. 55.

I honor you with all my might
In form of bread as I you see,
Lord that in your lady bright,
In Mary Man became for me.[39]

Christmas and eucharistic themes combined to dramatize the both of Jesus in his mother as mirrored in his "rebirth" at the altar, like

The kernel sprang at Christmas
That now is Christ in a white cake
The priest drinks the blessed drink
God's blood in the sacrament.[40]

The fourteenth-century English *The Book of Vices and Virtues* similarly involved Mary in the making of the bread: 'This bread we call ours for it was made of our dough: 'Blessed this good woman who laid forth the flour; that was the Virgin Mary'.[41] Mary was appreciated as God's tabernacle, an oven in which this precious bread was baked, as in a fifteenth-century Eucharistic prayer from England:

This bread gives eternal life
Both unto man, to child, and wife…
In Virgin Mary this bread was baked
When Christ of her manhood did take,
For of all sin mankind to make,
Eat it so you be not dead.[42]

Meal and mother combined in juxtapositions within theology and devotional poetry, and on visual occasions that were local and mundane. Mary became in the fourteenth century a popular subject of altarpieces, attending with her son at every celebration of that very son's body. Less universal, and more regional were specific renderings of the relationship between meal and mother. Spain and France produced the *virgen abridera* or the *vierge ouvrante*, of which a few tens still survive. These are containers of the consecrated host, shaped as the

[39] *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, ed. Carl Horstmann and F.J. Furnivall, (Early English Text Society) 98 (London, 1892), p. 25.

[40] *Legends of the Holy Rood: Symbols of the Passion and Cross-Poems*, ed. Richard Morris (Early English Text Society) 46 (London, 1871), p. 211.

[41] It is the translation of a thirteenth-century treatise in French, *The Book of Vices and Virtues: a Fourteenth-Century Translation of 'Some le Roi' of Lorens d'Orléans*, ed. W. Nelson Francis (Early English Text Society) 217 (Oxford, 1942), p. 110.

[42] *The Early English Carols*, ed. R.L. Greene (Oxford, 1935), no. 65, p. 216 (from Cambridge University library Ee.1.12, fols., 49^{v}–50^{r}).

body of Mary, opening in her middle, the place of her womb.[43] Think also of that quintessential late medieval item of church furnishing, the tabernacle (see Figs. 89 and 90), called variously Sakramenthaus (German), armoire (French), or tabernacolo (Italian).[44] Another instance of conflation between Mary and Eucharist—Christ's birth and his death on the Cross, is reflected in the choice of the theme of the Annunciation as appropriate decoration for the exterior of such edifices in which the Eucharist was kept, as in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Reichenau Mittelzell and St Lawrence Senden.[45]

What are we to learn from all this about the power of the Eucharist in medieval European popular religious culture? The intermingling of the domestic and the sacred, of images of the greatest banality—baking, eating, washing, pouring, maternity—produced narratives and patterns of devotional behaviour which drew upon common experience in the hope of making the most unfamiliar and unlikely familiar and truthful. The danger was, of course, that such "banalization" might lead to a de-mystification, disenchantment with the sacramental world and its promise. This did, indeed, occur, as in the gestures of defiance from critics and dissenters: that the sacrament was too small to feed the many, that bread baked at home could not become God's body, that priests are no better at making God's body than are ordinary folk (Fig. 57).[46] That such critique was very compelling, and sometimes joyful, is evident from its vivid enunciation by Lollards in the fifteenth century, just as it was to be in those parts of Europe touched by Protestant reform in the sixteenth.[47]

Yet the power of the domestic rendering of religion to engage routines of family life, gender roles, and the rhythms of kin and

---

[43] Irene Gonzálvez Hernando, "La Virgen de San Blas de Buriñondo en Bergara: ejemplo y excepción de Virgen abridera trinitaria," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 16 (2006), pp. 59–78.

[44] Achim Timmermann has written extensively on these structures, see his "Designing a House for the Body of Christ, ca. 1300" The Beginnings of Eucharistic Architecture in Western and Northern Europe, *Arte Medievale*, n. s. 4 (2005), pp. 125–35 and "Altissimum ac pretiosum: The Vienna Cathedral Lodge and Sarement House Design in East Central Europe, *Uměni* 53 (2005), pp. 539–50.

[45] Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ, c. 1250–c. 1600* (Architectura Medii Aevi) 4 (Turnhout, 2009).

[46] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 334–342.

[47] For examples of changes in provision for Eucharistic prayer by Protestant book owners see Eamon Duffy, *Making the Hours. English People and their Prayers 1240–1570*, (New Haven and London, 2006), pp. 168–70.

Fig. 57 Rood Screen, 15th century, St Eilian Church, Anglesey, Wales (photo: open source).

community, made it very attractive indeed. The meal became allied to the Mother too, conveyed to all Christians, in every parish, in images, and preaching, in vernacular chant and monumental architecture. Meaning often relied on the existence of paradox, for paradox can be made the essence of experience: here was a meal, prepared by celibate priest, yet still a meal; here was a mother like every other, yet with a difference. Building on emotions patently known and shared—joy at motherhood, conjugal cooperation, mourning—Christian life built on the mundane even as it offered the transcendent. The burghers of great cities—Bruges, London, Urbino, York—combined in exclusive confraternities with the hope that devotion will bless their enterprises and secure them sons and daughters. Townspeople all over Europe expressed appreciation of the symbolic meal in Corpus Christi fraternities, as did more modest people, like the Beguines of northern Europe in their Eucharistic devotions, which so often turned into expressions of maternal yearning. It is also significant that reformers, and I mean here not only those of the fifteenth century, but the Catholic reformers of the sixteenth sought to contain what they took to be excessive engagement both with the meal and with the Mother, suggesting limits to the practices they inspired.[48]

Making the Eucharist available and discernable through the most familiar and cherished routines of food and nurture, led to the growth of related areas of discomfort and anxiety. Those who cherished the Eucharist also worried about its vulnerabilities, and imagined the many misadventures which could befall a precious thing so widely available, so simple in its texture and appearance. Some of these fantasies were woven into the stuff of *exempla*, into tales meant to amuse and inform, which attributed to Christians of many types—women, priests, peasants—habits and infractions which challenged the eucharistic code.[49]

There was a darker side to this symbolic elaboration, as Jews became associated through new narratives with knowing desecration of the Eucharistic host. As the centrality of the Eucharist brose in medieval religious culture, as ideas about it, images and stories circulated more widely, as it reached all Christians with its promise and magnificence, as it was experienced personally and collectively, the eucharistic world gave birth to a new narrative that combined hatred of contemporary

[48] See Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2005).
[49] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 108–129.

Jews with love of the Eucharist. These narratives, were enacted as social dramas against particular Jews, and the first case know to us took place in Paris in 1290.[50] Over a hundred cases are known to have unfolded in the centuries that followed. Some led to widespread regional violence, some to expulsions and a few others were quelled by counter-arguments which shed doubt on the tale. In most cases an expiatory chapel, dedicated to the miraculous "abused" host, or to the blood which issued from it, was constructed and a cult unfolded. In this way Eucharistic devotion was periodically reinforced by the eruption of the miraculous and with proof of the power of the Eucharist to defend itself and to expose and punish its inveterate enemies.[51]

The Eucharist and the Mother—present in every church, habitually visible on every street—the realm of the domestic was offered as the focus for structuring identity to individuals and groups. The process which saw them become the heart of European religious cultures, also produced a growing sense that those who doubted the meaning of the sacred meal, were not simply wrong; they were worse: dangerous personal enemies, a danger to self, family and community.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley, 1987.

Macy, Gary. *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period. A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians, c. 1080–c. 1220*. Oxford, 1984.

Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge, 1991.

[50] Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: the Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*, London and (New Haven, CT, 1999), pp. 40–48.

[51] On Pulkau, see Mitchell B. Merback, "Fount of Mercy, City of Blood: Cultic Anti-Judaism and the Pulkau Passion Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin* (2005), pp. 589–642; On Wilsnack, Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood. Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 25–46.

PART FOUR

THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

LATE MEDIEVAL SACRED SPACES AND THE EUCHARIST

Gerhard Lutz

Around 1265 the chapter of Constance Cathedral initiated a spectacular building project: a monumental Holy Sepulcher in the Mauritius chapel attached to their cloister, made of stone and with a rich sculptural program oriented towards the viewer offering various starting points for contemplating on Christ's life and passion (Fig. 58).[1] The liturgy centered on the chapel is documented in a *Ceremoniale* of 1517/19, a compilation of rituals on major feasts.[2] During the Easter liturgy of the Holy Week, a Host consecrated on Holy Thursday for the Holy Sepulcher (*pro dominico sepulchro*)[3] was placed in a chalice, brought to the chapel and entombed there. According to the late fifteenth-century customary, the *Liber ordinarius* of Constance Cathedral, a cross was deposited with the Host (*Crux et Corpus Domini*).[4] In addition, a figure of the dead Christ on a bier, carried by two priests, is mentioned in the Ceremoniale.[5] The Host was placed in a closable shrine which is called a *cista*, a chest, in the early sixteenth-century text. Today's casket in the interior of the Sepulcher was made in 1552 after the

---

[1] The Mauritius chapel was originally a free standing building northeast of the cathedral, founded by bishop Konrad (934–975) after 940 in the context of his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a smaller copy of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. The church was originally equipped with 12 secular canons. In the 13th century, however, the chapel was part of the cathedral and integrated into its liturgy. Since the 10th century the chapel with the Holy Sepulcher was probably the site where liturgical plays took place performing Christ's passion at Easter. See Peter Jezler, "Gab es in Konstanz ein ottonisches Osterspiel? Die Maritius-Rotunde und ihre kultische Funktion als Sepulchrum Domini," in *Variorum munera florum: Latinität als prägende Kraft mittelalterlicher Kultur, Festschrift für Hans F. Häfele zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* ed. Adolf Reinle (Sigmaringen, 1985), pp. 91–128.

[2] See Paul Zinsmaier, "Eine unbekannte Quelle zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Liturgie im Konstanzer Münster," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 104 (1956), pp. 52–104.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 76 and Jezler, "Ottonisches Osterspiel," p. 109, n. 75.

[4] Jezler, "Ottonisches Osterspiel," p. 109.

[5] See also Heribert Reiners, *Das Münster Unserer Lieben Frau zu Konstanz*, *Die Kunstdenkmäler Südbadens, 1* (Konstanz, 1955), pp. 499–516 and Gerhard Lutz, "Repräsentation und Affekt: Skulptur von 1250 bis 1430," in *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Deutschland*, ed. Bruno Klein (München, Berlin, London, New York, 2007), pp. 326–97, 350, with bibliography.

Fig. 58 Holy Sepulchre, ca. 1265, Constance Cathedral, Chapel of St. Mauritius (photo: artwork in the public domain).

lootings of the reformatory iconoclasts. There is still a ring attached to the ceiling in the center of the Sepulcher that could have been used for the hanging of the casket.[6] On Easter morning the Host was brought back to the church and presented to the people in the nave where it was put down on the altar in front of the choir screen until the end of the Mass.[7]

It is not clear whether it is possible to project the early sixteenth-century liturgy back to the later thirteenth century. Most of these texts, however, reflect much older customs. In the case of Constance, the use of a Host on Good Friday and Easter for entombment and resurrection may be based on a much older tradition. In a similar way bishop Ulrich of Augsburg (923–973) entombed a Host just outside the cathedral in a separate chapel.[8] As Constance had close relations to its neighboring diocese Augsburg, this conformance is probably not coincidental.

Thus the building of the Holy Sepulcher at Constance alone does not give us a clear indication of any significance of late medieval eucharistic veneration in relation to the early and high Middle Ages. The use of a Host wafer as a substitute for Christ—or, to be more precise, as his body and blood—is part of a fundamental change in devotional practices originating in the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1215 transubstantiation became a dogma, and in 1209 or 1210 Juliana of Liège, according to her vita, had a vision in which Christ complained that there was no feast in honor of his body and his blood.[9] In 1252 the papal legate Hugo of St.-Cher created the holiday in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1264 Pope Urban IV promulgated the feast for the whole church. A closer look at its diffusion, however, shows that until the early fourteenth century the popularity of the feast was mostly limited to Germany and parts of France.[10] Evidence for processions dates back to the last third of the

---

[6] Peter Kurmann, "Das Heilige Grab zu Konstanz: Gedanken zu seinem Sinngehalt," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 24.12. 1972.

[7] See the records of the chathedral chapter in Elisabeth Reiners-Ernst, *Regesten zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Münsters zu Konstanz*, *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung: Sonderheft* (Lindau, Konstanz, 1956), p. 39, no. 286. Further texts in Jezler, "Ottonisches Osterspiel," pp. 111–18.

[8] See Jezler, "Ottonisches Osterspiel," p. 126.

[9] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 164–85.

[10] Peter Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (München, 1933), pp. 76–80. See also Achim Timmermann, "Architektur und Eucharistie: Sakramentshäuser der Parlerzeit. Ein Überblick," *Das Münster* 55, no. 1 (2002), pp. 2–13, esp. p. 2.

thirteenth century, such as at St. Gereon in Cologne (between 1264 and 1279),[11] and at St. Godehard in Hildesheim (1301).[12] These early examples show a concentration in monasteries and convents. The text mentions that the priest blessed the people in "medii monasterii," i.e., in the nave of the abbey church in front of the altar of the Holy Cross. The Host was to be lifted in such a way that the people were able to look at it.[13]

Regardless of the origins of the use of Hosts at Constance and Hildesheim, this example makes clear the central problem of discussing Eucharistic liturgical spaces in the later Middle Ages. Every church turned into a Eucharistic setting during Mass while the priest elevated the Host.[14] This ephemeral moment was illuminated by sculptures and painted panels referring to the Eucharist from various angles and with different focuses. At this point during services, liturgical actions and furnishings complemented each other and melded together. This has inspired some recent art historical scholarship to label late medieval piety as visual. In his study on the active image in Gothic art (*Das handelnde Bildwerk in der Gotik*), the German art historian Johannes Tripps related this to the opening of reliquaries with rock crystals, cabochons or small windows, with early examples appearing by the later twelfth century, testifying to the desire of believers to see the relic.[15] This understanding of visuality has been questioned and differentiated, however, by Caroline Walker Bynum in her recent study on late medieval Holy Blood cult. One of her main arguments is that Hosts as well as relics were increasingly shown either from a distance

---

[11] See Browe, *Verehrung der Eucharistie*, p. 94.

[12] "In stacione medii monasterii stabit supra gradus ante altare sancte Crucis cum ipsa hostia sacratissima populum benedicens." Richard Doebner, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Hildesheim*, 8 vols., vol. 1 (Hildesheim, 1881), p. 306, n. 558. See Browe, *Verehrung der Eucharistie*, pp. 73–74, n. 9 and most recently Noël Coulet, "Processions et jeux de la Fête-Dieu en Occident (XIVe–XVe siècle)," in *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, eds. Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau, and Dominique Rigaux, *Collection des Études Augustiniennes—Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes* (Paris, 2009), pp. 497–518.

[13] Browe, *Verehrung der Eucharistie*, pp. 54–62, with numerous examples.

[14] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 54–56.

[15] Johannes Tripps, *Das handelnde Bildwerk in der Gotik: Forschungen zu den Bedeutungsgeschichten und der Funktion des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Hoch- und Spätgotik*, 2 ed. (Berlin, 2000), pp. 144–45 and Timmermann, „Architektur und Eucharistie," p. 2, Achim Timmermann, "Designing a House for the Body of Christ: The Beginnings of Eucharistic Architecture in Western and Northern Europe, c. 1300," *Arte Medievale* N.S. 4, n. 1 (2005), pp. 119–29, esp p. 119.

or at certain times only. Such regulations contradict, at least partially, the idea of visual piety.[16]

This controversial situation in current scholarship, reflecting a significant split between historians and art historians, raises several questions that can be used as starting points for discussion: What factors and circumstances influenced the emergence of eucharistic liturgical spaces and works of art? When did that happen and how were sacred spaces transformed in the process of a flourishing eucharistic piety? As no sufficient base of case studies exists, it is necessary to look again closer at the different sites to understand how a liturgical space functioned in its liturgical context with the works of art and what we can learn from a closer analysis of architecture and furnishings in relation to textual evidence.

At the Holy Sepulcher in Constance Cathedral we can reconstruct some aspects of medieval eucharistic liturgy, although the Cathedral itself has been fundamentally refurbished. Most works of art in and from churches have been moved and isolated from their original presentation, now seen in new contexts in the church or in museums. They are mostly discussed in their iconographic context by scholars who relate them to certain traditions, since they are unable to place these monuments in the context of their original sacred spaces.[17]

Using St. Sebald in Nuremberg as an example, Gerhard Weilandt provided us with an informative case study. Nuremberg was the first town in South Germany without a bishop to introduce Corpus Christi processions in ca. 1336/40.[18] This marks a turning point in late medieval eucharistic veneration when the movement apparently gained a socially broader momentum. At Nuremberg the starting point was the newly founded beadhouse/hospital of the Holy Spirit, with a Sacrament house and a sculpture of the Man of Sorrows. Both hospital and procession owe their existence to Konrad Groß, mayor of Nuremberg.

---

[16] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, *[The Middle Ages series]* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 76–77.

[17] For a characteristic example see Dominique Rigaux, "Miracle, reliques et images dans la chapelle du Corporal à Orvieto (1357–1364)," in *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, ed. Nicole Bériou, *Collection des Études Augustiniennes—Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes* (Paris, 2009), pp. 201–45.

[18] Gerhard Weilandt, *Die Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg: Bild und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Gotik und Renaissance*, *Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte* (Petersberg, 2007), pp. 104–06.

Weilandt showed that the establishment of this procession, furnished with a rich indulgence, made a large impact on religious life in Nuremberg. Numerous Corpus Christi altars were donated to the churches of the town and, subsequently, related furnishings and images; most notably monumental sculptures of the Man of Sorrows, the *Schmerzensmann*, emerged as a prominent theme. At the parish church of St. Sebald, five images of the Man of Sorrows were donated in the third quarter of the fourteenth century by Nuremberg's noble families, with three in proximity of the west choir alone, where a second depository for the Host (besides that in the eastern choir) was located (Fig. 59). Furthermore, two of the sculptures were directly oriented towards the west choir.[19] As this arrangement ended with the completion of the new east choir in 1379, these three sculptures can be dated between 1336/40 and 1379, testifying to the immense popularity of the cult, beginning with the introduction of the procession. After 1379 the new Sacrament house in the northern ambulatory next to the center axis, built before 1374, served as exclusive depository for the Host.[20] The example of St. Sebald shows how quickly sacred spaces were transformed in the wake of a flourishing eucharistic veneration, and why locations and orientations in the church have to be considered to understand the differentiated arrangement of furnishings. But St. Sebald is the exception, as elsewhere furnishings have not been preserved, nor are contemporary texts known or sufficiently studied.[21]

These observations also raise the question as to what point in time the widening eucharistic veneration became a broader popular movement. While the liturgy at Constance was limited to the clergy of the Cathedral, the events at Nuremberg testify to a eucharistic piety positioned in the center of late medieval civic society. Most examples for testimonies of the Corpus Christi feast can be related to monasteries and convents in the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth

[19] *Ibid*., p. 106.

[20] *Ibid*., pp. 106–08; for the sacrament house and its larger context see Timmermann, "Architektur und Eucharistie," p. 4.

[21] There are more examples showing the Eucharistic cult as a civic movement such as at Orvieto Cathedral where the completion of the shrine in 1338 coincides with the introduction of a city-wide Corpus Christi procession. See Dominique Nicole Surh, "Corpus Christi and the 'Cappella del Corporale' at Orvieto" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2000), p. 44. On the documentary evidence see Surh, "Corpus Christi and the "Cappella del Corporale,'" pp. 92–93.

Fig. 59 *Man of Sorrows*, third quarter of 14th century, Church of St. Sebald, Nuremberg (photo: Weilandt, Sebalduskirche, 2007).

century.[22] Parallel to that, early Host miracles can also be dated back to the last third of the thirteenth century, such as the famous desecration of 1290 in Paris or the blood miracles at Wasserleben (diocese of Halberstadt) before 1288, and Gottsbüren (northern Hesse) around 1330.[23] Although we have a first charter of 1288 for Wasserleben, an indulgence for the showing of the blood, a intensification of activities took place around 1300 with the foundation of a Cistercian convent next to the Holy Blood chapel.[24] Even though these testimonies could be complemented by numerous other examples,[25] it becomes apparent that only with the establishment of local eucharistic cults we find a broader basis for corresponding liturgical spaces. This coincides with a more fundamental change in devotion which resulted in new iconographic themes, such as the *Arma Christi*, the Pietà or the Man of Sorrows, as well as an unparalleled drastic depiction of Christ's suffering in the *Crucifixi dolorosa*, as seen in St. Maria im Kapitol in Cologne shortly after 1300.[26] Although it is not possible to reduce this change to one source, the complexity of cross-references, the larger context of theology, and the piety of that time deserves further study.[27]

Art historical research in this field, however, faces two major problems. First, some of the texts in the Protestant regions were made after

---

[22] Browe, *Verehrung der Eucharistie*, pp. 76–79.

[23] Wilhelm A. Eckhardt, "Gottsbüren—ein hessisches Wilsnack?," in *Die Wilsnackfahrt: Ein Wallfahrts- und Kommunikationszentrum Nord- und Mitteleuropas im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Felix Escher and Hartmut Kühne, *Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006).

[24] Hartmut Kühne, "Der Harz und sein Umland—eine spätmittelalterliche Wallfahrtslandschaft?," in *Spätmittelalterliche Wallfahrt im mitteldeutschen Raum. Beiträge einer interdisziplinären Arbeitstagung (Eisleben 7. / 8. Juni 2002)*, ed. Hartmut Kühne, Wolfgang Radtke, and Gerlinde Strohmaier-Wiederanders (http://dochost.rz.hu-berlin.de//conferences/conf2/Kuehne-Hartmut-2002–09–08/HTML/, 2002), no. 70 and Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 53–54.

[25] Although in many details outdated, Peter Browe's study on medieval eucharistic miracles still offers the most compregensive overview: Peter Browe, *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters*, *Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie, N.F., 4* (Breslau, 1938).

[26] Godehard Hoffmann, *Das Gabelkreuz in St. Maria im Kapitol zu Köln und das Phänomen der Crucifixi dolorosi in Europa*, *Arbeitsheft der rheinischen Denkmalpflege* (Worms, 2006).

[27] J. Tripps argues for an early influence of Eucharistic veneration (Tripps, *Das handelnde Bildwerk*, pp. 143–44) on the basis of depictions of the dead Christ in a shroud. He refers to a sculpture from Bäl on Gotland which has been dated to c. 1200. But whether this rather simple and hardly datable sculpture may serve as an argument is problematic.

the Reformation to show their fervent opposition against these forms of piety. The main source for the Holy Blood shrine in Wilsnack, for example, is Matthaeus Ludecus who published his collection in 1586 in Wittenberg, where the most respected Protestant university in Germany at that time was located. Furthermore, the practice of piety is shrouded in mystery. In the Catholic territories of southern Germany, the cult partly survived the Reformation period in places such as Andechs, Deggendorf, and Walldürn, but unfortunately no image or text shows the liturgical life at these sites before the Reformation. In Wilsnack, the so-called *Mirakelbücher* were lost during the Reformation.[28] The earliest examples of images date back to the late sixteenth century. It is thus clear that we have to bring together scattered textual and traditional material with surviving church architecture and furnishings at different pilgrimages to come closer to a more significant conclusion.

While Wasserleben and Gottsbüren completely lost their medieval furnishings, other eucharistic shrines with corresponding furnishings provide us with a basis for further discussion.[29] In Catholic territories most churches were either rebuilt and redecorated in the Baroque period or destroyed to make way for a new building. The Salvator church in the Bavarian town Passau was changed into a secular complex with apartments, tool shed, and workshops. The furnishings were dispersed to nearby churches.[30]

The starting point for research is more favorable in the Lutheran territories in northern Germany. These regions did not participate in the iconoclasm of the Peasants' War (the *Bauernkrieg*) and tolerated the old furnishings. But radical changes in these churches since the nineteenth century reflect the course of historicizing renovations. For instance, at Wilsnack, the most popular and controversial eucharistic pilgrimage in the fifteenth century, the original stained glass windows

[28] Angela Nickel, "Wilsnack als europäischer Wallfahrtsort (1383–1552) und seine Kunstwerke," in *Die mittelalterliche Plastik in der Mark Brandenburg: Protokollband des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 2. bis 4. März 1989 in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Bodemuseum*, ed. Lothar Lambacher and Frank Matthias Kammel (Berlin, 1990), pp. 153–60, esp. p. 154.

[29] Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 53–54.

[30] Vera Viertlböck, "St. Salvator in Passau: Historische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 26 (1984), pp. 98–125, esp. p. 101.

were restored in the late nineteenth century and reassembled in the choir, a process which destroyed the original program.[31]

Nevertheless numerous medieval objects and related texts enable us to partially reconstruct the pre-Reformation site and liturgy of the fifteenth-century church at Wilsnack. A miracle occurred at Wilsnack in 1383 when Johannes Kabuz, the local priest, was ordered in a dream to go to his village which had been destroyed by a fire. There he found three Hosts preserved in the altar. These had not only survived the flames but each seemed to have drops of blood in its center. A quickly increasing pilgrimage stimulated by numerous miracles started almost immediately afterwards.

The site of the miracle became part of an extensive complex of buildings; however, with the exception of the church, the complex is now completely destroyed.[32] The late sixteenth-century chronicler Mattaeus Ludecus mentions twenty hospices for pilgrims at Wilsnack.[33] Furthermore two chapels, St. Salvator in the east and St. Erasmus and Mary Magdalen in the west, served the purposes of attracting pilgrimage.[34] The only remaining medieval building until the late twentieth century, drastically altered in the Baroque period, was the so-called Prälatenhaus, the prelate's house, connected directly with the church by a passage.[35] This gives us at least a fragmentary impression of the situation around the church in Wilsnack in the late fifteenth century.

---

[31] Angela Schulze, "Zur Restaurierung der mittelalterlichen Glasmalerei in der Nikolaikirche zu Bad Wilsnack," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Denkmalpflege—Arbeitsstelle Schwerin—an die ehrenamtlichen Beauftragten für Denkmalpflege der Bezirke Rostock, Schwerin, Neubrandenburg*, no. 32 (1988), pp. 712–17.

[32] Nickel, "Wilsnack als europäischer Wallfahrtsort," p. 153.

[33] Zitiert nach Marina Flügge, *Glasmalerei in Brandenburg vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert.* (Worms, 1998), p. 55. See Ernst Breest, "Das Wunderblut von Wilsnack (1383–1552). Quellenmässige Darstellung seiner Geschichte," *Märkische Forschungen* 16 (1881), 134–301, p. 155, n. 2, Matthaeus Ludecus, *Historia von der erfindung, Wunderwercken und zerstörung des vermeinten heiligen Bluts zur Wilssnagk: sampt den hierüber und dawider ergangenen schreiben* (Wittenberg, 1586), and Hartmut Kühne, "In Wilsnack," in *Wunder—Wallfahrt—Widersacher: Die Wilsnackfahrt*, ed. Hartmut Kühne and Anne-Katrin Ziesak (Regensburg, 2005), pp. 105–25.

[34] Breest, "Das Wunderblut von Wilsnack," pp. 275–76.

[35] After the reformation the *Prälatenhaus* was a residence of the Saldern dynasty and it was finally demolished after a fire in 1976.

The erection of the large church probably began during the 1380s (Fig. 60).[36] An indulgence of Pope Urban VI of 1384 perhaps marked the beginning of these efforts. In 1401, when Bishop Wöpelitz of Havelberg died, the choir and transept were probably finished. Past research has linked the building process with the death of the bishop, but with regard to the unprecedented success of the pilgrimage, the events on the building site should not be related too closely to the succession of the local bishops. One point is of particular interest here. The form of the nave was changed during its execution, which was completed not much later than 1430.[37] Its length was reduced to join the nave with the stump of the tower of the older church. One motivation could have been to place the new building within the tradition of its predecessor. What is more significant for our argument is that the builders took into account the reduced length of the nave; one bay more or less was apparently not the primary concern for them. This could mean that the essential parts of the mass pilgrimage took place outside or around the shrine and it was not considerably restricted by the shorter nave.

The architecture of the church is closely related to that of the Johanniskirche in Lüneburg, a wealthy town about 90 km west of Wilsnack.[38]

---

[36] Alexander Krauß and Detlev von Olk, "Neue Erkenntnisse zur Baugeschichte der Wilsnacker Wallfahrtskirche," in *Wunder—Wallfahrt—Widersachser: Die Wilsnackfahrt*, ed. Hartmut Kühne and Anne-Katrin Ziesak (Regensburg, 2005), pp. 126–32, esp. pp. 126–27, suggest a late beginning, around 1450, for the new church building. Some of the wooden beams in the roof, however, can be dated to 1453. This shows that the building process certainly started before 1450. The eastern parts of the church were possibly protected by a provisional cover. Furthermore the authors take a renewed indulgence of 1447 by Pope Eugenius IV as a probable starting point of the construction, although such papal charters usually give limited references to the actual activities on the ground. See Alexander Krauß and Detlev von Olk, "Zur Baugeschichte der Wilsnacker Wallfahrtskirche," in *Die Wilsnackfahrt: Ein Wallfahrts- und Kommunikationszentrum Nord- und Mitteleuropas im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Felix Escher and Hartmut Kühne, *Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien* (Frankfurt am Main u.a., 2006), pp. 179–88, esp. p. 180, n. 10.

[37] Claudia Lichte, *Die Inszenierung einer Wallfahrt: Der Lettner im Havelberger Dom und das Wilsnacker Wunderblut* (Worms, 1990), p. 34. The old church was pulled down only after the completion of the enclosure-walls of the nave. For a late dating see Folkhard Cremer, *Die St. Nikolaus- und Heiligblut-Kirche zu Wilsnack (1383–1552): eine Einordnung ihrer Bauformen in die Kirchenarchitektur zwischen Verden und Chorin, Doberan und Meissen im Spiegel bischöflicher und landesherrlicher Auseinandersetzungen*, *Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft, Bd. 63* (München, 1996), pp. 129–31.

[38] Jürgen Michler, "Gotische Backsteinhallen um Lüneburg, St. Johannis" (Phil. Diss., Georg-August Universität Göttingen, 1967), pp. 241–48, and for relations to the architecture in the *Mark Brandenburg* Nickel, "Wilsnack als europäischer Wallfahrtsort," p. 153.

Fig. 60 Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, west façade (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim).

The ground plan (Fig. 61), however, shows several differences to that of the Johannis church with respect to the functional necessities of a pilgrimage site. There are two two-storied chapels at the eastern side of the transept: in the south for the *expositio* and the keeping of the so called *Wunderblut* and in the north for the sacristy. The function of the upper rooms is unclear as yet. According to post-Reformation sources of the later sixteenth century, the south side served as gallery for the organ and the north side could have housed the library.[39]

At the Holy Blood chapel the Hosts were preserved in a chest; its exterior shows the Mass of St. Gregory. In its gable two angels hold a Host monstrance. On the interior door panels are depicted the throne of mercy (*Gnadenstuhl*) on the left and the derision of Christ on the right (Fig. 62). The pedestal of the Host monstrance was inserted in a quadratic hole in the cabinet. But how were the miracle Hosts presented outside of processions and Masses? The chapel initially had two relatively small entrances, one from the choir in the north and another from the ambulatory in the west. This suggests that the ordinary pilgrim probably did not have an immediate access to the Holy Blood shrine. Instead the small entrances to the chapel hint that there was a treasury to guard the relics and that they were not presented to worshipers for a close view. Furthermore, there were three arcades in the west reaching approximately to hip height that enabled the worshipers to look into the chapel and to see the cabinet containing the miraculous Hosts.[40] The northern arcade was closed in the later fifteenth century and decorated with a wall-painting of St. Anne with Mary and Jesus (*Anna Selbdritt*), limiting the views of the pilgrims to the shrine even further. But this does not exclude the possibility that special visitors to the shrine were allowed to enter the chapel.

A slot in front of the monstrance was probably used as poor-box,[41] though some scholars have postulated that this was a place through which to insert the certificates issued for the visit of the Holy Blood in the hope of gaining an additional benefit (Fig. 63). However, the slot leads to a box which can be locked, and a poor-box is therefore more probable in my view. Such devotional practices are not at all

---

[39] Cremer, *Die St. Nikolaus- und Heiligblut-Kirche zu Wilsnack*, p. 196.

[40] Lichte *Die Inszenierung einer Wallfahrt*, p. 38, interpreted the arcades as round-arched niches and not as openings.

[41] Ulrich Woronowicz, *Ev. Kirche St. Nikolai Bad Wilsnack*, *Schnell, Kunstführer*; *2125* (Regensburg, 1994), p. 14.

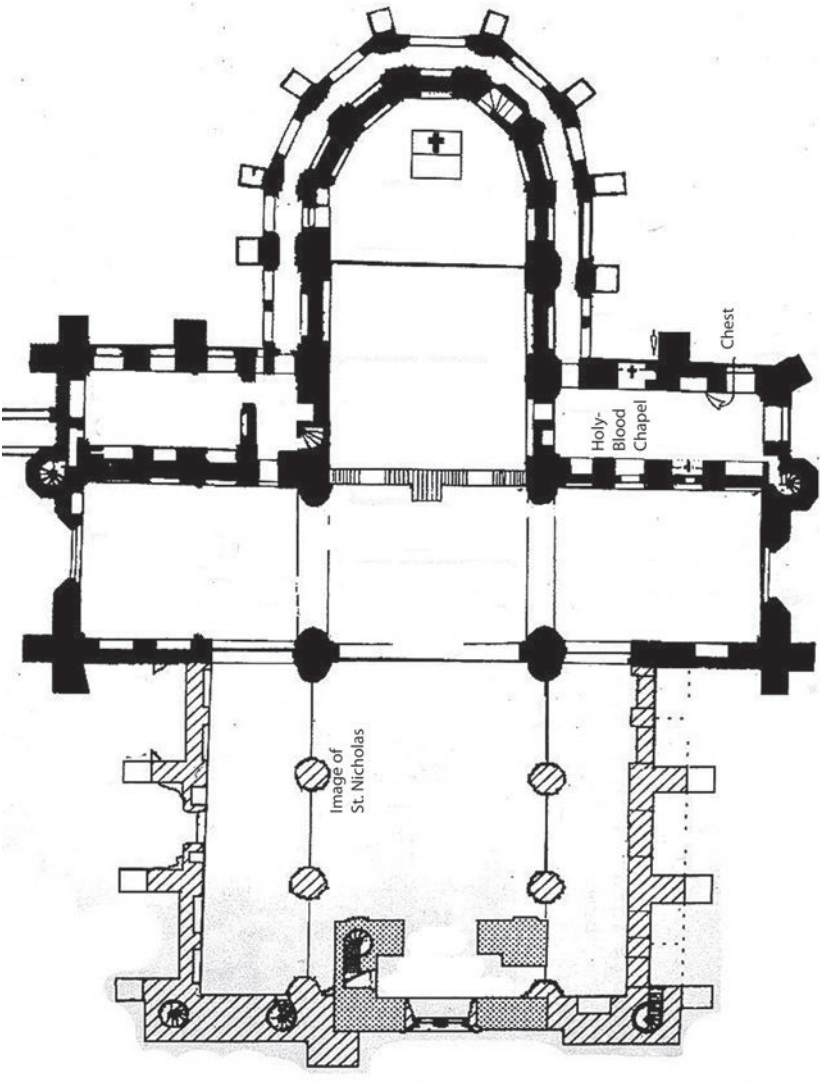


Fig. 61 Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, groundplan (photo: Cremer 1996).

Fig. 62 Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, Holy Blood Chapel, chest with *Gnadenstuhl* (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim).

Fig. 63 Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, Holy Blood Chapel, detail of the chest (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim).

unusual for the later Middle Ages, and it is difficult here to differentiate between authentic habits and later additions by Protestant authors. Access to the chapel certainly was limited and the slot in question was not a device for the ordinary pilgrim. This prompts further questions: Was the door of the shrine normally open so that the relics were visible to the pilgrim? Did they have to be content with the view of the exterior paintings and wait for their next presentation? Was the shrine opened for special visitors only?

There is one contemporary written source for Wilsnack that mentions access to the relics. The theologian Heinrich Tocke, an opponent of the Blood cult, describes his visit to the church of Wilsnack in 1451: "As on that day everyone had left the church, I asked to show me that Blood, and we entered the chapel, there the Blood is used to be guarded. We entered, I say, Peter the provost of Brandenburg, a priest, who wanted to open the cabinet, and myself. He opened it and I took the monstrance with my hands."[42]

The sources for Sternberg, another major eucharistic pilgrimage based on an alleged Host desecration of 1492, mention a special *ostensor* who was employed in the early sixteenth century to show the Holy Blood twice every day in the parish church. This hints equally at a closed shrine, a painted case in the form of a tabernacle, which was probably opened several times a day to present the relics in a liturgical ceremony to the public.[43] Beyond the Host relics, the objects related to the desecration stood in the center of the pilgrimage space, such as the tabletop where the desecration supposedly happened. It seems that these additional objects were permanently shown to the pilgrims in contrast to the Host relics.[44] The relic in the Corpus Christi chapel at Orvieto Cathedral (1337–38) was also kept in a precious shrine with closable doors.[45] This testifies to a more widespread tradition of keeping the miracle Host in a closed casket.

At Wilsnack, the ceremony of presenting the Hosts probably did not take place in the small chapel but inside the church on the rood screen or outside on a tribune. A spiral staircase on the south transept façade provided access to the gallery and onto the rood screen. Two

---

[42] Kühne, "In Wilsnack," p. 108, see also pp. 19–21.
[43] Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 70.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Surh, "Corpus Christi and the 'Cappella del Corporale'," pp. 37–45; Rigaux, "Miracle, reliques et images," pp. 225–26.

short post-Reformation sources mention the presentation of the Host relics: the Protestant priest Joachim Ellefeld reports that just before the destruction of the relics, on special holy days members of the Havelberg Cathedral chapter came to Wilsnack to present the relics after the Protestant service to support the traditional piety. The Catholic cleric brought the idol from the *Ciborio* with his ministrant in a pompous fashion.[46] After the celebration, the monstrance was brought back to the chapel and the cleric allowed numerous candles to be lit in front of the Hosts. But whether this specific situation reflects the pre-Reformation liturgy is dubious, because this sequence was intended to disturb the Protestant service.

At Wilsnack, the church building has two accentuated portals at both transept façades. The southern portal next to the shrine, which may have been the main entrance for the pilgrims, displayed figures of Mary and Christ; both sculptures are today in the interior. A similar situation is preserved in the *Salvatorkirche* in Passau where two portals opposite each other provide entrance and exit for the pilgrims.[47] However, the church in the Bavarian bishopric is situated on a slope close to the river Ilz, making a regular entrance in the west impossible, without abandoning parts of the wall of the small building site. Nonetheless, even here the need to handle the rush of pilgrims by the juxtaposition of portals was certainly one decisive factor in picking up this scheme.

The situation in Wilsnack was more complex: the west portal was accentuated as the main entrance by its architectural forms. Unfortunately the sculptural program of the tympanum, possibly with a figure of the Virgin, is lost.[48] After entering the church the visitor finds a nearly life-sized figure of a bishop on the north side of the nave (Fig. 64). This sculpture has long been identified with Bishop Wöpelitz of Havelberg. But the cleric is depicted with a pallium, which was normally reserved for archbishops. The identification as Wöpelitz seems to be a post-Reformation tradition, emerging from a time less aware of the specific vestments of the Catholic clergy. After realizing this problem some scholars have interpreted this sculpture as a figure of St. Nicholas, but intentionally echoing the Wöpelitz portrait—the latter

[46] Cremer, *Die St. Nikolaus- und Heiligblut-Kirche zu Wilsnack*, p. 187.
[47] Joachim Büchner, *Die spätgotische Wandpfeilerkirche Bayerns und Österreichs*, *Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft; 17* (Nürnberg, 1964), p. 119.
[48] Woronowicz, *St. Nikolai Bad Wilsnack*, p. 9.

Fig. 64 Bad Wilsnack, former Holy Blood Church, figure of a bishop (St. Nicholas?), first quarter of 15th century (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim).

a modern perception in my view.[49] The identification as St. Nicholas, however, seems correct, since he was the main patron of the church. The sculpted figure was apparently integrated into the liturgy of the church: the archbishop holds the bottom of a Host monstrance in his hands. This supports the idea that a real monstrance was fixed here at certain times. This figure was certainly part of the *Wunderblut* liturgy; however, there are no sources known concerning the specific role of it in the liturgical life of Wilsnack.[50]

The choir shows some characteristic details, too. Between the buttresses of the choir are passages.[51] It has long been assumed that this structure was for the pilgrims, the penitents, surrounding the choir as described in the bull mentioned earlier.[52] But the passage is clearly too small for a large number of pilgrims. Furthermore, this corridor connected the *Wunderblut* chapel with the sacristy and the choir, and was therefore clearly only for the use of the clergy. Furthermore there was the so-called *Porlaube*, a second wooden gallery on the upper level. The only remnant is the door from the upper story of the Wunderblut-chapel to the gallery. This shows that this wooden gallery may not have been part of the initial architectural design, but was possibly inserted during the construction process together with a wooden rood screen. Most scholars have so far assumed that this passage was built to replace the decaying passage between the buttresses,[53] but it seems unlikely that a passage would have deteriorated at a flourishing site only a few decades after its completion. The motivation for this gallery is based, in my view, on purely liturgical necessities, while the lower passage may have served the service within the Holy Blood chapel alone, the upper passage was probably built for processions and the presentation of the Holy Blood relics.

Furthermore, the creation of such a passage shows that processions must have played a central role in the liturgical life. A *portatile*,

---

[49] Cremer, *Die St. Nikolaus- und Heiligblut-Kirche zu Wilsnack*, pp. 132–40, with a late dating of the figure.

[50] Renate Kroos, "Hoch- und spätmittelalterliche Goldschmiedeplastik in der Mark Brandenburg," *Jahrbuch für brandenburgische Landesgeschichte* 40 (1989), 13–26, pp. 25–26, and Nickel, "Wilsnack als europäischer Wallfahrtsort," p. 159, n. 22.

[51] Special openings in the wall of the polygon enabled those outside to have a look at the high altar. See Cremer, *Die St. Nikolaus- und Heiligblut-Kirche zu Wilsnack*, p. 24, n. 11, who assumed that the walls were closed.

[52] Woronowicz, *St. Nikolai Bad Wilsnack*, p. 10.

[53] Lichte, *Die Inszenierung einer Wallfahrt*, p. 41.

which was preserved in the Wilsnack sacristy until its theft in 1976, was possibly designed for the presentation of the Hosts in processions. Peter Browe showed in 1933 that in the regular Thursday Mass for the veneration of the Eucharist during the fourteenth century, the Host was occasionally presented in a procession before it was placed on a side altar.[54]

Almost nothing is known of late medieval prayers at sites of eucharistic pilgrimages. In Wilsnack the pilgrims proclaimed: "Help me, Holy Blood, liberate me, Holy Blood!"[55] In Sternberg, after a visitation in 1534, sinecures were donated for six priests to sing the Hours daily in the Holy Blood chapel.[56] A collective indulgence for Wilsnack given by the Archbishop of Magdeburg and his suffragans from Lebus, Brandenburg, and Havelberg provides some additional information. Visitors were promised an indulgence of 40 days for every mile on the way to and back from Wilsnack as well as for every circuit of the church yard and every prayer said while kneeling in front of the shrine.[57]

The liturgy and the character of the pilgrimage depended upon the specific structure of each shrine. At some sites the miracle Hosts formed the only noteworthy treasury. In Andechs (Bavaria) the prestige of the three Hosts was further increased by numerous other relics. This important and long forgotten *Heiltumsschatz*, which contained three Host wafers, was found only five years after the 1383 Wilsnack miracle.[58]

---

[54] Browe, *Verehrung der Eucharistie*, p. 152 and Lichte, *Die Inszenierung einer Wallfahrt*, p. 41.

[55] "Hilf mir, heiliges Blut, befreie mich, heiliges Blut!" See Johannes Heuser, "'Heilig Blut' in Kult und Brauchtum des deutschen Kulturraums" (Phil. Diss., Bonn, 1948), p. 89.

[56] G.C.F. Lisch, „Hauptbegebenheiten in der älteren Geschichte der Stadt Sternberg," *Jahrbücher des Vereins für mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde* 12 (1847), pp. 187–306, esp. p. 220.

[57] Breest, 1881, pp. 146–47.

[58] Hartmut Kühne, *Ostensio reliquiarum: Untersuchungen über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deutschen Regnum*, ed. Christoph Markschies, Joachim Mehlhausen, and Gerhard Müller, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin / New York, 2000), p. 105. The wafers were attributed by legend to popes Gregory the Great and Leo IX. Emperor Henry supposedly brought them to his residence in Bamberg. Bishop Otto, a member of the influential Andechs-Meranien dynasty, then sent them to his homeland. The cult was promoted by the Bavarian dukes, who donated a monstrance for the Hosts and built a new church with a chapel for the treasury in the 1420s. The treasury had more than 100 reliquaries in 1457.

At Andechs, a tribune was erected on the south side of the church to the churchyard to show the treasury to masses of worshippers at certain holidays.[59] Early modern views of Andechs repeatedly show this arrangement with numerous pilgrims assembled in the churchyard and approaching the Holy Mountain. The architectural arrangement at Andechs could be a special situation owing to the specifics of such a Heiltumsschatz. However, similar structures can be observed elsewhere at pure pilgrimage sites such as the Salvator Church in Passau.[60] The outside staircase at the south side includes a sort of external pulpit extending the limited space of the church for greater numbers of pilgrims.

The Salvator Church in Passau also has stairs leading to the gallery which encloses the interior, but there is a significant difference: the remarkable breadth of the stairs facilitates processions with a larger public, while in Wilsnack the small staircases indicate a limitation on the clergy. The Salvator Church was a foundation highly influenced by the city of Passau with regular processions of the townspeople and their different parishes. So the architecture enables processions of greater dimensions, whereas in Wilsnack the extraordinary crowds and possibly the influence of the bishop (who could have promoted an elite version) demanded a different solution.[61]

A final example testifies to the variety of eucharistic shrines and the forms of their veneration in different contexts: an altarpiece in the ambulatory of the former Cistercian abbey church (ca. 1320) in Bad Doberan in Mecklenburg close to the Baltic sea.[62] While the right wing is lost, the left wing shows the Last Supper, a topic with close relations to the Eucharist (Fig. 65). A Host miracle, which allegedly took

---

[59] Albrecht Hosch: Chronik, Kronach 1457 (ms.), fol. 19 (Andechs: Archiv des Klosters). See Zitiert nach: Gerda Möhler, "Wallfahrten zum Heiligen Berg," in *Andechs: Der Heilige Berg: Von der Frühzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Karl Bosl, et al. (München, 1993), pp. 119–33, esp. p. 122.

[60] On the Salvatorkirche see Mitchell B. Merback, "Fountain of Grace, City of Blood: The Pulkau Passion Altarpiece and Cultic Anti-Judaism," *Art Bulletin* 87, n. 4 (2005), 589–642, pp. 613–14.

[61] Büchner, *Die spätgotische Wandpfeilerkirche Bayerns und Österreichs*, pp. 119–20, and Viertlböck, "St. Salvator in Passau," p. 112.

[62] The Lübeck patrician family Wiese made a donation for the Corpus Christi altar in the monastery before 1341. *Meklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, 1337–1345*, vol. 9 (Schwerin, 1875), pp. 342–43, no. 6157 of Oct. 23, 1341. See also Annegret Laabs, *Malerei und Plastik im Zisterzienserorden: Zum Bildgebrauch zwischen sakralem Zeremoniell und Stiftermemoria 1250–1430*, *Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte* (Petersberg, 2000), p. 95; Johannes Voss and Jutta Brüdern, *Das Münster zu Bad Doberan*, *Großer DKV-Kunstführer* (München/Berlin, 2008), pp. 54–57.

Fig. 65 Last Supper, detail, Eucharistic altarpiece in the ambulatory, ca. 1320, Bad Doberan, former Cistercian abbey church (photo: Gerhard Lutz, Hildesheim).

place in the early thirteenth century (1210), is testified only by Ernst von Kirchberg's *Reimchronik* (before 1379). We do not have any clear testimony for the attractiveness of this pilgrimage.[63] However, there was a separate *Salvatorkapelle* within the monastery, and an indulgence of 1368 mentions the anniversary of the dedication—the *anniversarius dedicacionis*—and the visit to the Sacrament—the *visitacio sacramenti*—equivalently to obtain the indulgence. It is not fully clear whether this visit to the Sacrament refers to the presentation of the Host or to a specific relic.[64]

As pilgrims had no access to the church on ordinary days, the Hosts could have been guarded in the Salvator Church during these days and moved to the abbey church on special church holidays.[65] This could explain the puzzling form of the shrine. The Host was apparently placed in the center of the altarpiece, framed by two wings with eucharistic scenes. It was possible to reach into the shrine from the back and to remove what is in its central part. The front still has its late medieval lattice, preventing the visitor from an immediate access to the content of the shrine. So the Host relics in Doberan were possibly presented and transported in this vessel from church to church. However, the initial position of the entire shrine—in the chapel or in the ambulatory—is unknown.[66]

There is another interesting point in this church testifying to an intensive eucharistic spirituality in the Cistercian monastery since the

---

[63] This led Annegret Laabs to the assumption that the Doberan host relics were long forgotten in the 14th century. See Laabs, *Malerei und Plastik im Zisterzienserorden*, pp. 93–94. The origins of the miraculous Host cannot be discussed on the basis of the existing texts. The miracle was possibly dated back by the monks in the 14th century to show the age and venerability of the Host. See also Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 62–63.

[64] A charter of June 4, 1368 promises an indulgence for the visit to the sacrament on certain days: "Insuper ex causis statuimus, volumus et ordinamus, vt anniuersarius dedicacionis dies prefate Doberanensis ecclesie ac visitacio sacramenti, que in capella porte monasterii Doberanensis feria secunda post festum penthecostes fieri consueuit, singulis annis in dominica infra octauam festiuitatis corporis Christi occurente, in quam huius dedicacionis et visitacionis diem presentibus transferimus, perpetuis temporibus celebretur." *Meklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, 1366–1370*, vol. 16 (Schwerin, 1893), pp. 341–43, no. 9794 of June 4, 1368. See also G.C.F. Lisch, "Urkunden zur Geschichte der Kirche zu Doberan," *Jahrbücher des Vereins für mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde* 9 (1844), 289–313, p. 32.

[65] Lisch, "Urkunden zur Geschichte der Kirche zu Doberan," pp. 411–13.

[66] Laabs suggested a placement of the altarpiece in the gate chapel of the monastery. Laabs, *Malerei und Plastik im Zisterzienserorden*, p. 95, on the basis of the charter of 1368 (see n. 62).

fourteenth century. Doberan Minster has one of the early monumental Sacrament houses, dating to the third quarter of the fourteenth century, executed parallel to the earliest textual references to a Host miracle.[67] This elaborate structure probably replaced an earlier arrangement in the context of the high altar of ca. 1300. The Madonna, displayed today in the hanging candlesholder in the choir, holds a vessel in her right hand which was interpreted by A. Laabs as the base for a pyxis.[68] This change in presenting and keeping the Host, within just a few decades shows how flourishing eucharistic piety transformed the structure of the choir. In addition, the other furnishings, preserved in outstanding completeness, show an interesting emphasis on eucharistic topics. Other altarpieces depict the Host mill, a Christ crucified by the Virtues and a Last Supper in which the dipped bread is given to Judas.[69] The furnishings are probably not in their original places, and because of the lack of texts it is not possible to reconstruct the liturgy at Doberan monastery more thoroughly. We saw at St. Sebald in Nuremberg how important the exact placement is for an analysis of the context. Nevertheless Doberan may serve as a general guide for the majority of sites with an elaborated eucharistic piety and liturgy, but without any preserved furnishings.

The evidence brought together so far shows a close relation between the establishment of public processions with the deepening of eucharistic piety beyond the clergy to a broader public, and the subsequent refurbishing of the churches. According to the written sources, the beginnings of this process cannot be dated much earlier than 1300. The emergence of Host miracles coincides with this development. Numerous churches were built for the pilgrimages to these miraculous Hosts, providing us with material for the understanding of late medieval architecture and furnishings as a space for liturgy and piety. Thus a closer look at pilgrimages like Wilsnack shows that the label "visual piety" is only an imperfect guide to spirituality of that time: numerous Host relics were presented in a separate chapel or in a church built

[67] *Ibid*., pp. 103–10 and Timmermann, "Architektur und Eucharistie," pp. 5–6.

[68] Laabs, *Malerei und Plastik im Zisterzienserorden*, pp. 23–24.

[69] Johannes Voss, "Beobachtungen an drei Schreinen der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts im Doberaner Münster" in *Die mittelalterliche Plastik in der Mark Brandenburg: Protokollband des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 2. bis 4. März 1989 in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Bodemuseum*, ed. Lothar Lambacher and Frank Matthias Kammel (Berlin, 1990), pp. 123–32; Voss and Brüdern, *Das Münster zu Bad Doberan*, pp. 51–54.

exclusively for the pilgrimage. Some of these chapels such as Andechs and Wilsnack were built as treasuries. The ordinary pilgrim, however, was kept out, limiting his access to special presentations. Some Holy Blood churches have galleries enclosing the whole church or the liturgical choir, hinting that the veneration of the miraculous Hosts was integrated into a differentiated system of celebrations and processions. Such ceremonial presentations of the relics took place up to several times a day. Their exact forms are uncertain, due to the lack of contemporary written sources.

But most of the time the relics were probably hidden behind a case or shrine, giving way to a liturgical presentation similar to the Host in the sacrament houses.[70] It is not clear whether every pilgrim was able to see the miraculous Host or whether he was content to visit the place with its illustrative furnishings connected with an appropriate indulgence. The pilgrim was welcomed by a rich pictorial program with murals, painted panels, and sculptures referring to the relic, the miraculous Host, or other related objects such as contact relics illustrating the miracle. The withdrawal of the relic in combination with the related images can be understood as a strategy to direct the penitent's attention towards the *ostensio* of the relics as a concerted progression. The example of Wilsnack also shows that at least certain (noble or wealthy?) visitors came close to the miraculous Hosts and were at least able to give their offertories in a box. So we should describe this system, instead of visual, as allowing gradual access to the relics with intentional limitations in the context of a complex liturgy of concealing and showing the miraculous Host. It is thus a challenge for future research to bring together these widely separated approaches of historians of liturgy, piety, and art, into a comprehensive understanding of late-medieval sacred spaces, beyond the level of case studies.

[70] Laabs, *Malerei und Plastik im Zisterzienserorden*, pp. 22–25, suggests that the Host was kept in a vessel in the right hand of the Madonna, now in a hanging candleholder in the form of a tabernacle. See also Achim Timmermann, "'Ein mercklich köstlich und wercklich sacrament gehews': Zur architektonischen Inszenierung des Corpus Christi um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Kunst und Liturgie*, ed. Anna Moraht-Fromm (Ostfildern, 2003), pp. 207–30, esp. p. 208.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Kühne, Hartmut. *Ostensio reliquiarum: Untersuchungen über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deutschen Regnum* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 75). Berlin / New York, 2000.

Laabs, Annegret. *Malerei und Plastik im Zisterzienserorden: Zum Bildgebrauch zwischen sakralem Zeremoniell und Stiftermemoria 1250–1430* (Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte 8). Petersberg, 2000.

Merback, Mitchell B. "Fountain of Grace, City of Blood: The Pulkau Passion Altarpiece and Cultic Anti-Judaism," *Art Bulletin* 87:4 (2005), 589–642.

Timmermann, Achim. "Designing a House for the Body of Christ: The Beginnings of Eucharistic Architecture in Western and Northern Europe, c. 1300," *Arte Medievale* N.S. 4:1 (2005), 119–29.

Tripps, Johannes. *Das handelnde Bildwerk in der Gotik: Forschungen zu den Bedeutungsgeschichten und der Funktion des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Hoch- und Spätgotik* 2nd ed. Berlin, 2000.

Weilandt, Gerhard. *Die Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg: Bild und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Gotik und Renaissance* (Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte 47). Petersberg, 2007.

LATE MEDIEVAL EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY

Stephen E. Lahey

Long before humanists sharpened their pens to deflate what they saw as pointless subtlety in scholastic thought, the schoolmen themselves occasionally grumbled about the apparent emptiness of the whole enterprise.[1] Richard FitzRalph (d. 1360) put it well, "I supposed myself profound through Aristotelian dogmas and argumentation with men of limitless shallowness when You [God] showed me how I was croaking with the frogs and the toads in the swamps."[2] It is easy to feel this way when struggling through the dense undergrowth of specialized terminology and veiled references to previous theologians that characterizes later medieval eucharistic theory. But no schoolman, however fatigued he may have become with the subtleties of his analysis, overlooked the significance of examining the Eucharist; by 1400 it had become the chief sacrament of the faith, and the great majority of those tasked with its theological analysis celebrated its mysteries on a daily basis. Accordingly, as Gary Macy suggests in his chapter above, eucharistic theology had become the quantum mechanics of the age, demanding the most concentrated application of one's abilities in the service of articulating the most fundamental mystery of creation. Perhaps the best way to understand late medieval eucharistic theology is to imagine that someone is present at Mass for the first time. Told ahead of time that Christ will become immediately present upon the altar in the bread and wine, she eagerly awaits the ringing of the bell signaling the transformation. At the appropriate moment, she watches very carefully, and turns to her companion. "Where is Christ? What

---

[1] The complex terminology to which this discussion gave rise in the later medieval period makes a glossary necessary. Each term defined in the appended glossary will appear first in bold face print. This glossary is purely the product of the author and the editors, and should not be understood to contain comprehensive definitions of any of these terms. The reader is referred to the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* [http://plato.stanford.edu/] for more complete definitions of many of the terms that appear here.

[2] Richard Fitzralph, *Summa de Questionibus Armenorum*, cited in L.L. Hammerich, *The Beginning of the Strife between Richard Fitzralph and the Mendicants* (Copenhagen, 1938), p. 20, ll. 74–80.

just happened? Why do I still see the bread and wine?" Her disappointed questions correspond directly to the three distinctions in Peter Lombard's fourth book of *Sentences*, and each is the beginning point for problems late medieval theologians addressed in their account of the sacrament. These questions each begin with a basic philosophical concept: presence, place, and quantity.

The question of presence has come to dominate accounts of eucharistic theology, not least because the received position, *transubstantiation*, appears to demand the metaphysically impossible. Christ is present as the underlying substance, having taken the place of the substance of the bread and wine, while maintaining the *accidents*, or properties, of the *elements*. In any other venue, to expect one to treat the apparently unchanged object as something new would be unreasonable at best, as if someone tried to sell you a turnip, calling it a gold nugget in substance, but retaining all the empirical properties of a turnip. The question, "How, then, is this gold?" would presumably arise very quickly. In the same way, the question, "How, then, is Christ present?" is not unreasonable. With this question answered to the satisfaction of the reasonable person, the next question would be how such a change took place. Here much rests upon how Christ and the substance of bread can occupy a single place, if they do, or how one substance can depart a place simultaneously as another occupies it, all without causing the properties to lose their ontological basis for existence. The physics of change in space-time had become a highly specialized affair by the middle of the fourteenth century, and this issue led to the first case of a theologian concluding that transubstantiation simply asked too much of Aristotelian metaphysics. The final question concerns the perceptible properties of the consecrated elements. How could these properties, the accidents of the bread and wine, remain unchanged, if they are unchanged, while such a miraculous change occurs "underneath" them? Are we to posit two miracles here—that of the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the living Word of God, and that of the absolute stability of the roundness, whiteness, and firmness of the bread, and of the color, smell, and taste of the wine, despite the fact that an entirely new substance has been slipped in "underneath" them?

Looming in the background of the answers late medieval schoolmen constructed to these questions is the problem of the miraculous and its *relation* to the mundane. The three lines of questioning described can lead to a need for a host of miracles to account for otherwise

irresolvable philosophical conundrums, and theologians came to recognize the necessity of both limiting the number of miracles required for the change in the elements, and keeping a close account of the necessary miracles. As J.M.M. Bakker, the foremost contemporary scholar of late medieval eucharistic theology, put it, "The paradoxical result is a rational analysis and a reasoned hierarchy of varying miracles."[3]

Late medieval theology, particularly that influenced by the Ockhamist approach, has long suffered from a reputation for having splintered the delicate masterpiece of the synthesis of Aristotelian philosophy with Christian doctrine. Typical of the descriptions is this from Etienne Gilson. "Faith was intact, but to follow Ockham was to give up any hope of achieving, in this life, a positive philosophical understanding of its intelligible meaning."[4] The separation of theology grounded in the truths of the faith, and philosophy considered as distinct from revealed truth lies at the heart of Ockham's innovation. As will be clear in the following sections, this did not lead to a curtailment of the philosophical analysis of the Eucharist for most theologians who adopted Ockham's approach. Ockham's estimation of how the sacraments function, though, is a different matter. Aquinas had argued that the sacraments were instrumental causes of grace, serving as the means by which divinely given grace is conferred to those receiving them.[5] He had argued against those who believed the sacraments to be simply signs, with no instrumental causal power of their own, and until Ockham, his position seems to have been generally accepted. Ockham outlined a complex gradation of kinds of causes and how they relate to their effects, among which he includes *sine qua non* causes. Such a cause serves as a necessary condition for bringing about an effect, but is not sufficient for doing so. Necessary conditions do not bring about effects on their own; all they do is provide the chance to explain why, with the sufficient cause present, the effect

[3] Paul J.J.M. Bakker, *La Raison et Le Miracle: Les Doctrines Eucharistiques (c. 1250–c. 1400)*, 2 vols. (Nijmegen, 1999), 2:16. Bakker's survey of later medieval Eucharistic theology is the first to attempt a systematic and broadly encompassing account of many of the most important theologians of the period, and will likely remain the touchstone for scholarship in this area for years to come. The present survey has made great use of Bakker's work in describing the development of discourse regarding the three questions described above.

[4] Etienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, (New York, 1955), p. 498.

[5] *Summa Theologiae* 3.62.3–4. For a recent discussion of this issue, see David Aers, *Salvation and Sin*, (Notre Dame, 2009), pp. 46–54.

might not follow. Take, for example, striking a match and producing a flame. Ordinarily, the former is sufficient for the latter. When one strikes a match under water, though, one of the necessary conditions has not been met; matches work in the air, not underwater. In this instance, the necessary condition is that the striking goes on in the air. Ockham then defined sacrament by looking very carefully at the distinction between their physical nature and the grace concomitant with them. The sacrament may be the physical cause of this grace, but it is only the cause without which God does not cause grace. The conferral of grace is the effect, and God's gift of it is the sufficient cause; God has willed that the sacraments be necessary for the effect, and has obligated Himself not to confer grace without their presence. What is problematic about this is that, in this model, the sacraments lack instrumental causality, and theologians are thereby free to pass over arguments about how they function as causes of grace.[6] Ockham was by no means the first to suggest that the sacraments lack instrumental causality; earlier Franciscans, notably Bonaventure and Scotus, had explored this possibility as well.

Aquinas had derided the position that Ockham would defend as the "leaden coin" argument. Imagine that a king decrees that anyone possessing a certain coin made from lead could claim a 100 pound reward. The lead coin itself, of course, is not worth the lavish payment; it is only the king's decree that makes it so. To suppose that the sacraments are only *sine qua non* causes, then, is to cheapen them, making them mere occasions of grace.[7] Ockham had no interest in cheapening the sacraments, though; his emphasis was on the covenantal power to which God committed Himself in instituting the sacraments as means by which grace is available to the *viator*. Nevertheless, the battle lines were drawn, and this became a part of the greater conflict between adherents of Ockham's theological approach and their more traditionally inclined opponents. Despite a lingering conviction that theologians adhering to Ockham's approach advocated an approach in which *sine qua non* causative sacraments serve as reservoirs of

[6] See Andre Goddu, "William of Ockham's Distinction between 'Real' Efficient Causes and strictly *Sine Qua Non* Causes," *The Monist* 79, (July 1996), 357–67; Marilyn McCord Adams, *William Ockham* (Notre Dame, 1987), pp. 1257–98.

[7] William Courtenay,"The King and the Leaden Coin: The Economic Background of 'Sine Qua Non' Causality" *Traditio* 28 (1972), 185–209; repr. in *Covenant and Causality in Medieval Thought* (London, 1984).

grace, it is premature to suppose that Oxford was necessarily a hotbed of this species of united Ockhamists. Walter Chatton, a fourteenth-century Oxford *quondam* proponent of Ockhamist thought, argued against this *sine qua non* causative understanding of the sacraments as it had been articulated by Peter Auriol.[8] Relatively little scholarship has been done on the causal efficacy of the sacraments after Ockham, and given the very fragmentary nature of theological alliances in fourteenth-century Oxford, it would be premature at best to assume widespread adherence to *sine qua non* causative understanding of sacraments.[9] While Ockham's theological approach was to be significant for fifteenth-century sacramental theology, it seems to have been less so in the fourteenth century.

A fourth question, "What did the priest just say?" received some careful philosophical attention as well. Many are familiar with the supposed, and likely fictional, origins of the phrase, "hocus pocus," the magic words misheard by non-Latin speaking communicants and supposed to have magical powers of their own. Two general approaches were common among theologians analyzing the phrase '*hoc est corpus meum*,' or 'this is my body.' In one, the referent of the word 'hoc' was argued to be indeterminate, a kind of "to whom it may concern;" while in the other, the word had a double referent, a primary reference to the body of Christ in the communicants' understanding, and an oblique reference to the bread yet to be transubstantiated. Likewise, theologians disagreed over the causal power of the utterance, with some holding it to have merely instrumental causality, and others attributing to it a degree of efficient causality. As physics grew increasingly a consideration for theologians, questions about the nature of temporal reference arose as well. Does the 'hoc' have at once a present and a future referent? If the phrase's utterance takes effect at the instant of its completion, what is the status of the verb 'est'? Marsilius of Inghen

[8] Walter Chatton, *Reportatio super Sententia* 4.1.4, eds. Joseph Wey and Gerard Etzkorn (Toronto, 2005), pp. 249–50; see also Peter Auriol, *In IV Sent.* D.1, a.4, and D.44, a.2. see also Gordon Leff *Bradwardine and the Pelagians*, (Cambridge, 1957); Heiko Oberman, "*Facientibus Quod in se est Deus non Denegat Gratiam:* Robert Holcot O.P. and the Beginnings of Luther's Theology," in *The Dawn of the Reformation*, (Grand Rapids, 1992), pp. 84–103.

[9] For a clearer understanding of the problem with assuming a widespread Ockhamism in fourteenth-century Oxford, see William Courtenay, *Ockham and Ockhamism: Studies in the Dissemination and Impact of His Thought* (Leiden, 2008); also G.R. Evans, ed., *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Current Research* (Leiden, 2002).

in particular stands out for the ingenuity of his analysis of this last question. He suggested that the present time is not in itself an indivisible instant, but something that can be divided however one desires. This means that a verb in the present tense may signify a duration of lesser or greater extent, according to the will of the speaker and the function of the temporal implications of the other terms in the proposition. For example, the "is" in "today it is hot" has a vastly different temporal applicability than it does in "This is the twenty-first century." In comparison to the philosophical differences that appear below, the arguments about how 'hoc' refers had less range of disagreement; the indeterminate reference scheme suggested by Aquinas, and the double reference scheme offered by Richard of St. Victor and Richard Middleton dominated the arguments, and eventually were synthesized into one theory of sacramental reference by Gabriel Biel.[10]

In the following chapter, the three questions will serve as the general approach to survey the development of eucharistic theology from the time of Aquinas through to the end of the fourteenth century. The fifteenth century saw an entirely new development in eucharistic theology, a change in venues from the university to the battlefield. What had begun as scholastic argument about the philosophical nature of transubstantiation evolved into a *casus belli* in Bohemia, with the burning of Jan Hus at Constance in 1415 on heresy charges, among which was the altogether unjustified accusation of having denied transubstantiation. While the Hussite wars lie far beyond the scope of this survey of eucharistic theology, it is important to recognize that the stakes of the discourse could become very high indeed, given the changing nature of the Church that had made the Eucharist into what amounted to the primary sacrament.

Where Is He? The Question of Eucharistic Presence

Thomas Aquinas provides the first significant answer to this question, which in turn contributed to defining the question's parameters. The question rests in an obvious difficulty: how can Christ be really present in the consecrated host without undergoing some kind of change?

[10] Paul J.J.M. Bakker, "*Hoc est corpus meum* L'analyse de la formule de consécration chez des théologiens du XIVe et du XVe siècles," *Vestigio, Imagines, Verba*, ed. C. Marmo (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 427–51.

More confusingly, how can Christ remain one being, yet be at the same time in heaven, and in many places throughout Christendom? The key to beginning an answer to this question lies in recognizing that Christ's body is present in the host in a different manner than the way an ordinary body is present in one place. Thomas's solution entails understanding both how this presence occurs, and in what way Christ is present. The means by which Christ becomes present in the host is different from that by which everything else about the consecrated host's presence is realized. Christ is present in the host by power of the sacrament (*ex vi sacramentum*), while everything else about the host, its accidents of quality and quantity and "everything inseparably related to it" is present in by virtue of a natural concomitance (*ex naturalia concomitantia*).[11] Second, Thomas makes a distinction between being present in the manner of substance (*per modum substantiae*) and being present in the manner of quantity, the way a body is present in a given place. Christ is not present in a quantitative manner, because that would involve Christ's accidents in some way entering into the host, which does not occur. The accidents of the elements remain, while the substance changes. So the accidents of the elements are present in a quantitative manner, while the substance of Christ is present substantially. The accidents remain unchanged through the natural *concomitance* by which they had always been present in the place, while the substance of Christ becomes present through the power of the sacrament. Because of the absence of natural concomitance, Christ is not injured by the *fraction*, or the subsequent ingestion, of the host; His accidents are not in the host, only His substance is. The result of this is that Christ is substantially present in the consecrated host, but not physically present in the way we are accustomed to things being in places. This also obviates the problems about one being, Christ, being in many places at once, because it is the nature of Christ that is present upon altars across Christendom, and not anything quantitative or physical about Him. The whole of Christ is in each bit of bread, and each individual consecrated host throughout the world. Before one scoffs that this is nothing but inventing two species of distinction to cobble together an explanation of what is

[11] *Summa Contra Gentiles* 4.64. See also David Burr, "Eucharistic Presence and Conversion in Late Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Thought," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 74/3 (1984), p. 14; Bakker, pp. 34–40.

patently impossible, it is important to remember that the human soul was understood to be wholly present in each of the parts of the body. Thus the distinction between substantial and quantitative presence is not without precedent; the distinction between sacramental and natural concomitance is the means whereby the divine is explained to be present in a created body. Thomas's position, then, has come to be known as concomitance, and is the beginning point for understanding later medieval accounts of *eucharistic presence*.

While Thomas's account became the benchmark for discussing eucharistic presence after the fourteenth century, many, most notably the Franciscans, were not willing to embrace it at the outset. It is not that his account of transubstantiation was unworkable, though; the problem rested in the apparent restrictions it suggested for divine power. According to John Pecham (c. 1230–1292), a stout critic of what he perceived as the spread of heterodoxy that accompanied Aristotelianism, God's power could allow Christ to be present without His localization in the consecrated host, and God could have realized this without change in the bread's substance, had God so desired.[12] Transubstantiation may be the most easily describable account of the change, Pecham said, but it was not the only option open to God. Pierre Jean Olivi (c. 1248–1298), until recently remembered only for his role in the Franciscan Poverty controversy, was an accomplished philosopher whose critique of Thomas's account of Christ's presence was similar to Pecham's.[13] Demanding that the body of Christ only be present through transubstantiation was too limiting; the conversion the sacrament entails is not the only option available to God. The Thomistic account itself is open to serious criticism: if Christ's presence is identified with the agency of transubstantiation, then either it is the act of transubstantiation that holds the philosophical preeminence, or it is the consequence of transubstantiation having

[12] Decima Douie, *Archbishop Pecham*, (Oxford, 1952), see Gerard Etzkorn, "John Pecham" in Jorge Gracia, Timothy Noone, eds., *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Blackwell, 2003), pp. 384–87. For bibliography of primary and secondary sources see also Burr, *Eucharistic Presence and Conversion*, pp. 40–49.

[13] David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty* (Pennsylvania, 1989); François-Xavier Putallaz, "Peter Olivi," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, eds. J. Gracia and T. Noone (Malden, MA, 2003), pp. 516–23, Robert Pasnau, "Peter John Olivi" in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/olivi/, and Burr, *Eucharistic Presence and Conversion*, pp. 50–57. For both Pecham and Olivi on Eucharist, see Bakker, pp. 42–48.

occurred that does. If the former, then the instant that the act ceases, Christ would also cease to be present in the host. So it must be the latter. But then God could never take from the body of Christ this fact of having been transubstantiated into a species of bread, unless perhaps through some reduction in the form of Christ. Yet even if the body of Christ were somehow annihilated, Christ would still remain substantially in the bread, because once the transubstantiation has occurred, it cannot be undone.[14] Better to understand eucharistic presence as a relation holding between the substance of Christ's body and the consecrated host. This relation is not an accident of either of the *relata*, but a mode of being of the body of Christ. Olivi understood that this flies in the face of traditional Augustinian categories, but responds that Aristotle's list need not restrict God; why not recognize a new category, allowing one body to be present in another?

The first important innovation to Thomas's approach was that of the Augustinian Giles of Rome (1243–1316), later Archbishop of Bourges and active participant in the struggle between Philip IV and Boniface VIII.[15] Giles developed a more specialized means for understanding how the organization of body with parts can be understood: there can be an intrinsic ordering of parts relative to the *position* of the body within the body, and an *extrinsic ordering* of the same parts in a place. The *intrinsic ordering* of parts is how the parts are ordered to one another, while the extrinsic ordering of parts serves as the principle for the localization of the subject in a place. That is, if we think of someone sitting in a chair, we can say that her heart is above her stomach, and between her lungs, whether she is standing or sitting, and we can also say that in this case, while her heart is above her stomach and between her lungs, she is, as a whole body, sitting in a chair. If these two kinds of ordering parts can be understood to be distinct from one another, Giles reasoned, one can distinguish between quantity as composed within a thing according to the intrinsic ordering of parts, and the position of a thing without regard to the thing's internal quantity according to the extrinsic ordering of parts. Both contribute to the quantity of a body, with an intrinsic function to quantity conferring organization with the subject, and the extrinsic function relating the

[14] *Quaestiones de Eucharistia*, p. 149, cited in Bakker, p. 49, n. 63.

[15] Silvia Donati, "Giles of Rome," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 266–71; Roberto Lambertini, "Giles of Rome" in *The Stanford Encylopedia of Philosophy*, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/giles/.

ordering of the subject to the outside world. The result is the possibility of two distinguishable quantities coexisting in the same place at once. Used with care, this distinction allowed those who followed Giles to argue for an indeterminate member of coexistent bodies in one place, the possibility of a simultaneous presence of many bodies of different kinds in one place, the possibility of the dimensions of a part of a body coexisting with the dimensions of other parts within the same body, and the possibility of a body wholly coinciding with one or another of these parts. The rest of the scholastic discourse about eucharistic presence defined itself according to this distinction; those who embraced it and made use of it included Scotus, Chatton, Wodeham, Francis Meyronnes, John of Paris, Marsilius of Inghen, and Henry Totting of Oyta, while those who rejected it included Peter Auriol, William Ockham, Francis de Marchia, and Durandus de St. Pourçain.

Emblematic of those who made use of Giles' distinction is John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308) who was among the first to make use of it his own account of eucharistic presence.[16] For Scotus, the question of presence is reduced to two problems. How can the body of Christ begin to be in another body without a change of place? And how can the body of Christ, present in the sacrament, have its own quantity without being present in a quantitative manner? Thomas had answered the first question by analyzing the possible manners by which substantial conversion could occur, in effect choosing to answer the third introductory question ("Why do I still see bread and wine?") with talk of the fate of the substance of the host and the arrival of the substance of Christ in its place. Scotus felt this overlooked the fact that Christ's body was already a coherent quantitative arrangement of parts within a whole that came to occupy a new place, so he framed his answer by fitting it into an account of local motion. When something moves into another place, it can begin moving by leaving one place and cease moving by stopping in another. If something is already in the other place, it must, in turn, move out of that place before the already moving thing can occupy it. Then again, something can take up a new place without vacating its initial place, by growing

[16] David Burr, "Scotus and Transubstantiation," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972), 336–60; Stephen Dumont, "John Duns Scotus," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 353–69; Thomas Williams, "John Duns Scotus", *The Stanford Encylopedia of Philosophy* http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/duns-scotus; Thomas Williams, *Cambridge Companion to John Duns Scotus* (Cambridge, 2003); Richard Cross, *Duns Scotus* (Oxford, 1999).

for instance. Christ's body does not grow, Scotus says, but it does take up a new place in the host in this third manner. But unlike things that grow, Christ's body does not have a quantitative presence in the new place. This is the problem addressed by the second question. Scotus could not accept concomitance as an acceptable answer here, because it effectively denied Christ's body real physical presence. What was needed was a means of arguing for real, physical bodily presence on the altar without denying the physicality of Christ's body, the intrinsic relation of its parts to each other and to the whole, but without the uncomfortable possibility of having one part of the host correspond to one part of Christ's quantitative body. Where would His head be on a round host? Here is where Giles's distinction is useful: it allows Scotus to explain that there is no need for a part-to-part correspondence between Christ's quantitative body and the quantity of the host by arguing that the extrinsic ordering of Christ's body serves as the principle for the localization of the subject in a place. The whole of Christ's body is present in the host, but without the part-to-part correspondence that one would expect if we considered it from the position of the intrinsic ordering of parts to each other within the whole.[17] This came to be called definitive position, in opposition to the part-to-part correspondence of *circumspective* position.

Not all Franciscans followed Scotus's lead; Peter Auriol (1280–1322) criticized it because he couldn't imagine what Aristotelian category Scotus could have in mind as the way to predicate the extrinsic relation of a subject without entailing the one to one part correspondence the relation explicitly overlooks.[18] Auriol's explanation arises from his much more austere ontology, in which each substance is its own individuating principle. More realist ontologies like that of Aquinas and Scotus were willing to admit a multiplicity into the make up of objects that Auriol felt to be more a function of human reasoning than reflective of the simplicity of substances. As a consequence, he describes the eucharistic presence as an indivisible perceptible something (*hoc aliquid sensible demonstratum*) that serves as its own individuating principle, by which the substance of Christ's body is inextricably bound

[17] *Ordinatio* 4.10.1. See Burr, "Scotus and Transubstantiation," 339–45; Cross, *Duns Scotus*, pp. 143–44; Bakker, 1:63–75.

[18] Russell L. Friedman, "Peter Auriol," in *Stanford Encylopedia of Philosophy*, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/auriol/; Lauge Olaf Nielsen, "Peter Auriol," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 494–503.

to the accidents of the host. Rather than account for the quantitative presence of Christ in the host, Auriol emphasizes the localization of Christ's body in place of thinking about the positional relation that quantitative presence suggests. Since any given substance's accidents are nothing more than the being of the substance that they "permeate," Christ's quantity is in heaven, but His body is localized within the "this something" on the altar. In effect, the "this something" experiences a real change in its coming to be at the consecration, while Christ's body experiences a sort of relational change, or what modern philosophers refer to as a "Cambridge change." Auriol's ontology is very similar to Ockham's in its austerity, but his philosophical approach is much less rigorously bound by suppositional logic than is Ockham's, making him a target for Ockham's criticism rather than the ally one might expect.

William Ockham was forthright in his belief that, all things being equal, God could even bring it about that Christ occupy the consecrated host along with the substance of the bread, so wide ranging is divine omnipotence; it is only the fact that the church infallibly teaches that Christ's substance replaces the bread's that compels us to the doctrine of transubstantiation. He was also forthright in his belief that quantity is nothing more than a concept that refers to something about a substance. While the Aristotelian categories (of substance and accidents) accurately reflect reality for our understanding, it does not follow that there are such things as quantities and relations in the world. Substance and quality are the only two constituents of reality, and quantity has the status of a quality signifying the whole of the substance and its parts, or a substances internal makeup.[19] In fact, quantity does not even have to entail mass, because a given substance might lose all its mass without losing its nature as a *quantum*, something to which the term 'quantity' applies. Christ is not present in the host even as a *quantum*, but instead as definitively present, such that not only do the parts of Christ's body lack *circumscriptive* position, but they exist whole in the consecrated host, and whole in each given part.[20] The difference with Scotus here is not the assertion that Christ is whole

[19] See Marilyn McCord Adams, *Ockham*, pp. 169–213, esp. pp. 186ff.; Gabriel Buescher, *The Eucharistic Teaching of William Ockham* (St Bonaventure, NY, 1950).

[20] *Quodlibet* 4, Q. 31, in William of Ockham, *Quodlibetal Questions*, trans. Alfred Freddoso and Francis E. Kelly (New Haven, 1991), pp. 371–75. See also *Reportatio* 4.8; *Tractatus de Quantitate; Tractatus de Corpore Christi.*

in each given part of the consecrated host, but that Christ is absolutely without quantitative presence after consecration. Angels exist in places without quantity with *definitive* presence. But, it might be objected, angels are incorporeal substances, while Christ's ascended body is corporeal, even if it is not quantitatively present in the consecrated host. How can a corporeal body have the same kind of presence as an incorporeal body? Ockham does not fear to claim that God's power could arrange it so that Christ is physically present in the consecrated host, should God will it; after all, Christ was physically present as He walked through a locked door after the resurrection.[21] This was an important part of Ockham's theological approach. While he was careful to answer critical questions in a manner consistent with his simplified ontology, he was not afraid to recognize that divine power can easily soar to the heights of logical possibility.[22] Ockham's rejection of quantity as not really distinct from quality led to a formal investigation of his thought at Avignon in 1325. John Lutterell, a former chancellor of Oxford and a Thomist, headed a committee made up of Thomists and advocates of Giles to investigate Ockham's thought for heterodoxy. One member of the committee, Durandus of St. Pourçain, must have had a degree of empathy for Ockham's position, having already been castigated for criticizing Thomas's approach in eucharistic theology. The committee ended by condemning a number of Ockham's positions, and Ockham left Avignon two years later to seek sanctuary with Ludwig of Bavaria in Munich.[23]

The case of the Dominican Durandus of St. Pourçain (1270/75–1334) deserves some attention; few schoolmen wrestled with the challenge of the authority of doctrine with such energy.[24] Durandus was an innovative philosopher, by no means content to follow the lead of Aquinas, who enjoyed a very privileged status by the time Durandus commented on the Sentences. Durandus's first commentary departed so far from Thomas's that he was heavily criticized, and compelled to

[21] *Quodlibet* 1, Q. 5; *Quodlibetal Questions*, p. 27.

[22] See Adams, *Ockham*, pp. 1233–55.

[23] J.M.M. Theissen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris 1200–1400* (Philadelphia, 1998), pp. 14–15; William Courtenay, "The Academic and Intellectual Worlds of William Ockham," *The Cambridge Companion to Ockham*, P.V. Spade (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 25–26.

[24] Russell L. Friedman, "Durand of St. Pourçain," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 249–53; Isabel Iribarren, *Durandus of St. Pourçain. A Dominican theologian in the shadow of Aquinas* (Oxford, 2005).

write a second commentary. After attaining episcopal rank, and serving among the formal examiners of Ockham's writings at Avignon, he compiled a third commentary, in which he developed the innovative thought of his first commentary.

Durandus's approach in describing eucharistic presence was to concentrate on the relation of local capacity, or that holding between the thing that is in a place and the place itself. Normally, when we describe a relation holding between two relata, we must explain what about each relates them to the other. Philosophers differ significantly on the reality of the tie between the two relata, with some arguing that there is something beyond the two relata having reality, really distinct from the two related things, and others arguing that a relation is nothing but a concept by which we understand two things. Durandus's position is anomalous in managing to straddle the extreme ends of both. When we consider a relation like filiation, for example, we recognize that what relates parent and child is the fact that the child has the parent as efficient cause while the parent has the child as generative effect. Likewise when we think of the relation of a thing to the place it occupies, we account for what it is about the thing that makes it occupy the place, and what about the place that allows the thing to occupy it. Durandus holds that there is nothing to either relation beyond the facts about the relata, making the relation only an internal disposition of the relata. Yet Durandus also believes that relations are also really distinct from their relata, because the way by which a thing has a relation to something else is, in most cases, not part of the essential makeup of the thing. Normally, when a thing is described as really distinct from something else, the result is two things, but Durandus's understanding of the metaphysics of relation is something of a departure from the Aristotelian norm, and part of the reason for his problems with his Order.[25] It is what allowed him to describe Christ's body as being real, while at the same time avoid having to account for questions of Christ's quantity in the consecrated host. Durandus understood Christ's presence to be a relation holding between Christ's body in heaven and the consecrated bread. While followers of Giles might appeal to extrinsic location of Christ's body in the bread, and followers of Thomas might advocate concomitance, Durandus argues for local presence in the broad sense, in the way that a soul is present

[25] See Iribarren, *Durandus of St. Pourçain*, pp. 115–120.

indivisibly in each part of the body. Critics pointed out that either this was effectively the same as concomitance, or the substance of the bread must remain. When Durandus held that whatever it was, it was not concomitance, he was condemned for tacit remanentism, which is holding that the substance of the bread remains after consecration. In his second commentary, he held onto the idea that Christ was present through a relation, but effectively endorsed concomitance. In his third commentary, he returned to his earlier position. Bakker argues that Durandus's position turns out to be more evocative of Scotus than perhaps he'd intended; both held that the eucharistic presence is a relation holding between the body of Christ and the host, and both rely on arguments from God's power to strengthen otherwise difficult points in their positions. Further, Bakker notes that the generally innovative responses within the Franciscan order to Scotus's approach stand in stark contrast to the Dominicans' chilly reception of such innovation within their order.[26]

The innovative responses within the Franciscan Order after Scotus appear almost entirely in Oxford, which experienced a Golden Age of theology and science in the first half of the fourteenth century. Two of Ockham's fellow Franciscans, while adherents of Ockham's analytic attention to the relation of concepts, terms, and objects, could not bring themselves to venture as far as Ockham had in describing Christ's presence. Walter Chatton (ca. 1285–1343) was an enthusiastic supporter of the theological emphasis on God's power, proclaiming "nothing should be denied to God's power unless it involves obvious contradiction."[27] He argued that Ockham was wrong to have believed that the intrinsic position of parts within a body necessarily implies a local distance between those parts, and so had been wrong to redefine definitive presence as referring to a possible multitude of places. Given the breadth of possibility open to divine power, Chatton continued, the intrinsic ordering of the parts of Christ's body might well be able to be preserved without a specific distance between those parts. In fact, Chatton continued, Ockham never really had argued that the intrinsic ordering of the parts of Christ's body had dissolved, for that would involve the possibility that Christ's eyes might not be in His head when present in the host. Such a consequence would be

[26] Bakker, 1:20.
[27] Gerard Etzkorn, "Walter Chatton," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 674–75.

ludicrous, felt Chatton, so there must remain an intrinsic ordering of the parts of Christ's body, even if He is whole in the whole and whole in each of the parts.[28]

Adam Wodeham (d. 1358) was a much more substantial intellectual figure among post-Ockham Franciscans, the Oxford equivalent to Peter Auriol. Wodeham's theology developed in three stages; he taught the first version in the now lost *London Lectures*, the second in the now edited *Norwich Lectures (lectura secunda)*, and the final version in the still unedited *Oxford Lectures*, delivered in 1332.[29] He distinguishes between a *continuous quantity*, which is a plurality of parts of a thing making up a continuous whole, and *discrete quantity*, which can describe a plurality of parts of a thing insofar as they are distinct from one another. Ockham is not exactly wrong to dismiss quantity as being real, but he fails to recognize the three kinds of things possible: a simple unity, a collection or set made up of many unities, or a complex significable, a term Wodeham invents to refer to a "how things are in the world," comparable to what contemporary philosophers call "states of affairs." These, for Wodeham, are the only ways anything can be something real.

Ockham had certainly understood that unified objects are real, and that sets made up of unified objects can be assigned a degree of reality, but Wodeham changed the discussion with the complex significable. He argued that the way things are in the world, as they are reflected in the propositional structure of a statement like "x is F," have a degree of reality in themselves. This provides an opening for attributing more reality to quantity than Ockham had done. If we consider this State of Affairs, X is a quantity, this property 'being a quantity' is a real something, such that this term is taken for a something in an equivocal sense. Wodeham further expands Ockham's conception of quantity by distinguishing between a thing considered as a 'quantum' with parts disposed in some manner, and its quantitative *extension* by virtue of the location of its parts in a given place. This quantitative extension includes the place the object occupies, which Wodeham calls the

---

[28] Bakker, 1:142–3. Walter Chatton, *Reportatio super Sententias IV*, Q.3, a.4; ed. Gerard Etzkorn and Joseph Wey, eds., Pontfical Institute of Medieval Studies, (Toronto, 2005), pp. 269–72.

[29] William Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, (Leiden, 1978); Rega Wood, "Adam of Wodeham," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 77–85; Adam Wodeham, *Lectura Secunda*, eds. R. Wood and G. Gal (St Bonaventure, NY, 1990).

quantitative natural mode, a direct correspondence between a part of a body and a part of a place. God's power enables Christ's body to be present in the host as quantum without extension, for Wodeham, which in effect means that he employs the Scotist distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic position. This allows the substance and quality of the body of Christ to make up a continuous quantum without being extended. The different parts of the body of Christ coexist indifferently with one another, preserving their essential organization.[30] So the complex significable described by "Christ is in the host" has a quantitative element as well as an intrinsic positioning, a compromise position by which Wodeham seems to have imagined himself to have rescued Ockham without turning him into a Scotist.

Ockham's position was also the point of departure for Pierre d'Ailly (1350–1420), writing in Paris in 1377.[31] D'Ailly was a keen disciple of Ockham's approach, and used the Scotist distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic position to push Wodeham's compromise closer to Ockham's. He begins by asserting that Christ's body has its proper quantity, and its appropriate arrangement of body parts circumscriptively in heaven, while in the host it has a definitive presence, whole in the whole, and whole in each part. Next, he argues that Christ's body has an intrinsic and an extrinsic ordering of parts in heaven, while in the host it has neither, lacking their essential organization and a continuous quantity. But this is not an insupportable problem, Grace in a soul does not entail a continuous quantity, even if the Grace is made up of parts.[32] Likewise, Christ's body are united within the soul, substance and qualities together. This does not make D'Ailly into a straightforward Ockhamist, because Ockham believed that neither the substance nor the qualities of the body constitute a continuous quantity, while D'Ailly believed that this continuous quantity is present in heaven. This allows him to avoid having to explain how Christ's eyes are not in His feet in the host, while making use of the analogy of Grace's presence in the soul to explain definitive presence.[33]

---

[30] Bakker, 1:143–147.
[31] Richard A. Lee, "Pierre d'Ailly," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 536–37.
[32] For the parts of grace see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 2/1.111.
[33] Bakker, 1:149–54.

What Just Happened? Accounting for Eucharistic Change

The central problem arising from the position that the substance of the elements change instantly into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, which underlies the doctrine of transubstantiation is that there needs to be a medium in which the change occurs. Boethius had said that all change is according to something common. Aristotle's conception of substance is of a union of *form* and *matter*, which provides the ontological basis for qualities, quantity, relation, and changes that affect the being of the substance. So any change that occurs in a thing requires substance in which the change takes place. If the host transubstantiates, there is not substantial medium in which the change occurs, so, following Boethius, it seems that no eucharistic change takes place.[34] Prior to Aquinas, attempts were made to explain that the form changes, with the matter remaining constant; the "paneity" becomes Christ while the matter does not change. The only other possible alternatives, as far as Peter Lombard was concerned, was that the substance of the bread is annihilated the instant the substance of Christ is present, or that the substance of the bread remains somehow in the consecrated host, which was known as remanentism. Aquinas rejected both. Annihilation seemed to him either to allow an instant in which prime matter stood naked, or an instant in which there was nothing before the body of Christ became the substance, making consecration into *creatio ex nihilo*. *Remanence* meant that, when Christ held the bread in His hand and first spoke the words of consecration, the "this" referred to two things, and in subsequent acts of consecration, two things would thereby exist simultaneously in one place.[35]

Thomas argues in the *Summa Theologiae* that the conversion must be transubstantiation, a change in the matter and *substantial form* of the bread into the matter and substantial form of Christ, without a change in the accidents.[36] Assuming that matter is the principle of individuation, by which a given substance is distinct from all other substances,

---

[34] "Sola enim mutari transformarique in se possunt quae habent unius materia commune subiectum, nec haec omnia, sed ea quae in se et facere et pati possunt." Boethius, *Contra Eutychen*, Loeb Classics, (Cambridge, 1990), p. 108. this was simplified by medieval thinkers to: "Omnis mutatio secundum aliquod commune est." See Bakker, 1:156.

[35] *Sent.* 4, d.11, q.1, a.1, a.2. See also *Summa Theologiae* 3.75.2–3; *Summa Contra Gentiles* 4.63.

[36] *Summa Theologiae* 3.75.2–3.

he reasons that God alone can cause a change in a thing by which one matter-composite is exchanged for another matter-composite. The complications arise in the change in substantial form. In inanimate things, the substantial form plays a relatively simple role; it provides the metaphysical organization of its being. But in animate things, the substantial form is the being's soul.[37] If the substantial form is transformed into the soul of Christ, and if the soul is the substantial form of the body, concomitance—in which the soul of Christ is not directly the final term of the eucharistic change, but an effect thereof—is in jeopardy. What would there be to experience the effect of concomitance? Thomas distinguishes between functions of the soul here, pointing to the difference between giving the body corporeal being and giving the body animate being. "The form of the bread is changed into the form of Christ's body, according as the latter gives corporeal being, but not according as it bestows animated being."[38] Insofar as Christ is embodied, His form provides the substantial form for the consecrated host, then, but insofar as He is alive, it does not, otherwise the consecrated host would be alive, too.

This seems generally reasonable, but it played havoc in the Paris of Thomas's day. The nature of the human soul, and the relation of the vegetative, appetitive, and intellective parts that compose it, was among the issues in the 1270s that divided theologians predisposed to reject Aristotelianism from those predisposed to embrace the new approach. Thomas's position arose from the latter group, and drew the ire of reactionary critics to the extent that it was included among the errors officially condemned by Bishop Etienne Tempier at Paris in 1277.[39] While the chief disagreement was about the nature of form, and not primarily a question of the sacrament, understanding post-Thomistic eucharistic theology is only possible with an eye on the ongoing arguments about the unicity of form. Foremost among Thomas's critics was a fellow Dominican, also Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Kilwardby (d. 1279).[40] Among Kilwardby's objections was one concerning the Eucharist. Consecration affects not only the presence of Christ's

[37] *Summa Theologiae* 1.76.44.
[38] *Summa Theologiae* 3.75.6.
[39] John F. Wippel, "The Parisian Condemnations of 1270 and 1277," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 65–73; see also D.A. Callus, "The Origins of the Problem of the Unity of Form," *The Thomist* 24 (1961), 257–285; Frederick J. Roensch, *Early Thomistic School* (Dubuque, 1964), pp. 170ff.
[40] A. Broadie, "Robert Kilwardby," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 611–15.

body, but also that of His rational soul. If the presence of the rational soul provokes the dissipation of all inferior substantial forms, that would include inferior corporeal forms. How, then, could the body of Christ be present if there is not *corporeal form*? The battle lines soon formed into pro-Thomas defenders of the unicity of form, and anti-Thomas advocates of the *plurality of forms*. For example, William de la Mare (*fl.* 1272–1279), a Franciscan disciple of John Pecham, argued that the bread could not change into spirit, but, if there is only one form, must become prime matter, which is Scripturally questionable.[41] Christ needs a corporeal form in addition to, and distinct from a rational soul, to serve as the basis for the conversion of the bread's substantial form. Richard Knapwell, O.P. (*fl.* 1284–1286) defended Thomas by arguing that the distinction between functions of the unified substantial form did not entail different kinds of forms, and was resourceful in constructing arguments against a plurality of forms.[42]

The argument began to have a macabre tone. Since proponents of the unicity of form would have to agree that the corporeal form is identical to the intellective soul, when Christ first said, "*Hoc est corpus meum*," the *hoc* referred to His soul, not a body. If the Eucharist had then been celebrated again before the resurrection, by Thomas's logic, the bread would have turned into the dead body that was in the tomb, since His intellective soul was elsewhere. Thomas's defenders retorted that if the corporeal form were distinct from the animating intellective soul, Christ would have actually been distributing His dead body parts to His disciples while still alive. After all, the bread would have had the corporeal form of Christ's body, but not the animate form, which Christ Himself still had. In each case, the possibilities are meant to ridicule the opponents' positions, not to contribute to a formal theological position, but the ghoulish implications suggest the bitterness of the dispute. John of Paris (d. 1306) supported Thomas, arguing that the rational soul contains virtually the form of corporeity, and that the soul of Christ is present in virtue of its concomitance with the body of Christ. His understanding of how the body of Christ is present led him into a new set of problems, though. Just as the Son assumes human nature, he reasoned, so the body of Christ assumes the nature of the

[41] John Marenbon, "William de la Mare," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); see also Roensch, *Early Thomistic School*, pp. 185–205.

[42] Simon Tugwell, "Richard Knapwell," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); see also Roensch, *Early Thomistic School*, pp. 200–18.

bread. This is just a possible explanation, he says, and not a replacement for transubstantiation. John's theory came to be called *impanation*, and he believed that it effectively resolved the problems that arose from concomitance, annihilation, and the tangles theologians were forced to construct to make transubstantiation comprehensible. He was roundly criticized, however, for remanentism at best, and at worst, articulating a position that allowed for Christ to become bread in the same way that He had become a man. He apologized, but died without changing his mind that impanation was a reasonable explanation.[43] Impanation remained a matter of opinion into the fifteenth century, as Pierre d'Ailly is said to have privately expressed admiration for its utility in resolving many problems.[44]

As he did with the problem of eucharistic presence, Giles of Rome provided a more feasible approach to the quarrel over the unicity of form that would determine the shape of consequent analysis of transubstantiation. Whether one holds that there is one form providing body, life, genus, and species to a substance, or that each is given to it by a distinct kind of form, he argued, one must consider the issue from the standpoint of the matter. Some kind of organizing is affecting it. Giles names this 'organized matter' qualification 'material soul.' What organizes the matter, whether it be one form or many, is beside the point. What is at stake with 'material soul' is *that* the matter is organized. The unity, organization, and nature of the body that results are all functions of the forms active in the substance. So the quantity that results from matter having been given form is not prior to the fact that the matter is organized.[45] This means that Giles has managed to slip the knife blade of reason between the substantial form or forms and matter as such. However one wishes to describe the substantial form of Christ in the consecrated host, there is still the 'material soul,' or the *organized* matter of the bread between it and the bread's matter considered as matter. God changes the substantial form and the matter of the bread into the substantial form and matter of Christ, with the 'material soul' remaining constant, a plausible logical subject of transubstantiation. This avoids remanentism, because the 'material soul' is not a something, but a 'being organized,' and it prevents the

[43] Bakker 1:254–69.
[44] Matthew Spinka, *John Hus at the Council of Constance* (New York, 1965), p. 58.
[45] Bakker, 1:188–196; see *Theoremata de esse et essentia*, ed. H. Hocedez (Louvain, 1930), prop. 26.

arguments about transubstantiation from descending to the ghoulish absurdities to which it had sunk by obviating the need for argument over one form or many.

Giles's distinction became an important point of departure for the rest of the thirteenth century; among its fourteenth-century advocates were Thomas of Strasbourg, James of Viterbo, Gregory of Rimini, and Gabriel Biel. Two notable figures would have nothing to do with it, though. Henry of Ghent (c. 1217–1293), an advocate of the plurality of forms, objected to 'material soul' as nothing beyond prime matter considered as a subject for predication.[46] Likewise, Scotus dismisses 'material soul' as of no help to the Thomist position, only underscoring the need for serious consideration of the plurality of forms. For both, transubstantiation is a change of matter and of substantial form, with the latter understood only as including corporeal form (i.e., the form of body, and not organized matter) but not the rational soul of Christ. Giles's fellow Augustinian Thomas of Strasbourg (1275–d. 1357), Prior-General of the order from 1245 to his death (and an early advocate of the ordination of women) made influential use of the reasoning behind 'material soul.' An advocate of the *unity of form*, he was also skeptical of Ockham's dissolution of the ontological status of quantity. He argued that the bread's substance could not become the quantitative body of Christ, because then Christ would be present in the host by force of the sacrament, and not by concomitance. Instead, it was the extended matter of Christ, along with His substantial form, that was present in the host, what Thomas calls "Christ's body quantitative in a certain way."[47] Giles's critics wondered how this could be anything other than an analogue in Christ for the 'material soul' between the substantial form of the bread and the bread's matter; in both cases, either there is matter present, or there isn't. Either the matter is of the bread, which is remanentism, or the extended body of Christ, which resurrects the uncomfortable problems about Christ distributing Christ's dead body, and so forth. Thomas of Strasbourg responds that quantity is not something really distinct from matter, but 'quantitative in a certain way' connotes something that is, something that is more than just a term, as the Ockhamists argued. The

[46] Pasquale Porro, "Henry of Ghent," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/henry-ghent/.

[47] Bakker, 1:206–211.

arguments over unity and plurality of form dwindled as the fourteenth century went on, and the disputes centering on eucharistic change shifted to questions about the possibility of annihilation.

The initial Boethian problem, abbreviated by the maxim "every change is according to something common," compelled Henry of Ghent to look carefully at a long-held assumption. For most thirteenth-century theologians, transubstantiation was assumed to be incompatible with the annihilation of the substance of the bread and wine. But if the nature of the bread, a finite creature, becomes an uncreated nature, eternal and infinite, as transubstantiation requires, what remains of the bread to experience the change? To say that the accidents experience the change is insufficient, because the question is of natures, not accidents. Besides, if something remained to experience the change, the problem of remanentism arises. No common term remains. How can we conclude anything but that the substantial being of the bread and wine utterly ceases to be? William de la Mare took up this line of reasoning by exploring the possibility that God might readily overcome the apparent Boethian rule, by causing a supernatural change to which the rule does not apply. But if the miraculous must be explained, he continues, transubstantiation might well entail the annihilation of the substance of the elements.

William's reasoning that transubstantiation entails annihilation offended Scotus's philosophical sensibilities. Both remanence and annihilation, Scotus argued, were perfectly reasonable explanations for the Eucharist, while transubstantiation strained reason past its natural bounds. Yet the church holds that transubstantiation is the explanation. Why complicate matters by mixing the reasonable with the miraculous?[48] Instead of introducing annihilation into the mix, better to reframe the question to avoid having the bread being hurled into the nothingness that preceded creation. So Scotus distinguishes between two ways in which an extant thing can come to be somewhere. Something can come to be in a place where once there was nothing, which is *productive* coming into being, or it can come to be where there is already something. This is *adductive* coming into being. The difference lies in whether there is nothing where the extant thing comes to be, or there is something. Annihilation would require productive coming into being of Christ, but adductive coming into

[48] *Sent.* 4.11.3, cited in Bakker, 1:229.

being allows Christ to begin being where there is already something. Simultaneous with this is the bread's ceasing to be, which makes the bread's absence an after-effect, and not the reversal of creation that the term 'annihilation' entails.[49]

Peter Auriol likewise finds annihilation unacceptable, and explains the change by beginning with the Boethian maxim, in which any change entails a common term remaining constant to experience the change. This constant Auriol calls "*symbolic form*," which can perdure in two ways. In one, as with the condensation of a liquid from a vapor, some underlying something continues to be as it changes form from gas to liquid. In the other, this underlying something is far less tangible. Here, the example is of the generation of fire from the air, which does not involve a perduring substance, but a part of the air, the *diaphaneity*, that is transformed into flame. Auriol wants the term 'symbolic form' to refer to either or both of these possibilities when accounting for what holds constant in transubstantiative change. This 'symbolic form' is neither form nor matter, nor anything associated with the bread's essence; instead, it is associated with its accidental dimensional being. Dimensions provide the basis for extension and location, which themselves make possible the substance's perceptibility. Hence, 'symbolic form' is the prerequisite for the 'this perceptible something' that arises from something being spatiotemporally located. This, Auriol argues, is what perdures through transubstantiation, and not some substantial reality. Transubstantiation is hence a local change of the dimensional extension of the bread.[50]

Like Scotus, Ockham was favorably inclined to remanence, but disposed to supporting transubstantiation so long as it avoided having accidents maintaining coherence without a subject. In fact, he envisions four possible scenarios.

---

[49] For a translation of a Quodlibetal question associated with this discussion, see Quodlibetal Question 10 in *John Duns Scotus: God and Creatures*, eds. Felix Alluntis and Allan B. Wolter (Princeton, 1975), pp. 236–56.

[50] Bakker, 1:229–45. Readers familiar with Descartes' reasoning in *Meditations* regarding the nature of substance may be tempted to look for connections between Auriol and Descartes. Most contemporary scholars of the ties between scholastic and early Modern philosophy counsel against this. See Roger Ariew, "Descartes and Scholasticism: the Intellectual Background to Descartes' Thought", *Cambridge Companion to Descartes*, ed. J. Cottingham (Cambridge, 1992); *Descartes and the Last Scholastics* (Cornell, 1999); Robert Pasnau, "Form, Substance, and Mechanism," *Philosophical Review* 113.1 (2004), 31–88, esp. p. 50ff.

> I say that the body of Christ is truly present on the altar. But this can be held in a number of ways. In one way, by positing that the substance of the bread remains, and that the body of Christ coexists with it in its substance, so that the first substance bears the accidents, and the second does not, but they coexist together. In another way, the substance of the bread suddenly departs from the first place to another, and the accidents remain coexisting with the body of Christ. In the third way, the substance is reduced to matter, and remains as such, or receives another term, either in the same place or in another, so the body of Christ coexists with this matter and these accidents. In the fourth way, the substance of the bread is reduced to nothing.[51]

Ockham understands the fourth option as having two possible senses. In the first, something is reduced to a pure nothing from which nothing can come, while in the second, it is reduced to the nothing from which it was produced, a productive nothing Here, the being of the bread has the same being it had as a possible being in the creative power of God. In this sense, transubstantiation is compatible with annihilation. D'Ailly understands Ockham as envisioning two possibilities. In the first, there is a succession of one substance into another, with the accidents of the first substance, which itself ceases to be, inhering in the second. The other possibility involves transubstantiation as an immediate succession of two things, which neither possesses matter or a subject in common. In this, the first term is wholly annihilated and is not turned into another thing. But using the two-fold sense of annihilation, he rules out the first sense, in which the bread is not reduced to the pure nothing from which nothing comes, without specifically endorsing the second sense. As in the question regarding quantity, D'Ailly, the protector of orthodoxy at Constance, proves himself a devout follower of the excommunicated Venerable Inceptor. D'Ailly's target at Constance, namely Wyclif's conclusion that not only was annihilation impossible, but that transubstantiation was metaphysically incomprehensible, arises from a very different ontological standpoint from that endorsed by the theologians discussed here. We will discuss this in the last section of this chapter, on Wyclif, Hus, and the Utraquist movement.

[51] *Sent.* 4.8.

"Why Do I still See Bread and Wine?" The Question of the Eucharistic Accidents

The greatest challenge to theologians defending transubstantiation was to explain how the properties of the consecrated elements remain while the underlying substance changes. Peter Lombard began the discussion by suggesting that they might subsist on their own, without any subject, since the body of Christ could not be affected by properties like roundness, being lifted up, and being broken into pieces.[52] Aquinas recognized that this was philosophically untenable, and began his attempt at resolving the problem by concentrating on how the properties, or the accidents, inhere in the substance. Inherence, he says, is not the being of the accident, but only a way that the accident has being arising from its relation to its subject, which is usually substance. That is, the whiteness of the bread is not the same as the fact that it inheres in *this* bread. The being of the whiteness certainly depends on another being, so there needs to be some inherence associated with it, but not necessarily *this* inherence. This allows Aquinas to distinguish between potential and actual inherence, arguing that while potential inherence is associated with any accident, actual inherence is not.[53] Thus, an accident can subsist without a substance without harm to its being. This allows him to argue that eight of the nine kinds of accidents cannot inhere in a substance while retaining their being. The ninth, quantity, serves as the proxy for substance, because corporeal substance is the subject for quantity by virtue of the matter, which is the principle of individuation of substances. The other eight kinds of accident inhere, when they do inhere, in the substantial form; the bread's whiteness, roundness, location, being lifted, and so forth all depend on the bread's substantial form, while its 'how much,' its quantity, depends on matter.[54]

In this discussion, as in most others having to do with Aristotelian metaphysics, Giles of Rome is noteworthy for having labored innovatively to clarify Thomas's position. Regarding the question of how

---

[52] *Sent.* 4.12.

[53] *Sent.* 4.12.1. "Put another way, just as substance is defined by potential subsistence, and not actual subsistence, so an accident is defined by potential inherence and not actual inherence… [which] always remains intact." Bakker, 1:298.

[54] Cf. *Summa Theologiae* 3.77.2; and *Summa Contra Gentiles* 4.65. See also Joseph Owens, "Thomas Aquinas: Dimensive Quantity as Individuating Principle," *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1980), 279–310.

quantity served as proxy for substance for the other eight accidents, Giles envisioned a reciprocity between quantity and quality serving this purpose. Accident, he argued, are either intrinsic or extrinsic. Intrinsic accidents, namely quantity and quality, are united to their subject, their substance, in a more profound and interior way than are *extrinsic accidents*. If we consider the nine kinds of accidents of the bread, six are extrinsic; where the bread is, at what time it is, what position it is in, what it is acting upon, what is acting upon it, and what kinds of *habitus* relations it has, are all extrinsic to the bread. In a sense, they "happen to" the bread. The quantity and the quality of the bread, on the other hand, are more interior, more closely connected to the substance, while the quality of relation unites the extrinsics to one another, to the intrinsics, and the intrinsics to one another, and the whole mass of accidents to the substance. The relations holding between the *intrinsic accidents*, Giles argues, are very secure indeed, with a reciprocity not found in the extrinsic accidents. Qualities inhere in the substance through the substantial form, so they provide the point of formal inherence for quantity, while quantity inheres in the substance through matter, so it provides the point of material inherence for the qualities. Hence, it is just too simplistic to have all the accidents inhere in the quantity; better to envision the reciprocity holding between the quantity and the qualities as the basis for the other accidents.

The first critic of Thomas was a fellow Dominican, Thierry of Freiburg. His criticisms were simply that holding any accident as a potential proxy substance was philosophically untenable. He was a lone voice, though. Following the 1277 condemnations, in which it was manifestly clear that philosophical coherence could not be used to trump theological reality, most theologians were either content, or sufficiently frightened, to embrace the Thomistic model, sticking even closer to Thomas than Giles had done. It seems that some became sloppy in coming up with ways for quantity to be the proxy substance for the other accidents. Olivi formulated the first notable departure from Thomas in his attack on an anonymous position in which quantity inheres unmediatedly in substance, with the rest of the accidents inhering in substance through quantity's mediation. This was neither Thomas's position, nor that of Giles, because it makes quantity into a "quasi-substance", superior to all the other accidents. Olivi rightly pointed out that this was inconceivable, and emphasized his point by making quantity's inseparability from corporeal substance the

keystone of his metaphysical account of substance. Quantity is what provides corporeal substance its spatial extension, while it is, at the most basic level, nothing other than a mode of corporeal substance's being. Given this, it is inevitable that transubstantiation involves a change of substance and quantity for Olivi; the bread-extension becomes the Christ-extension. This leaves the rest of the accidents with nowhere in which to inhere, if the quantity changes along with the substance. Each of the other accidents, he says, can be counted as one or many, though, which means that each has its own species of quantity, else how could one count them? There are so many variations in the quality of color, so many pores in the surface of the bread, and so on, each evidence of a quantitative nature for any given accident.[55] Olivi avoided arguing that God was incapable of separating quantity from substance, and was careful to weigh out the pros and cons of his own position, but this did not prevent his being vigorously opposed at Paris, and from being censured by the Franciscans.

The most significant criticism of Olivi came from Richard of Middleton (d. 1302).[56] Richard introduced a new distinction into the mix, giving a new direction in the analysis of the eucharistic accidents. He argued that there are three kinds of accidents. Respective accidents have the status of a relation of some kind, as with a place, an action, or being acted upon, as well as relation as such. Absolute accidents are specific things, like quantity or quality. Mixed accidents are a combination of the two, as with the snubness of a nose. Respective and mixed accidents cannot exist without a subject, Richard argues, but absolute accidents can. In itself, this threefold distinction does not do more than re-organize the kinds of accidents, but Scotus was to make important use in his own account of the status of the eucharistic accidents.

Scotus aims to establish the separability of the accidents from the substance while maintaining that they have their being through inherence in substance, without taking Aquinas's approach. He does this by making three distinctions. First, the term 'accident' could mean the relation of accidentality, or it could mean the actual accident, or property, itself. The actual accident, secondly, could be either absolute

---

[55] See *Quaestiones de Eucharistia; Tractatus de Quantitate* (each unedited), cited in Bakker, 1:342–53.

[56] Aka Richard de Mediavilla; see Richard Cross, "Richard of Middleton," in Gracia and Noone, pp. 573–78; and S.F. Brown, "Richard of Middleton," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

or relative, as explained by Richard of Middleton. Finally, 'inherence' could be actual or potential, as Aquinas had specified. Given these distinctions, three conclusions follow. The first involves the necessary relation of inherence with 'accident'. When 'accident' is understood as the actual accident, it cannot be without inherence, whether potential or actual. When the relation of accidentality is meant, inherence is likewise entailed. Therefore accidentality is either equivalent to inherence, or it is identical to it. This means that the term 'accident' always involves inherence, whether its referent is the actual accident, or the relation of accidentality. The second conclusion involves relational accidents. When considering a relational accident, which involves a relation of some kind, one cannot coherently hold that it subsist without inherence, because it is defined by its object. Take, for example, the relation of position. An instance of this might be "the bread is on the altar, behind the chalice." Being on the altar, behind the chalice is accidental to the bread, which accident is the relational one of position. The 'being on' and 'being behind' are accidents predicable of the bread with respect to, or relative to, something other than the bread, in this case, the altar and the chalice, respectively. The second conclusion, then, is simply that such a relational accident must inhere in its subject, and cannot coherently be considered as separable from it. The third conclusion involves absolute accidents, which are qualities and quantity. These, Scotus holds, can subsist without a subject through potential inherence, as Aquinas had argued. In such a miraculous case, the absolute accident, the roundness, the whiteness, or the mass, relies on the being of the first cause of all substance, God, rather than the being of the particular substance, the bread. If inherence were tied to the essence of the accident, and not necessarily connected to the relation of accidentality, as established in the first conclusion, this separability would not be possible. By distinguishing between potential and actual inherence, though, Scotus can drive a wedge between accident and inherence sufficient to admit of their miraculous separability. The upshot of this is that Scotus has no need of quantity as proxy substance, and can argue that absolute accidents can exist without an individual substance through divine intervention, by retaining potential inherence, without their essence being threatened.[57] Peter Auriol's explanation of the separability of accidents builds on this distinction

[57] For inherence, see *Questions on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, Bk. 7, Q. 1, trans. Gerard Etzkorn and Allan Wolter (St. Bonaventure, NY, 1998), pp. 87–96.

between accident and inherence. Auriol argues that inherence constitutes the nature of the accident, which otherwise is an indistinct, indeterminate thing. Only with a subject is an accident determinate. Inherence entails what Auriol calls 'indivision,' and the indivisibility of a subject and an accident actually makes a third thing, similar to what Wodeham calls a complex significable in another context. Take the bread and the accident of its being on the altar. The inherence of the position 'on the altar' in the bread comprises 'bread being on the altar.' Still, an accident is separable, for God can make it subsist without a subject as determinate and defined. So at the instant of consecration, God removes the indivision by separating the accident of position from the bread, and causes it to subsist without a subject.

Ockham's position arises out of his argument that all accidents are, at the ontological level, qualities, and so has been explained in relating his arguments against Aquinas's understanding of how transubstantiation occurs. Among those who would follow in the Ockhamist approach, perhaps John Buridan serves as emblematic of explanations of how the eucharistic accidents are separable. For Buridan, the issue is at base a question of how philosophy is related to theology. From a purely philosophical standpoint, the term 'being' cannot signify substance and accident in the same way, because of the fundamental differences in their ontological status. Philosophers had long made use of this distinction between accidental being, which is dependent on the being of substance, and substantial being, which is independent, in their accounts of how to understand the difference between divine and created being. From a philosophical standpoint, the concept of substance does not entail accidents, but the concept accident does entail substance. Buridan notes that, from the standpoint of the faith, one must begin by recognizing the possibility that God can make accidents exist without a substance, This means that the faith leads to a new definition of 'accident' that does not entail inherence, or substance either. This leaves us with an absolute concept of accident, something that seems as potentially independent as a substance. In effect, we can dispense with the Aristotelian distinction between dependent and independent being, at least as far as the faith is concerned. Buridan concludes that transubstantiation requires that we simply admit that there are two realms of definition: the natural, philosophical order as described by Aristotle, and the supernatural, miraculous order, in which accidents can subsist independently.

It would be hard not to conclude that Buridan is effectively saying that theology is little better than magical thinking in its willingness

to suspend philosophical rigor for the miraculous. He is not; Buridan represents one of two possible intellectual approaches associated with the Ockhamist turn. For him, theology is a sphere into which he enters only when absolutely necessary; his main interest is philosophy, and when theological realities loom, he is generally content to bow in their direction, and change course. For example, consider his analysis of the relation of the soul to the body. He posits two inherence relations to explain how the soul inheres in the body, one, in which something physical and finite inheres in something else physical and finite (as in the white in the bread), and one in which something non-physical inheres in the physical. The latter species of inherence, he says, is what relates soul to body, and he suggests that one bear in mind a similar relation holding between the body of Christ in the consecrated host. But that is as far as he goes; his interest is not in using his new distinction to explain the presence of Christ in the host, and he comments that theologians might be better suited than philosophers to handle this issue.[58]

Marsilius of Inghen represents the other approach, and in doing so, makes the separability of philosophically coherent without resort to doctrine. He acknowledges that Buridan's reasoning is sound, but makes note of two additional points. First, it is as impossible in nature for a substantial form to exist without matter as it is for an accident to exist without substance. Second, the term 'substance' and 'being' signify the matter/substantial form composite univocally. This leads him to construct a new argument. A substantial form, he argues, is a being, despite the fact that it cannot exist without matter. The fact that accidents cannot exist independently of substance, then is not a sufficient reason for denying them being. But the term 'being' does not apply equally to substance and accident, for the very simple reason that, in comparison with the first cause, God, substance is capable of existing on its own, while accidents are not. This makes substances more like God than accidents, and requires us to recognize that accidents and substance are only equivocally beings. But 'being' is not predicated of accidents by reason of their essential nature, which is what Buridan had hoped to avoid. The beauty of Marsilius's approach is that he does not use the Eucharist as the reason for delimiting Aristotle's definitions.

[58] See Jack Zupko, "How Are Souls Related to Bodies? A Study of John Buridan," *Review of Metaphysics* 46.3 (1993), 594. See also Zupko, *John Buridan Portrait of a Fourteenth-Century Arts Master* (Notre Dame, 2003), pp. 139–45; Gyula Klima, *John Buridan* (Oxford, 2009), p. 5.

Instead, he rests it on the possibility that a substantial form is a being, through analogy to which he can argue that an accident has being that is not essentially bound up in its inseparability from accident. He has made no bows to doctrinal authority, but he has also made it possible to argue philosophically for the being of accidents without necessarily requiring an account of the being of substance.[59]

Gabriel Biel (1420–1495) is another theologian exemplifying this approach, though not with the deft hand Marsilius wields. In the same discussion of how the eucharistic accidents function, Biel carefully constructs a theological basis for the Ockhamist account. Like Ockham, he quickly rejects talk of quantity as a substance proxy, reasoning that since a substance and its quantity are identical, substantial quantity must not remain after consecration. All that is left are the qualities, but because the qualities themselves are distinguishable and countable, they must have their own quantitative aspect, an accidental quantity. This is not some additional metaphysical phantom, though; on the same principle that a substance and its quantity are identical, so must an accident and its quantity be the same. If Thomas's approach is unfeasible, then, what is the basis for the perceptible accidents? Ockham had argued that the absolute divine power could serve as their substantial base, and Biel followed in kind. He reasoned that it is not more contradictory to say that "one absolute accident exists without a subject than another, and if quantity existing without a subject does not involve a contradiction, so neither does any other."[60]

But such a possibility suggests that God can easily make a substance without accidents, as well. There could be a man lacking any qualities, colorless, shapeless, no blood, organs, or body. So long as there remains the substantial form, the vegetative, appetitive and intellective form, though, he would be a man, Biel affirms. Why should this be such an offense to reason? God can conserve a man without important body parts, like the head, as occurred with St. Dionysius. Biel is not alone in introducing this tone into accounts of transubstantiation

[59] See Paul J.J.M. Bakker, "Aristotelian Metaphysics and Eucharistic Theology: John Buridan and Marsilius of Inghen on the Ontological Status of Accidental Being," in *The Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy of John Buridan*, ed. J.M.M.H. Thijssen and J. Zupko (Leiden, 2001), pp. 247–64. See also Bakker, "Inhérence, Univocité et Séparabilité des Accidents Eucharistiques," in *La Servante et La Consolatrice*, eds. Jean-Luc Solére and Zénon Kaluza (Paris, 2002), pp. 193–217.

[60] *Sent.*, 4.4.12.1. See also Rudolf Damerau, *Die Abendmahlslehre des Nominalismus, insbesondere die des Gabriel Biel* (Giessen, 1963), p. 217.

resting on God's *absolute power*. Robert Holcot (d.1349) introduced a similar tone in his own description of the reasonableness of accepting transubstantiation.

> God can do more than we are able to understand, and bring this about through causes we are not able to fathom… Transubstantiation or the conversion of one substance with another does not fly in the face of reason any more than the many transformations that not only the common people believe. Augustine describes the words of Varro in *De Civitate Dei* XVIII, c. 17, whom he affirms to be a reputable historian of great probity and learning. Varro relates the tale of the most famous Circe, who turned the friends of Ulysses into beasts… and Genesis holds that Lot's wife was turned into salt. The transformation of bread into the body is no less believable than these.[61]

Biel next asks whether these substance-free accidents can be acted upon in the same way as substance is, noting that Scotus had argued that substance-free accidents cannot be the principle of generating or corrupting, and that Aquinas had argued that they could by virtue of their connection to the substantial form that remains after consecration. Biel argues that they can be acted upon as substance is, but only because they retain the same powers. His reasoning is not the same as Thomas's, though. "It does not seem possible to demonstrate from things known as such, that some creature brings about an effect, because it can be said afterwards that any effect whatsoever is only from God, whenever it occurs simultaneously with its secondary cause."[62] Can some changes be made in the accidents without reliance upon the miracle of substance-less accidents? God's will makes possible every change to these accidents brought about by created causes, such as the priest's hands, or the communicants' mouths. The absence of a mutable subject makes no difference. "This is not a new miracle, but the [divine] willing that instituted the Eucharist, because if the species were to appear unchangeable, the merit of faith would disappear." If the bread didn't continue to act like bread after consecration, where would the need for faith be? So to answer the question, no passive change can be produced in the place of the species by natural means; no natural power can create a substance under the sacramental species, so there is no change in the accidents without divine agency.

---

[61] *Sent.*, 4.3 (1518; repr. Franfurt, 1967). See also Hester Gelber, "Robert Holkot," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/holkot/.

[62] Damerau, *Die Abendmahlslehre des Nominalismus* p. 218, n. 171.

This agency, though, was willed when the sacrament was instituted, and is not the effect of the words of consecration.

The tone of Biel's reasoning, as noted above, can seem querulous, as if to ask how a miracle can be made absolutely explicable to human reason without losing the element of the miraculous? Modern readers can easily misinterpret this as philosophical champing at the doctrinal bit, but this is inaccurate. Biel's concern was that academic theology ought not damage the faith, that curiosity should not so pick apart the miraculous as to devalue it. The important element is not the ontological mechanics of transubstantiation, but the fact that the Mass links the communicant to Christ's redemptive sacrifice.[63]

Denial, the Stake and the Sword: Wyclif, Hus, and Utraquism

The first real departure from the doctrine of transubstantiation arose as a result of an argument about Aristotelian physics. The received position was to hold that there were no such things as indivisible points, or atoms, of time and space, which position served as the basis for the Aristotelian understanding of quantity. A number of contemporaries of Ockham, including Henry of Harclay, Walter Chatton, and William Crathorn began to question this, hypothesizing that space and time are composed of indivisibles, and that individual quantities are themselves composed of indivisible quanta. More dominant voices, including Adam Wodeham and Thomas Bradwardine, argued that this was philosophically untenable, and the issue appears to have dropped below the horizon by the middle of the fourteenth century. John Wyclif (d. 1384) became convinced of the existence of spatio-temporal indivisibles, though, likely as a result of his unique philosophical understanding of the isomorphism of language and reality. His position, best described as propositional realism, involves all reality being arranged exactly as our propositions describe it. That is, the fact of the bread being on the altar, involves the property "on the altar" as a real predicate or property true of the bread's substance. This is, in itself, not a departure from scholastic thought. Adam Wodeham's idea of the complex significable, a "state of affairs" to which the proposition we use to describe it refers, is similar. Further, Wyclif was by no means

[63] See Heiko Oberman, *The Harvest of Late Medieval Theology* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), pp. 271–80.

the first to inject a more realist ontology into the discussion; Walter Burley had argued for the reality of universals apart from the things that participate in them. Wyclif believed himself to be moderating Burley's position by arguing for several kinds of universals, including species and genera, having a higher degree of reality, but not extant in some Platonic world midway between creation and the divine mind. Wyclif's position is anomalous in his conception that every instance of created being is a "truth," a definitive statement of reality that maps onto the ongoing process of created being exactly as pictures in single frames, taken in succession, make up a movie. His spatiotemporal indivisibilism arises quite naturally from this understanding of how reality is structured.[64] His eucharistic theology evolved gradually, as he continued to compare the implications of his propositional realism with the latitude open to theologians explaining transubstantiation.

Among his first conclusions is that *annihilation* is metaphysically unacceptable, in accord with Scotus's understanding of it as the reverse of creation. But rather than having the annihilation of anything in creation bring about a tiny absence in being, Wyclif argued, one instance of annihilation must inevitably cause a chain reaction, in which annihilation builds on annihilation. If a substance is annihilated, its form and its matter are erased from being. But the substantial form has its being as an instantiation of a more common universal, and if the substantial form is erased, so, too must the universal be erased, for it exists in the substance. And if the universal "bread" is erased, so, too, will the universal for "body," and "substance," and "being." In fact, annihilation will even cause God not to have knowledge that He eternally has, for if the universals are erased, so too are the divine ideas. In short, annihilation causes a chain reaction resulting in the obliteration of all being. As we have seen, Wyclif's denial of annihilation was not a departure from the majority position, although his argument is

[64] For Wyclif's propositional realism, see Laurent Cesali, *Le réalisme propositionnel: Sémantique et ontologie des propositions chez Jean Duns Scot, Gauthier Burley, Richard Brinkley et Jean Wyclif*, (Paris, 2007); Alessandro Conti, "Wyclif's Logic and Metaphysics," in *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian*, ed. I.C. Levy (Leiden, 2006), pp. 67–126. For Wyclif's denial of transubstantiation see Ian Levy, *John Wyclif: Scriptural Logic, Real Presence, and the Parameters of Orthodoxy* (Milwaukee, 2003); Paul J.M.M. Bakker, "Réalisme et rémanence: La doctrine eucharistique de Jean Wyclif," in *John Wyclif Logica, Politica, Teologia*, eds. Mariateresa Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri, Stefano Simonetta (Florence, 2003), pp. 87–126, and Stephen Lahey, *John Wyclif* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 102–34.

certainly more dramatic than is Scotus's. The next problem for him is to give an account for the common term in the Boethian maxim: what is it that experiences the change? His first attempt at an answer evokes the "symbolic form" of Auriol.

> It remains one body serving as subject to the accidents of the bread which I call an abstract mathematical body. Just as a substance is first not a being more than it is a something, so the bread first in its nature is a body more than it is bread… And thus the same being, which first is bread, remains a body during this degree of general quiddity.[65]

Wyclif appears to have envisioned Christ's quantitative presence as non-extensive in this "mathematical body," as an image is present in a mirror. This suggests an attempt at arguing that Christ is present in something close to the way the soul is in the body, with a definitive presence. So far, Wyclif is constructing his own position from extant ones. Wyclif's comment that Christ is present as an image in a mirror may have been inspired by the phenomenon of light refraction within the ciborium. The ciborium is the metal vessel, usually silver, containing the consecrated host. During the Mass, especially when wearing red vestments, the priest can perceive the red vestments refracted on the consecrated host from having been reflected from the polished inside of a silver ciborium. The result is a ghostly image of the vestments on the consecrated host. This is especially so when the Mass occurs in front of a window, or in a very well-lit space.

It is in his attempt at explaining the eucharistic accidents that he finds transubstantiation incoherent. He was clear in rejecting Thomas's argument for quantity serving as proxy substance, and as to relying on God's absolute power to realize the eucharistic transformation, as Scotus and others had argued, Wyclif was scornful. Does the need for transubstantiation to be true go so far as to violate the idea that God's absolute power would not surpass the laws of logic? Further, multiplying any being, even a point of space, would eliminate the coherence of time and space, the dependability of the senses in accurately measuring the world, and the way we use terms to explain reality.[66] Unlike Scotus, Wyclif believed that all continua, such as space and time, are composed of indivisibles, because if there are infinitely many possible

[65] John Wyclif, *De Logica Tractatus Tertius* 10, in *De Logica*, ed. M.H. Dziewicki, 3 vols. (London, 1893–99), 3:137.

[66] John Wyclif, *De Eucharistia* 8, ed. J. Loserth (London, 1892).

places between any two given places, as Scotus would have asserted, there would be room for the insertion of something new without destroying the cohesion of time and space. But for an indivisiblist, there must be instantaneous change between two given points for there to be a change in time. Given the Boethian maxim of the need for an underlying substance remaining constant, and the absence thereof in Wyclif's estimation, it appears that temporal atomism precludes transubstantiation. There would need to be a point at which the bread begins to cease to be, and Christ has not yet begun to underlie the accidents, and it is at that point, Wyclif argues, that nothing underlies the Eucharist accidents. Having ruled out a proxy substance, the possibility of absolute divine power providing the ontological support for the accidents, and being kept from a continuist view of bread, in which the change from bread to Christ is infinitely divisible, and hence there is never a time when there is not substance underlying the accidents, Wyclif's options appear to have run out. Since the accidents obviously continue to inhere in something, it must be the bread. In a vernacular text likely to have been written by Wyclif, he argues that, just as when one looks at a statue does not wonder whether it is carved from ash or oak, but instead concentrates on what the carving represents, so one contemplating the Eucharist ought think of Christ, and not of bread or wine, let alone substance and accidents.[67] He repeatedly insisted that, if someone were able to convince him otherwise, he would gladly listen, which insistence was sufficient to keep him from being excommunicated for denying transubstantiation, at least while he was alive, but his position was still his ruination. Once it became public, he was forced to leave Oxford, and it was only because he was in the service of John of Gaunt, the protector of the Crown, that he was not compelled to face imprisonment in Avignon.[68]

Lollardy, the lay reform movement that had grown from among Wyclif's disciples, would include a remanentist denial of transubstantiation among the tenets of their teachings. A Lollard sermon on the Eucharist teaches, "But this sacrament is both bread and Christ's body together, as Christ is very God and very man, and as Christ's manhood suffered pain and death and yet the godhood may suffer no pain, so

[67] Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* (Oxford, 1988), p. 282.

[68] See Joseph Dahmus, *The Prosecution of John Wyclyf* (New Haven, 1952); G.R. Evans, *John Wyclif: Myth and Reality* (London, 2005).

though the sacrament be corrupted, nevertheless, the body of Christ may suffer no corruption…the men that say that this sacrament is neither bread nor Christ's body, but an accident, or nothing, are heretics if they maintain this error against Jesus Christ."[69] Because of the nature of the movement, it is impossible to argue that all Lollards believed the same thing about the Eucharist; some may have held to transubstantiation, others to remanentism, and still others to the position that the entire sacrament was simply a memorial meal. Likewise, it is a mistake to assume that lay suspicion of transubstantiation indicates Wycliffism, for, as Wyclif himself put it, a mouse knows bread even when the friars do not.

The marriage of Richard II of England to Anne of Bohemia initiated an intellectual tie binding Oxford to Charles University, and one of England's first exports to Prague was Wyclif's thought. Bohemia had been alive with reformist tendencies in the fourteenth century, and Wyclif's philosophical arguments were quick to gain adherents in Prague. Among the foremost of these were Stephan Paleč, Stanislav of Znojmo, and Jerome of Prague, each a university trained theologian. Jan Hus became affiliated to this group early on, and became the leader of the intellectual movement of Bohemian Wycliffism. As with Wycliffism in England, the movement in Bohemia was by no means of one mind to accept root and branch of Wyclif's thought; while Paleč and Stanislav were quick to advocate remanentism, the same cannot be said of Hus. Hus was among a group of theologians deputed to investigate miraculous appearances of Christ's blood in the German village of Wilsnack, and while he was clear that no such divine substance appeared on wooden statues, he was equally clear that it did become the basis for the eucharistic accidents through transubstantiation.[70] Hus's arguments are largely refutations of the remanentism of his colleagues, but his position of leadership earned him many enemies unwilling to perceive diversity in their opponents. In 1409, Stanislav and Paleč were jailed, and subsequently returned to advocacy of Roman orthodoxy. They turned on Hus, and were active in

[69] Anne Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Toronto, 1997), pp. 110–11. See also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 281–90.

[70] Jan Hus, *De Sanguine Christi*, in *Opera Omnia* 1/3, eds. W. Flašhans and M. Komínková, 3 vols. (1905; repr. Osnabrück, 1966); and Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 25–46.

accusing him of the remanentism they had recently espoused.[71] Hus eventually was convinced to appear at the Council of Constance, guaranteed safe passage and protection by Sigismund of the Holy Roman Empire, where he was accused of numerous Wycliffite heresies, including remanentism.[72] Despite his denial, and his forgiveness of Paleč, who had been among his most vigorous accusers, he was burned on 6 July 1415. Among his last writings was a record of his exchange with d'Ailly, whom he claims to have reduced to silence at his trial.[73]

It may seem strange that the Hussite movement, in which Wyclif's suspicions regarding transubstantiation flourished, would make the lay reception of the chalice, or *Utraquism*, into a *casus belli*. Yet this is what happened; during negotiations at the Council of Basel in 1433, Hussite representatives were willing to bend on issues of clerical reform and church governance, but not at all on the chalice. The lay reception of the chalice stood for a broader Hussite understanding of the relation of the sacraments to the church, and was not necessarily connected with the metaphysics of the Eucharist as it had been described in scholastic debate. The emergence of Utraquism can be traced to the teaching of Jakoubek of Střibro in 1414, who demanded a more serious attention to two elements of the mass. If Christ is wholly present in the consecrated host, it does not follow, he argued, that the consecrated wine plays no part in the sacrament. At stake was the interpretation of John 6:53, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." The common, spiritual interpretation of this allowed a great deal of interpretative room for those comfortable with the custom of communion in one kind, but Jakoubek asked whether such a broad interpretation might not lead to outright dismissal of the lay consumption of the bread. Finally, if Eucharist was meant to recreate the Last Supper, whom do the disciples represent, the whole church, or the clergy? The received position had become the clergy, but Jakoubek articulated the position that earlier Bohemian reformers had been supporting, that the disciples stand for whole church militant. "Otherwise the evangelical law itself would not pertain to the Christian community; that is, if the

[71] See Paul de Vooght, "Hus a t-il enseigné la 'remanentia'?" in *Hussiana* (Louvain, 1960).
[72] Spinka, *John Hus at the Council of Constance*, p. 266.
[73] Matthew Spinka, *The Letters of John Hus* (Manchester, 1972), p. 210.

disciples of Christ who received that law from the Lord had not held the place of the future community of the faithful."[74] While Protestants might understand this line of reasoning to lead to the elimination of the clerical class, the Hussites did not. Their ideal was a communally organized church, true to the ideals of the early church. For them, lay reception of the chalice symbolized a return to the apostolic model of the church.

An additional specter haunted the Bohemian reformers. The orthodox preacher assigned to replace Hus at the important Bethelehem chapel in Prague, Havlik, had argued that spiritual communion alone was necessary for grace, wherein the soul unites itself with Christ in love, partaking of the body and blood in spirit. The Hussite ethos rejected this as cheapening the Eucharist, and championed frequent communion in response. Jakoubek, among others in the early Hussite movement, developed arguments that had been formulated by Jan Milíč and Matěj of Janov and popularized by theologians at Charles university in the early years of the fifteenth century.[75]

The Hussite movement evolved, and as opposition from Rome and Vienna grew increasingly violent, eventually split into several distinct movements. A more moderate Hussite, John Rokycana, developed Jakoubek's position, delineating the functions of the elements. The body opens the way to a deeper communion with Christ, while the blood washes away the communicant's sin. He neither emphasizes nor denies transubstantiation, fixing his attentions on refuting the sufficiency of spiritual communion. More radical Hussite voices, particularly among the Taborite movement, denied transubstantiation, reworked the liturgy, and continued to advocate utraquism throughout the violence and horrors of the Hussite wars.

---

[74] See Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Los Angeles, 1967), p. 115.

[75] William R. Cook, "The Eucharist in Hussite Theology", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 66 (1975), 23–49; David Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharistic Movement in its European Context," *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 1 (1996), 23–47; Frederick G. Heymann, "John Rokycana Church Reformer Between Hus and Luther," *Church History* 28 (1959), 240–80.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Bakker, Paul J.J.M. *La Raison et Le Miracle: Les Doctrines Eucharistiques (c. 1250–c. 1400)*, 2 vols. Nijmegen, 1999.
Buescher, Gabriel. *The Eucharistic Teaching of William Ockham*. St Bonaventure, NY, 1950.
Burr, David. "Scotus and Transubstantiation," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972), 336–60.
Evans, G.R. (ed.). *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Current Research*. Leiden, 2002.
Holeton, David. "The Bohemian Eucharistic Movement in its European Context," *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 1 (1996), 23–47.
Levy, Ian Christopher. *John Wyclif: Scriptural Logic, Real Presence, and the Parameters of Orthodoxy*. Milwaukee, 2003.
de Vooght, Paul. "Hus a t-il enseigné la 'remanentia'?" in *Hussiana*. Louvain, 1960.

ART AND EUCHARIST IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Kristen Van Ausdall

Constructing an accurate account of art in the service of eucharistic theology, liturgy, or piety in the late Middle Ages is as elusive as trying to pin down a "typical" celebration of the Mass before the Counter Reformation. Eucharistic imagery in the period continually shifted depending on a vast array of conditions, including chronology, regional requirements, and even individual taste. Changes in the theology of the Eucharist prior to the thirteenth century were foundational and, in response, revolutionary transformations can be seen in the art of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. By the latter part of the Middle Ages, many different types of art became integral to the visual and spiritual focus on the Eucharist in churches and in private settings.[1]

Funded variously by individuals, civic organizations, and the Church, eucharistic art defies absolute categorization. Some imagery is forthright in its sacramental references, and some is more veiled, though no less deeply imbedded in eucharistic thought. Although it is not possible to include all types of art, nor all regions, this chapter will focus on a representative sampling of the massive outpouring of imagery dedicated to the central sacrament of the Church from the thirteenth century up to the eve of the Reformation, when enormous changes in artistic style and artistic production occurred both in Northern and Southern Europe. Some key images, highly innovative or representative of specific trends, will be examined in greater depth than others. Images imbedded in a long tradition demonstrate the ways in which visual traditions were transformed in the late Middle Ages to indicate the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. In particular, Christ

[1] This thorough integration and acceptance of visual imagery is codified by the late thirteenth century. In his liturgical commentary, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, written no later than 1286, William Durandus (ca. 1230–1296) methodically presents the nature and symbolism of the liturgy; sacred spaces and liturgical furnishings are presented in the first book of this treatise. Translations for Durandus' first book are from *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende*, Prologue and Book One, Timothy M. Thibodeau, ed. and trans. (New York, 2007).

on the Cross and the Virgin and Child were among the most common images in the Middle Ages, but were rehabilitated to serve new ideas in the wake of theological and popular devotional focus on the Eucharist. These changes also applied to Passion and Infancy cycles, in which specific scenes were isolated as focal points for altarpieces after priests shifted direction, moving from behind the altar to face east, thus paving the way for paintings and sculpture to create a backdrop for the Mass ritual. Contemporary with the widening acceptance of the real presence in the thirteenth century, new preaching orders radically impacted artistic production, and thus we will look at some of the visual manifestations of their theological emphases and corresponding impact on popular devotion. Teaching, preaching, and new devotional practices centering on the Eucharist also led to the innovation of Host-miracle shrines and pilgrimage sites, like the fourteenth-century Chapel of the Corporal in Orvieto. These devotional emphases created completely new categories of artistic production in the late Middle Ages, as did the need for more appropriate ways to visually emphasize the reserved, consecrated Host wafers in all churches. Finally, related images of the eucharistic Christ, independent of specific sites, were engendered by new devotions and spread widely throughout Western Europe.

Liturgical, Theological, and Historical Circumstances in Artistic Production

During the thirteenth century theologians spoke eloquently of the salvific Eucharist as the Real Presence of Christ in the church, a gift from God to humankind. The centerpiece of the liturgy, it was also increasingly the center of worship outside the Mass, and artists were hired to help turn these concepts into visual reality. Some forms of art responded directly to liturgical needs: large images of the isolated *Corpus Christi* that all could see and contemplate, altarpieces (painted and sculpted) focused attention on the moment of elevation with the priest standing *ad orientem*, narrative murals, stained-glass windows, and augmented vessels for eucharistic reservation. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this ornamentation went well beyond decorative enhancement, becoming an integral part of the furnishing—a way to identify its importance, purpose, and meaning. Some art functioned both liturgically and extra-liturgically, as the laity could gaze upon a large fresco or altarpiece during the celebration of Mass or, indeed, some could be seen at any time. Other images responded to purely

Fig. 66 Rogier van der Weyden, *Seven Sacraments Altarpiece*, oil on oak panel, 1440s. Center panel: the Eucharist; Left wing: baptism, confirmation and confession; Right wing: ordination, marriage and extreme unction. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, Belgium (photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY).

extra-liturgical needs, including popular shrines dedicated to Host miracles. Subject matter often bridged liturgical and extra-liturgical, though some themes remained unique to specific purposes and venues.

Predicated on evolving theological concepts and the need to explain what had become almost unintelligible to the faithful majority, liturgical art became more explicitly focused on the Eucharist in the thirteenth century and this emphasis burgeoned in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Rogier van der Weyden's *Seven Sacraments Altarpiece* of the 1440s, for example, depicts Christ on the cross, dominating the central foreground (Fig. 66). Set in a Gothic church, our attention is immediately drawn to a priest in the background elevating the Host

at Mass in front of an elaborately sculpted altar. Theologians, though always wary about the creation of images, had both sanctioned and sought to control their use. William Durandus, Bishop of Mende (ca. 1230–1296), writing about liturgical furnishing and ornamentation in the late thirteenth century, explained that despite the need for caution in creating paintings and sculpture, even so illustrious an authority as Gregory the Great (c. 540–504) believed that images had their place and did not fear that the laity would come to worship the image rather than the sacred idea underlying the image.[2] Durandus speaks of the role of painting and sculpture in church decoration, both on the spot and as a mnemonic device:

> Indeed, pictures seem to move the soul more than texts. Through pictures certain deeds are placed before the eyes, and they seem to be happening in the present time, but with texts, the deeds seem to be only a story heard, which moves the soul less, when the thing is recalled by the memory. For this reason we do not show as much reverence towards books as we do to images and pictures.[3]

The Eucharist as the central sacrament of the Holy Roman Church was firmly established by the fourteenth century, along with a number of new liturgical and extra-liturgical practices to focus the attention of the faithful. Sacramental reception for the laity, however, seems to have been determined according to a number of variables, including worldly position, locale, and the spiritual temperament of the recipient.[4] Art had similar variables—wealth and spiritual temperament of the patron, location, and purpose, all combined with the aesthetic judgments of the artist to create specific visual monuments dedicated to the Eucharist.

---

[2] For an excellent synopsis of the history of using the authority of Gregory the Great in the defense of images, see Herbert L. Kessler, "Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in Conrad Rudolph, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 151–172. See also Elizabeth Saxon's chapter in this volume on iconoclasts in the earlier Middle Ages.

[3] Durandus, *Rationale* (Bk. 1: ch. 3, pt. 4), p. 34.

[4] Charles M.A. Caspars, Gerard Lukken, and Gerard Rouwhorst, eds., *Bread of Heaven: Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion—Essays in the History of Liturgy and Culture* (Kampen, The Netherlands, 1995). Treatises on the Mass and synodal legislation limited the period of reservation of a consecrated Host to seven days; on the eighth day it was to be replaced by fresh Hosts. Hosts were to be consumed by priests, servers and, on such special occasions as Easter, by the communicating laity, and were occasionally taken out on visitations of the sick, for some healing and blessing rituals, and for use in the Easter sepulcher. See also Peter Browe, *De frequenti communione in ecclesia occidentali usque ad annum c. 1000* (Rome, 1932).

In the fifteenth century themes that had developed two centuries earlier, such as Eucharist-centered images of Virgin and Child and the Passion, grew more explicit in expressing ideas about the *Corpus Christi*. In addition, new and expanded subject matter was created both for churches and for private consumption. Dramatically intimate images for contemplation became standard formulae for meditating on the suffering of Christ and on the redemptive qualities of the Corpus. Thus the Trinitarian *Gnadenstuhl* or mercy seat, the Man of Sorrows, and the Pietà (Fig. 67) eventually all found a place in the visualization of the Eucharist. A multitude of images based on the resurrected Christ expressed finely-nuanced concepts. Questions regarding Host miracles and their shrines became more pressing, as the ever-burgeoning popularity of these sites stimulated theologians to assert eucharistic orthodoxy. Although these popular forms of eucharistic worship provided new challenges, they also enriched subject matter in art. One of the most prominent changes in liturgical furnishings can be found in Sacrament tabernacles, and in the fifteenth century we see several new factors at play. In a prefiguration of what would become the normative form of altar-tabernacle for the Counter Reformation, large receptacles to hold the "ordinary" Host began to compete in grandeur with Host-miracle shrines.

Theologians in the twelfth century frequently used tales of Host miracles for didactic purposes, promoting an understanding of the Eucharist that allowed the faithful to grasp a supremely abstract concept. This concept was still debated by the most learned theologians.[5] In these tales, a variety and scope of eucharistic transformations were emphasized. Profanation, conversion, and doubt erased—all appeared in endless variations. Quite naturally, most of these tales focused on the Host wafer since that was the form of communion available to the laity in the late Middle Ages. Although the stories were widespread, few images were created to give specific visual expression to this simplified concept of transubstantiation in the thirteenth century. Nonetheless, the visual arts focused on underlying ideas expressed in these tales: Christ had sacrificed himself for the redemption of humanity and his body and blood were the means of salvation. Penitential and

[5] For the lack of agreement in eucharistic theory before the Counter Reformation, see Gary Macy, "The 'Dogma of Transubstantiation' in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994), pp. 11–41. Reprinted in *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville, MN, 1999), pp. 81–120.

Fig. 67 *Vesperbild (Pietà)*, Bohemian artist, ca. 1400, limestone with polychrome highlight, 38.1 × 39.1 × 14.0 cm, The Cloisters, New York (photo: Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters Collection).

Marian imagery were deeply tied to these ideas of salvation.[6] The basic forms had existed before the transformation of late medieval eucharistic theology: images of the Virgin and Child, narratives of Christ's infancy and Passion, Christ as Judge, Old Testament typologies, and large Crucifixes on or near the altar.[7] However, eucharistic focus in works of art became more explicit in the thirteenth century, perhaps partly in response to these popular tales.

Host Exposition and the Image of Christ Crucified

Monumental crucifixes were perhaps the most explicit and visible form of eucharistic art prior the thirteenth century, and became even more important in the later Middle Ages. They mitigated the strong separation between the roles of clergy and laity formulated in the preceding centuries.[8] As a number of scholars have discussed, visuality became an important part of the way the non-clerical faithful could experience the central Sacrament.[9] These large-scale figures of Christ crucified,

---

[6] For a valuable discussion of penitential and Marian worship in French art of the twelfth century, see Elizabeth Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France: Iconography and Theology* (Woodbridge, UK, 2006), esp. pp. 206–208. Speaking of the emphasis on the human Christ and his mother in the great tympanum sculpture of Moissac, Saxon (p. 206) states that, "On one side is the incarnation, with all its vital eucharistic implications, revealed through the annunciation, visitation, adoration of the magi, presentation in the Temple and the flight into Egypt. On the opposite side a penitential focus is evident: vices of avarice and lust are shown in the context of the damnation of Dives and the acceptance of Lazarus into Abraham's bosom."

[7] Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 279, shows that devotion came to rest in the childhood and death of Christ, with the most passionate displays of piety reserved for the Crucifixion. Images played an important part in mystical visions, demonstrating the extreme emotional and physical emphasis of the age. Constable (p. 282) cites a mystical dream recounted by Rupert of Deutz, in which the 12th-century Benedictine theologian embraced and kissed a wooden sculpture of Christ on the Cross above an altar; Rupert reports that the crucified Christ responded to the embrace, opening His mouth "in order that I might kiss Him more deeply."

[8] Gary Macy, "The 'Invention' of Clergy and Laity in the Twelfth Century," in *A Sacramental Life: A Festschrift Honoring Bernard Cooke*, Michael Horace Barnes and William P. Roberts eds. (Milwaukee, 2003), pp. 124–131.

[9] Still essential to the study of viewing the Host are Édouard Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origins de la devotion au Saint-Sacrament* (Paris, 1926); Peter Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1933); and Caspars, *et al.*, *Bread of Heaven*. From the viewpoint of sacred drama in the Middle Ages, see Michal A. Kobialka, *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1999), esp. pp. 197–216. For a questions related to this concept of visuality, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in*

so common and so easily seen, literally created a visual equivalent to the *Corpus Christi* of the altar, as Rogier van der Weyden clarified in painted form two centuries later (see Fig. 66). Caroline Walker Bynum states that by the thirteenth century, "The faithful were urged to encounter with eyes where encounter with lips was dangerous and rare, to 'eat' by 'seeing.'"[10] Some devotees attended Mass "only for the moment of elevation, racing from church to church to see as many consecrations as possible, and shouting at the priest to hold the host up higher."[11] Conversely, theologians often urged the veiling of the Eucharist, explaining why the body of Christ was hidden under the species. Echoing Christ's words to Thomas after the resurrection, they argued that it was necessary to encourage faith without seeing the physical evidence.[12] As Bynum notes, belief would not be necessary if one simply saw the flesh and blood.[13] This strain of theological thought continued into the fifteenth century, emphasizing that the body and blood of Christ were essentially unseen.[14] In lay worship, however, the importance of sight, and thereby the proliferation of visual images, succeeded as a way to simplify and explain difficult theological concepts.

Viewing a monumental image of Christ on the Cross, either during Mass or outside the ritual context, was a clear way to "see" and engage with the eucharistic body of Christ. The passionate visions of the Cross promoted in the twelfth century, and contemplation of the suffering and wounds of Christ, were made manifest in the sculpted and painted crosses of the thirteenth century. Another factor within many church interiors made these large images of Christ even more essential: the rise of choir screens. While choir screens could function to frame the Mass ritual, as Jacqueline Jung has shown,[15] and were often elaborately perforated

---

Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 76–77. For an evaluation of the contrasting scholarship see Gerhard Lutz's essay in this volume.

[10] Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 87.

[11] Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 88–89.

[12] John 20:24–29.

[13] Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 88–89.

[14] Nathan Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass* (Collegeville, MN, 1990), p. 181, cites the example of Jean Gerson, who urged people to raise their minds toward invisible realities.

[15] For an enlightening study of the role of choir screens in northern Europe, see Jacqueline E. Jung, "Seeing Through Screens: The Gothic Choir Enclosure as Frame," in *Thresholds of the sacred: architectural, art historical, liturgical, and theological perspectives on religious screens, East and West*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Washington DC, 2006), pp. 185–214. See also Jacqueline E. Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000), pp. 622–657.

to provide viewing angles, they also quite literally provided a visual dividing line between the clergy and the laity. Not everyone would have had an advantageous viewing point for the elevation of the Host and, for those for whom fortune had not provided, the giant Crucifixes afforded another way to behold the body of Christ. In medieval eucharistic theology, the invisible was emphasized, and the outward appearance of Christ in the Eucharist was explained as a kind of veil for the truth of God's real presence. The use of images, however, was encouraged as a means to help reveal the truth beneath the surface. The habit of seeing with the heart what lies underneath the surface also applied to visual images.[16]

In Italy, as elsewhere in western Europe, images of Christ on the Cross triumphant over suffering and death continued even in the twelfth century. Painted crosses like that found in San Damiano in Assisi, were shown with eyes wide open, with no overt visual plea to empathy for the torture of crucifixion (Fig. 68).[17] In this type of image, Christ is depicted in a miraculous state of living death with eyes wide open, emphasizing eternal life and the triumph over death. Some of these crosses were used behind altars, backdrops for the celebration of Mass, while others were suspended in the middle of the church or rested atop a choir screen.[18] Significantly, new liturgical customs arose in the twelfth century, including the introduction of the elevation of the Host, codified at the beginning of the thirteenth century. When an altar crucifix was present and the celebrant raised the Host, the Sacrament would be framed by the crucified Christ on the Cross, and the devout

---

[16] Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: the Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Painting* (2nd ed. Doornspijk, 1984), p. 12, cites Gregory the Great's letter to Secundinus (Ep. ix, 52), which ascribes images with the possibility of inflaming devotion, and explaining the invisible by means of the visible. Scholastic theologians and liturgical writers, including William Durandus, used Gregory the Great's letters to Serenus and Secundinus (and later interpolations in the latter) as authoritative in the defense of images. See Kessler, "Gregory the Great and Image Theory," pp. 151–172.

[17] Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France*, pp. 198–199, cites a sermon given by St. Odilo (994–1049) for the feast of the finding of the True Cross. Odilo's emphasis was on the cross as the symbol of the glorious mysteries of triumph, rather than a symbol of the mortification of Christ (p. 199, n. 23 quotes Odilo, *Sermo* 15 *de sancta cruce*, PL. 142, 1031–36.) Saxon goes on to say that "The exaltation and the invention were celebrated with special offices" which "allowed emphasis on both the sacrificial and triumphal aspects." See also Saxon's chapter in this volume for a discussion of earlier monumental Crosses showing the non-suffering Christ.

[18] As Durandus (Chapter 1: 41) says: "In many places a triumphal cross is placed in the middle of the church to denote that we love our redeemer from the depth of our heart, who according to Solomon, offered his body, with deep charity. […] Moreover, the cross is held high to designate Christ's victory."

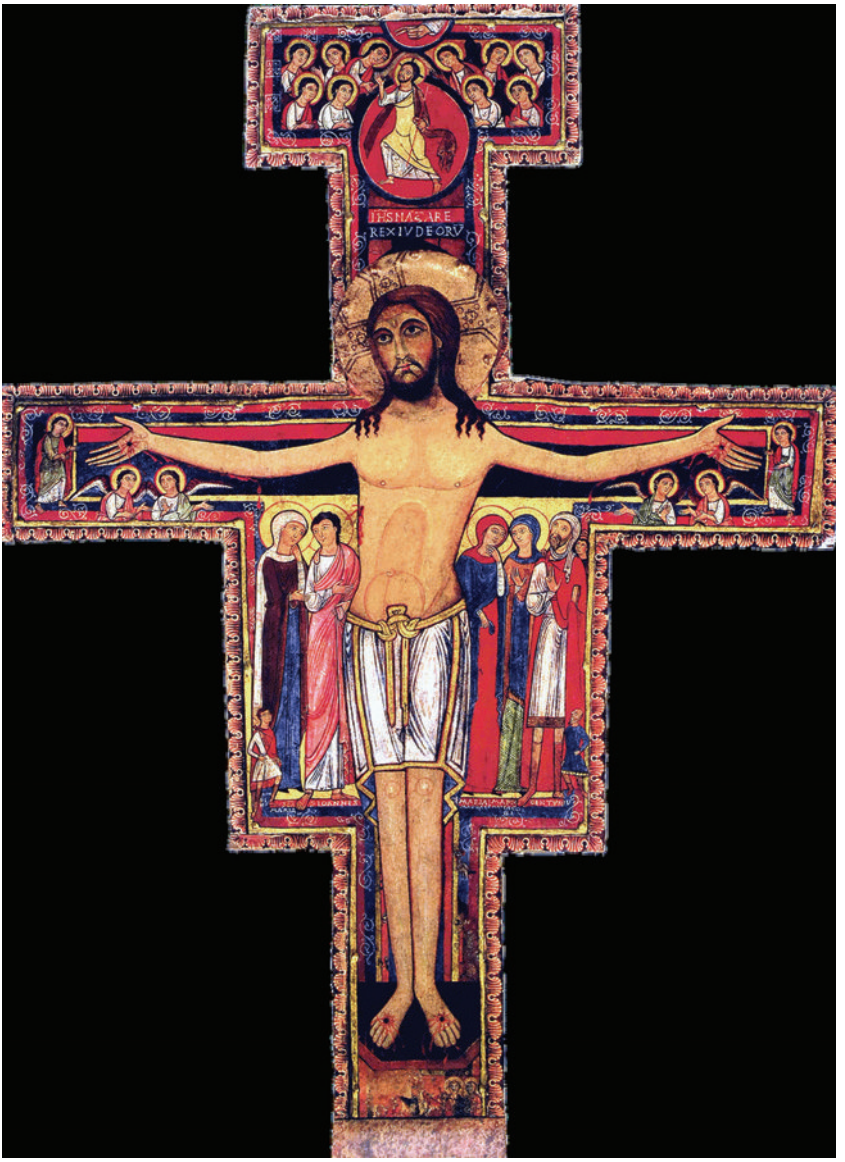


Fig. 68 *Cross of San Damiano*, tempera on panel, now in Santa Chiara, Assisi (photo: author).

could envision the meaning of the bread and wine in a tangible way. This intentional correlation between the Host and the crucified Christ conditioned the devout to see (in more than one sense) the Host as the incarnate God, but also clearly emphasized his divine triumph over death.[19] As a liturgical habit, saluting the Eucharist at the elevation was also formed by the thirteenth century, and led to another extra-liturgical response—adoration of and prayers before the eucharistic species outside the times of liturgical celebration.[20]

A monstrance on the altar had been the primary means of exposition of the Eucharist in churches, as well as in processions of the feast of Corpus Christi, and a spiritual communion could surely be performed before these reliquaries for the Host.[21] With such close association between the painted crosses and the raising of the Host, the laity need not be dependent on the action of the celebrant at Mass or glimpsing the Host in a monstrance or pyx. Instead, the devout could contemplate a vision of the *crucified* Christ at will, aided by painted or sculpted images, which could serve as a visible reminder of the perpetual eucharistic presence.

The Virgin, Christ, and the Eucharist in the Late Middle Ages

The sheer size of the crucifixes garnered attention, but greater focus on affective prayer and the incarnational narrative aspects of Christ

---

[19] Godefridus J.C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist. A Process of Mutual Interaction*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, vol. 63, ed. Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1995), pp. 284–287. Snoek discusses the exposure of the Host which occurred on feast days and for an increasing amount of time during Mass. Moreover, at least in Northern Europe, there was a tradition of keeping the Host in a figure of the Risen Christ. He mentions (p. 288) one late-thirteenth-century figure that stood on the altar at the monastery of Weinhausen, containing both a blood relic and a pyx for the consecrated Host: "Through an opening in the side it was possible to catch a glimpse of the Eucharist—or at least the desire to do so was awakened."

[20] According to Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy*, pp. 165–170, this extra-liturgical adoration began with clerics and religious, and there is virtually no evidence for its practice before the thirteenth century. In the earlier Middle Ages, this practice was directed at the altar, where the relics of saints were kept.

[21] Snoek, *Medieval Piety*, pp. 292–293, discusses viewing the Eucharist in the context of spiritual communion, and states that, "For the lay person the 'communion with the eyes' implied no confession and no danger of receiving communion unworthily.... The transposed exposition of the relics within the context of Eucharistic devotion gained for its content the exposed Sacrament, which offered the people a divine dimension: affective eye contact and spiritual union with Christ truly present."

as savior were also encouraged among the laity. The related cults of the Eucharist and of the Virgin had formed by the late Middle Ages, and correspondingly, the narratives of the Passion and the Infancy of Christ had reached a highly-developed stage in artistic production. The Crucifixion and the Nativity particularly had been isolated from these cycles, but even more popular, the image of the Virgin and Child, ancient in origin, continued to develop for both public and private contemplation.

Byzantine icons had emphasized the Virgin in a number of types, including the *Hodegetria*—in which she holds the Child in her left arm and points to him with her right hand, indicating the way to salvation. Although influenced by a variety of painted panels and manuscripts which poured through Europe with the returning Crusaders, artists of the western world altered images to reflect changing devotional foci.[22] The rise of the cult of the Virgin had brought about new ways of imagining her intercessory role in terms of the physical bond to Christ, and in Byzantine art new types had evolved to express the tender relationship between mother and child.[23] In the thirteenth century western artists were influenced, but less constrained by, these Byzantine modes.[24] Images of the Madonna and Child began to include previously unseen interaction between the two, emphasizing the savior's humanity as well as his divinity. The Infant's intimate relationship to

---

[22] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: a History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago, 1994), pp. 304–305, demonstrates that theologians and preachers in the Latin Church recognized the authority of icons as true likenesses of the holy figures depicted. Although the power of these images was acknowledged, Belting believes that, unlike the Eastern Church, Western theologians were not often bothered by questions of the relationship between image and person since "they were not interested in problems of identity." Eastern models had evolved a type which Belting calls "living paintings," creating a kind of rhetorical structure with which the viewer interacts. "As soon as they included the beholder, the images began to enjoy a new freedom of behavior that directed the further development of the genre." (p. 351)

[23] The *Eleousa* (the merciful) and *Glykophilousa* (sweet kissing or sweetly loving), types were adopted most abundantly in the west. Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Thoughts on Mary East and West," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Hants, England, 2005), pp. 277–292.

[24] Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge and New York, 1996), pp. 22–24, examines the similarities and differences between Italian and Byzantine cycles in relation to variations in the pictorial narration of the Passion. She associates this influence in part, to Franciscan missionary activities in the East, and also relates Passion paintings to Franciscan writings, including liturgical texts, notably the Office of the Passion by Francis himself.

the mother who furnished him with human flesh and blood stands out persuasively in late medieval art.[25] For example, Ambrogio Lorenzetti (ca. 1290–1348) created an extraordinarily human image in his *Madonna del'Latte* of the 1330s; not only do mother and child possess a close physical resemblance, but the infant nurses at ease in her lap, and a fluid motion unites them (Fig. 69).

In this harmonious analogy of shared flesh, Mary is seen as the source of the body of Christ in the Eucharist. In a poignant counterpart, Christ could also be viewed in the role of sustainer. This remarkable relationship is echoed in the eucharistic prayer, *Adoro te devote* (traditionally ascribed to Aquinas), in which Christ is called the bread of life and likened to the pelican, reputed to tear flesh from her own breast to feed her young:

> O memoriale mortis Domini,
> Panis vivus, vitam praestans homini,
> Praesta meae menti de te vivere,
> Et te illi emper dulce sapere.
>
> Pie pellicane, Jesu Domine,
> Me immundum munda tuo sanguine:
> Cujus una stilla salvum facere
> Totum mundum quit ab omni scelere.[26]

Caroline Walker Bynum has shown that Mary's milk, by which the incarnate Christ was nourished, in the Middle Ages was thought to be

---

[25] Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 118–140, discusses late medieval preaching pertaining to the Virgin Mary, emphasizing her shared flesh with Christ, the source of his body which suffered on the cross, as well as the body of Christ received in the eucharistic Host.

[26] "O memorial of our Lord's death! Living bread that gives life to man, Grant my soul to live on you, And always to savor your sweetness. Lord Jesus, Good Pelican, wash me clean with your blood, One drop of which can free the entire world of all its sins." Although tradition connects this prayer to Aquinas and the 1264 institution of the feast of Corpus Christi, the earliest extant *Te Adoro* manuscripts appear in the first half of the 14th century. See P.M. Gy, "L'Office du Corpus Christi et la théologie des accidents eucharistiques," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66 (1982), pp. 81–86. In the *Paradiso* (Canto XXV), written in the early 14th century, Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) also refers to this eucharistic metaphor. St. John the Evangelist appears suddenly surrounded by a bright radiance, and Beatrice identifies him to Dante, saying: "This is he who lay upon the breast of our Pelican, and this is he who was chosen from upon the Cross for the great office." ("Questi è colui che giacque sopra 'l petto del nostro pellicano, e questi fue di su la croce al grande officio eletto." Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*. Charles S. Singleton, trans. and ed. (Princeton, NJ, 1970).

Fig. 69 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna del'latte*, 1330s, tempera on panel (photo: Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena).

formed by her blood. Thus this essential human act, a mother nursing her child, became intricately bound to Christ's sacrificial blood.[27]

By natural association, the Virgin Mary depicted with the infant Savior refers to the incarnation—the Word of God made flesh.[28] Frequently fashioned by medieval theologians as the new Eve, Mary was an elemental paradigm of compliance to God, and she was increasingly believed to be without the stain of original sin. The Virgin, the New Eve, was seen as redeeming the sin of the original, and theologians emphasized her obedience to God, which was in stark contrast to the Eve whose disobedience initiated the expulsion from Paradise. Because the Fall occurred through the agency of food, the fruit from the tree of knowledge, theologians also connected Fall and Redemption through a metaphor of sustenance—the food that had initiated the Fall was compared to the salvific food of Christ himself in eucharistic form.[29] Mary's role in the conception of Christ gave him human form, allowing for the sacramental banquet. As the new Eve, the Virgin set the reversal of the Fall in motion, to be completed by the sacrifice made by her human-divine son. By the thirteenth century theologians saw her explicitly in this role, exemplified by St. Bonaventure, who stated:

> As the Fall happened in both sexes, that is, it began in the woman and was completed then in the man, so would it be with the reparation. The woman, by believing and conceiving, would begin to conquer the devil in secret, and later her Son would conquer him openly, in a duel, that is on the tree of the Cross.[30]

---

[27] Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 270–271, traces this concept to the medieval notion that the milk produced by nursing mothers was made from their own blood converted for the purpose of nourishing their babies.

[28] John 1:14. "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we have seen his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father, full of grace and truth."

[29] In the eleventh century, Peter Damian, in very human terms, elucidated the relationship between the Virgin and the Eucharist. Luigi Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages: the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thought of Medieval Latin Theologians* (San Francisco, 2000), pp. 98–99, discusses the parallelism between Mary and Eve. As Peter Damien stated (*Carmen 65*; PL 145, 941A): "Because of a food, we were cast out of the loveliness of Paradise, but by means of another food we have been restored to the joys of Paradise. Eve ate the food by which she condemned us to the torture of an eternal fast. Mary brought forth the food that opened for us the entrance to the banquet of heaven."

[30] Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, p. 210. For a discussion of Bonaventure's Marian doctrine, particularly in his 24 sermons dedicated to the Virgin, see pp. 207–210. Bonaventure also makes reference to the relationship between the Virgin and the

Artists frequently rendered the Infant gently grasping his mother's mantle, presaging the shroud that would cover him at his entombment. Christ's sacrifice on the Cross and Mary's participation in his suffering both find expression in this tender image.[31]

Northern and Italian artists alike articulated this new-found human relationship, with its attendant emphasis on the forthcoming sacrifice. Sculpted images of the Virgin and Child in the late thirteenth century and fourteenth centuries demonstrate this association clearly, with the graceful figure of Mary swaying slightly and holding the child tenderly as he plucks at her mantle and holds an apple in the other hand. Only ordained ministers of Christ had the power to confect the Eucharist, and from the thirteenth century only men could be ordained with this privilege.[32] Yet the Virgin Mary, because of her unique nature, was often exempt from both gender and sacerdotal restrictions. Given her consanguity with Christ and collaboration with God in the Incarnation, images of the Virgin commonly emphasized her natural role as priest-intercessor, and Christ as both the altar and the sacrifice. Even more literally, the Virgin represented a tabernacle for the Christ's body, and an ark of the covenant for the New Order. As Durandus of Mende asserted, "…note that the case in which the consecrated Hosts are preserved signifies the body of the glorious Virgin, about whom is spoken in the Psalm: Ascend, O Lord, to your rest, You and the ark of your sanctification [Ps 131:8]."[33] Multiple images throughout the late Middle Ages illustrated this emphasis on the Virgin as physical

---

Eucharist, stating that as Mary was the means of giving us Christ through the Incarnation, Eucharist and Communion are also given through her.

[31] As noted by Mitchell *Cult and Controversy*, p. 182, in thirteenth-century Italy an evening devotional practice, in which hymns, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, were sung by the people in Latin or in the vernacular. This practice spread quickly throughout Europe, and in the fourteenth century it became common for these Marian hymns, (called according to location, *laude, Salve, Salut, or lof*) to be sung in the presence of the exposed Sacrament. Local synods or councils often either required or recommended this practice.

[32] Fundamental changes occurred in the concept of ordination in the late Middle Ages. An excellent overview of the historical context of ordination can be found in Nathan Mitchell, *Mission and Ministry: History and Theology of the Sacrament of Order* (Wilmington, DE, 1982). For diversity in the meaning of the term ordination before the thirteenth century see Yves Conger, "Note sur une valeur des termes 'ordinare, ordination,'" *Revue des sciences religieuses* 58 (1984), pp. 7–14. For the context of women's ordination in the earlier Middle Ages see Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (New York, 2007), pp. 49–50.

[33] Durandus, *Rationale* (Bk 1, ch. 3, pt. 25), pp. 39–40.

protector of Christ, enthroned as queen of heaven.[34] The infant Christ is held close to the outline of her body, which Durandus had so eloquently paralleled to a vessel for the Host.

In the numberless paintings and sculptures of Virgin and Child in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, Durandus's comparison of Mary to a eucharistic vessel is manifested with relative subtlety. Occasionally, we find overt, dramatic references to Mary as tabernacle. Sculpted figures of Mary sometimes opened to expose a figure of the crucified Christ or Host wafers. A *Vierge Ouvrant* created ca. 1300 in Cologne, illustrates this type and merges its iconography with the *Maria lactans* (Fig. 70).[35] This small sculpture of an enthroned and crowned Virgin who nurses the Infant Christ, opened to reveal a Trinity of the "Throne of Grace" type, which originally portrayed God the Father holding Christ on the Cross and the dove of the holy spirit descending between them (Fig. 71). (The figures of Christ and the dove of the holy spirit are lost.) Flanking the Trinity, an Infancy cycle graces the interior wings, beginning on the upper left with the *Annunciation, Nativity*, and the *Adoration of the Magi*, and the on the right, a *Visitation, Presentation in the Temple*, and an *Annunciation to the Shepherds*. These scenes elucidate the special role of Mary in salvation. Probably used by a nun in a Rhineland convent for private devotions in daily prayers,[36] the object and its narrative images, on an intimate scale, would have aided perception of the parallel made between the incarnation and the sacrifice of Christ.

The eucharistic relationship between the Virgin and Child was underscored in the development of both the Infancy and Passion cycle narratives. As James Marrow points out, the Gospels are quite brief in their relating of Passion events, and give no specific details of Christ's

---

[34] See for example, Giotto's *Enthroned Madonna* made for the church of Ognissanti in Florence during the first decade of the Trecento.

[35] Made in Rhine valley. Oak, linen covering, paint, gilding, gesso. Open: 14 1/2 × 13 5/8 in. (36.8 × 34.6 cm), Closed: 14 1/2 × 5 in. (36.8 × 12.7 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.185). For a discussion of this type of "cupboard Madonna" and its relationship to the Madonna of Mercy see Timothy Verdon, *Mary in Western Art* (New York, 2006), pp. 53–60.

[36] William D. Wixom, "Medieval Sculpture at the Metropolitan, 800 to 1400." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, v. 62, no. 4 (Spring, 2005), p. 46. See also Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500*, trans by M. Hoyle (Princeton, 1994), pp. 50–52.

Fig. 70 *Vierge Ouvrant*, ca. 1300, closed, The Cloisters, New York (photo: Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters Collection).

Fig. 71 *Vierge Ouvrant*, ca. 1300, open, The Cloisters, New York (photo: Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters Collection).

physical suffering.[37] This is equally true of the Infancy of Christ and Mary's love and nurturing, but in visual representations Mary's role takes on an expanding meaning. Increasingly, images from these Marian and Christological cycles were isolated from the larger narrative and used as focal points for altarpieces. Polyptychs frequently used Marian images in their center, like the altarpiece created by Pietro Lorenzetti for the Pieve di Santa Maria in Arezzo in 1320. On the vertical axis of its three-story structure, the Virgin and infant Christ are placed prominently with a scene of the *Annunciation* directly above them and an *Assumption of the Virgin* at the apex, clarifying her role.[38]

Mary's relationship to salvation came to be expressed in a variety of ways in the fourteenth century, as a carved relief diptych from Dijon (ca. 1350) demonstrates (Fig. 72); in the left wing, the Virgin holds the infant Christ, and is flanked by John the Evangelist and John the Baptist. The Forerunner holds an image of the *Agnus Dei*, prefiguring the fate of the tenderly-represented infant. This portent is fully realized in the right wing with a suffering Christ on the cross, now flanked by Mary and John the Evangelist.[39] The diptych elucidates Mary's joy and suffering, focusing on her sharing in the life and sacrifice of the incarnate Christ, clothed with her own flesh.

As much as fourteenth-century images focused on the humanity of the infant Christ, foreshadowing the eucharistic sacrifice, fifteenth-century images explicitly synthesized this correlation between the Child and the crucified Christ. Piero della Francesca's *Montefeltro Altarpiece* of 1472–74, now in the Brera Museum in Milan (Fig. 73), was

---

[37] James Marrow, "Inventing the Passion in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Passion Story: From Visual Representation to Social Drama*, ed. Marcia Kupfer (University Park, PA, 2008), p. 24. For the Franciscan role in formulating the pictorial Passion narrative, see Ann Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge, UK), 1996.

[38] Polyptych, 1320, Tempera on wood, Pieve di Santa Maria, Arezzo. Commissioned for Bishop Guido Tarlati for the High Altar of the baptismal church of Arezzo. For a discussion of the place of this work in the development of Marian altarpieces, see Diana Norman, *Siena, Florence and Padua. Art, Society and Religion 1280–1400*, Volume II: Case Studies (New Haven, 1995), pp. 195–201. See also Giovanni Freni, "The Aretine Polyptych by Pietro Lorenzetti: Patronage, Iconography and Original Setting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63, (2000), pp. 59–110.

[39] Numerous 14th-century diptychs pair the Virgin and Child with a Crucifixion in the other wing. Variations on this theme include the Crucifixion paired with an *Adoration of the Magi, Annunciation, or Presentation.* See for example, Richard H. Randall, Jr., *The Golden Age of Ivory: Carvings in North American Collections* (New York 1993).

Fig. 72 Diptych of the *Virgin and Child with St John the Evangelist and St John the Baptist* and the *Crucifixion*, Parisian ivory relief, ca. 1350, now in Dijon (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon).

Fig. 73 Piero della Francesca, *Montefeltro Altarpiece*, ca. 1472–74, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (photo: Scala).

probably made for the church of San Donato Osservanti (observant Franciscans) in Urbino, which was a mortuary church for the ducal family. By the mid-fifteenth century, Christ's sacrifice was sometimes explicitly, though most often gently, foreshadowed by the image of the Virgin with her sleeping Child. However, Piero's altarpiece takes this iconography to new heights, as the Child lies stiffly across his mother's lap, corpse-like, forthrightly recalling images of the crucified Christ in narrative scenes of the Lamentation, or in devotional images of the Pietà in which the adult Christ rests in the Virgin's lap.[40] In the Montefeltro altarpiece, Mother and Child are surrounded by saints in an apse-like setting, with a mysterious ovoid object suspended from the ceiling above.[41] Mary can be viewed in the context of two interlocking traditions: the Enthroned Virgin and Child and Mary Ecclesia.[42] The Virgin's identification with the Church is made obvious by the explicit architecture, a complete ecclesiastical setting created with mathematical precision. The artist places the Virgin and sleeping Child in front of an apse, as if Mary were an altar on which the offering, the eucharistic Christ, rests. This direct sacramental statement is reinforced by symbols of Christ's sacrifice, the cross, and the salvific blood shed at the crucifixion. Around the Child's neck hangs a large amulet of coral with a large bead of rock crystal, materials that remind the viewer, physically and spiritually, of Christ's Passion and death.[43] However,

---

[40] For the iconography and the spatial setting of this altarpiece see the seminal essays by Millard Meiss, "Ovum Struthionis, Symbol and Allusion in Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece," *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp. 92–101, and John Shearman, "The Logic and Realism of Piero della Francesca," *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, eds. A. Kosegarten and P. Tigler (Berlin, 1968), pp. 180–86. See also Marilyn A. Lavin, "Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece: A Pledge of Fidelity," *The Art Bulletin* 51 (1969), pp. 367–71.

[41] This suspended object has been the subject of speculation; often identified as an egg (usually ostrich) or a large pearl, no real consensus has been reached.

[42] Marilyn A. Lavin, "The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino: Paolo Uccello, Joos van Ghent, Piero della Francesca," *The Art Bulletin* 49 (1967), pp. 1–24, has suggested that Piero was deeply influenced in creating this setting by northern European artists, particularly Joos van Ghent. Joos was working in Urbino at the same time as Piero, since he had been commissioned by the confraternity of the Corpus Domini to create an altarpiece of the *Communion of the Apostles*, to be placed in the church of San Domenico. Both works use a full ecclesiastical setting, and both include portraits of the ruler of Urbino, Federico da Montefeltro.

[43] For an extensive discussion of this amulet, see Marilyn A. Lavin and Miriam I. Redleaf, "Heart and Soul and the Pulmonary Tree in Two Paintings by Piero della Francesca," *Artibus et Historiae*, 16 (1995), pp. 9–17. The eschatological context is especially appropriate here since the donor, Federico da Montefeltro, is shown kneeling on one side of the foreground, and a spot on the opposite side where one would

implicit in all such imagery is the knowledge of Christ's resurrection, and hope for eternal life through his eucharistic gift.

Narrative images of the nativity of Christ also conflate similar ideas during the same period. Expressed with particular poignancy in the extraordinary altarpiece made by Netherlandish artist Hugo van der Goes,[44] a *grisaille* Annunciation adorns the exterior panels and presages the incarnational message within (Fig. 74). The central panel of Hugo's gigantic triptych contains a *Nativity/Adoration of the Shepherds*, with a tiny infant Christ positioned on the ground, adored by a phalanx of Mary, Joseph, shepherds, and angels. In the immediate foreground, almost spilling into the viewer's space, a large bundle of wheat, iris and lilies in a vase, columbines and carnations in a Venetian glass, and violets strewn on the ground, closely align with the angels dressed in Mass vestments.[45] One of these angels also wears a diadem with a branch of coral from which three pearls hang. Moreover, prominently featured along the edge a heavy cope worn by another angel are the words sung at the end of the Preface of the eucharistic prayer: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus."[46] The eucharistic context is thus reinforced by allusions to the Mass, emblematic references to the Trinity, the Sacrifice, to the Child as Redeemer, and to his solemn mother as co-redeemer.[47] Hugo emphasizes the Virgin's humility, along with her

---

expect to see another donor, is glaringly empty. John the Baptist, the patron saint of Federico's recently-deceased wife, Battista Sforza, stands to the side of the Virgin, prominently gesturing to the empty place. See Lavin, "Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece: A Pledge of Fidelity," pp. 367–71.

[44] This large altarpiece was commissioned by the Portinari family for the high altar of the hospital church of Sant'Egidio, Florence. It was created in c. 1476–79 and delivered to Florence in May, 1483. For the seminal discussion of this altarpiece and its symbolism, see Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1953), pp. 330–336. Margaret L. Koster, *Hugo van der Goes and the Procedures of Art and Salvation*, pp. 39–65, discusses this work, in part, the context of the Devotio Moderna movement, and attempts to reconstruct the liturgical setting and experience in Sant'Egidio.

[45] Robert A. Koch, "Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar," *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964), pp. 70–77. For a detailed discussion of the liturgical vestments, see M.B. McNamee "Further Symbolism in the Portinari Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963), pp. 142–143, and McNamee, "The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting," *Art Bulletin* 54 (1972), pp. 263–278. In addition, Julia I. Miller, "Miraculous Childbirth and the Portinari Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995), pp. 249–261, discusses the idea of the perpetual virginity of Mary in the context of the new Eve, and the medicinal qualities of the plants in the setting of a hospital chapel. She connects the latter with the "curative" qualities of the Eucharist.

[46] McNamee "Further Symbolism," p. 143.

[47] Koch, "Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar," p. 74.

Fig. 74 Hugo van der Goes, *Portinari Altarpiece*, ca. 1476–79, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (photo: Alinari, Florence).

role as intercessor: she kneels, looming large, joining in the adoration of the Child, who lies on the ground producing his own light, a beacon of eucharistic vitality.

The Expansion of Eucharistic Subjects and the Mendicants

In the fourteenth century, the burgeoning use of panel paintings for both altarpieces and for private devotion, was part of a larger pattern of changes in the structure of the clergy. Early in the thirteenth century the two most significant counter-heretical preaching orders,[48] the Franciscans and the Dominicans, played an important part in new ways of visualizing salvation, with an emphasis on pious interchanges with God. Artistic output burgeoned, both in terms of visual support for the legitimacy of these orders,[49] and in demonstrating their devotional emphases, especially to the Eucharist. Such devotion swiftly found expression with the Franciscans, since their founder's emphasis on the imitation of Christ, and his status as *alter Christus*, especially in regard to the stigmata, lent itself to a graphic reminder of Christ's suffering and its relationship to the eucharistic body. The passionate language of the twelfth-century theologians and preachers is echoed in the thirteenth-century Franciscan emphasis on affective prayer, and in their desire to come ever-closer to Christ. Apostolic poverty and the Spiritual-Franciscan wish to exclude conventual living reflect this yearning,[50] but artistic expression still needed a place to reside. Despite the objections of some, the more practical-minded Conventual brethren commissioned architecture and art that compellingly conveyed the tenets of their Order. The art produced in Franciscan churches reflected the idea of individual emotional ties to God, and

[48] The Franciscan and Dominican orders were initiated, at least in part, as orthodox responses to heresy. For an overview of heretical movements see Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: the Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1967). For a case study see Peter Diehl, "Overcoming Reluctance to Prosecute Heresy in Thirteenth-Century Italy," in Scott L. Waugh and Peter Diehl, eds., *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 47–66.

[49] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, p. 308, asserts that the widespread use of painted panels beginning in the thirteenth century allowed the Franciscan Order much wider dissemination of ideas. Rather than a cult spread by means of relics, it was spread by images, before which even miracles were known to occur.

[50] David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park, Penn., 2001).

a correspondingly personal devotion to the Eucharist. In exploring the importance of the imagination and visual images in late medieval piety, Chiara Frusconi cites a Franciscan devotional treatise by Ugo Panciera, which clarifies the powerful interconnection between visual imagery and the contemplative process:

> Perfect mental activity is the way to obtain perfect meditation and contemplation…through the exercise of imagination which must be so powerful that its object remains vibrantly present to the bodily senses…when the mind first begins…to think about Christ, he appears to the mind in written form. He next appears as an outline. In the third stage he begins as an outline with shading; in the fourth stage tinted with colors and flesh tones; and in the fifth stage he appears in the flesh and fully rounded.[51]

The vast double-church of San Francesco in Assisi expresses Franciscan devotional interaction with the Eucharist in a number of ways. A Duecento fresco of the *Crucifixion* by Cimabue in the left transept of the upper church (1280s), though now in a ruinous state, demonstrates the Franciscan focus on Christ's suffering on the cross. Filling the whole altar wall, Cimabue's work focuses on the sweep of emotion, juxtaposing the crowds on either side, with Mary gesturing toward the cross in contrast to the angry mob. The whorl of movement and the soldier's vertical lances lead the eye upward to the cause of her helpless gesture. The torture of Christ on the Cross is at the violent center, with St. Francis at its base, mournful, contemplating the Sacrifice. Here "in the flesh and fully rounded," the suffering of Christ and Mary is made visible, enabling the viewer to memorize their pain.

In the Upper Church of San Francisco in Assisi, built atop the Lower Church in a more traditional cruciform basilica plan, another Franciscan approach to the Eucharist can be seen in the large-scale frescoes which line the nave. Clearly legible to anyone in the nave or the polygonal apse, the life of St. Francis is represented in twenty-eight

---

[51] Chiara Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions, and Iconography" in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Chicago, 1996), p. 130. Note, as well, Frugoni's description (p. 137) of the Blessed Aldobrandesca of Siena who, while intensely meditating on Christ's Passion in front of a crucifix and contemplating the blood flowing down Christ's side on the painted image, saw a single drop of blood appear. She then tasted its sweetness with her lips, and to commemorate this extraordinary vision she commissioned a Lamentation scene in which the Madonna, holding Christ's body, presses her lips to his wounded side. See Frugoni's discussion of the identification of female mystics with the Virgin, especially in reference to Nativity and the Passion iconography (esp. pp. 136–39).

scenes. While many of the images concentrate on the establishment and legitimacy of the Franciscans, some also demonstrate the importance of Franciscan focus on the Real Presence, and the desire for affective interaction with the incarnate Christ.[52] Most importantly, these scenes are represented in a way that any pilgrim no matter how humble would be able to comprehend. The Franciscan emphasis on the incarnation is extended here to Francis's life, and guides the viewer into an understanding of Christ and the Eucharist as seen through the example of the saint's life and Franciscan theology.

One of the most potent of Francis's miracles, in terms of interaction with the incarnate Christ, is *The Christmas Crib at Greccio* (Fig. 75), a story related by both Thomas of Celano and Bonaventure. Francis's miracle is not completely original to him, since it is based on liturgical dramas of long standing, the *Officium Pastorum* and the *Officium Stellae*.[53] The literary narrative sets the scene outdoors in the mountainous landscape of Greccio, but the artist of the Assisi *presipio* moves the scene into the church and in front of the altar. Although the ox and ass are included, rather than envisioning the traditional nativity scene in a manger, the artist places the figures in the sanctuary area of a church on the clerical side beyond the choir screen.[54] While some celebrants near the altar are singing, clarifying the ongoing liturgical context, other clerics, monks, and male lay observers, stare in awe, as Francis miraculously draws from the crib, not a wooden sculpture, but a live, swaddled Infant. Women squeeze through an opening in the choir screen, seeking a better view of the event—a better view of the incarnate Christ. Reminiscent of the way the devout would seek the best view of the exposed Eucharist through the choir screen,[55] the

[52] See Jill Bennett, "Stigmata and Sense Memory: St Francis and the Affective Image," *Art History*, 24 (2001), pp. 1–16. Bennett focuses on an image of Francis's devotion to the crucified Christ, and the spiritual guidance provide by the Franciscan *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (c. 1346–1363), demonstrating the way in which the devout might concentrate on its details to reinforce spiritual experience.

[53] Beth A. Mulvaney, "The Beholder as Witness: The 'Crib at *Greccio*' from the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi and Franciscan Influence on Medieval Art in Italy," in *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. William R. Cook, *The Medieval Franciscans* 1 (Leiden, 2005), pp. 169–188, esp. p. 177. Mulvaney discusses the reliance on both Celano's and Bonaventure's narratives, as well as the impact of the liturgical dramas.

[54] Mulvaney, *ibid*., p. 171, posits that the new spatial settings of these frescoes were influenced by Franciscan spirituality, and gave the beholder "a concrete external reality, analogous to their own."

[55] For the viewing the Eucharist through these openings, see Jung, "Seeing Through Screens," pp. 185–214.

Fig. 75 Master of St. Francis Cycle, *The Christmas Crib at Greccio*, early 14th century, fresco, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi (photo: author).

Assisi fresco shows laity and clergy alike gazing intently at the vision of Francis miraculously holding the child over the crèche. Adding to the context of forthcoming sacrifice, the crib is rendered as a touchingly child-sized antique sarcophagus, with a fictive carving of a floriated design in low relief on the narrow end. Clarity reigns, as both Francis and the Child are prominently nimbed.

This scene represents a fascinating example of how liturgy and popular devotion functioned as natural counterparts, interacting and reinforcing ritual meaning, and dependent on the experience of the

Mass ritual and the mystery plays. The Assisi cycle also depended on its viewer's visual memory, since atop the fictive choir screen in the *Christmas Crib of Greccio* the artist represented a large wooden structure, a panel painting seen only from the back. The subject cannot be discerned from the clerical side of the choir screen. However, the shape clearly reveals its purpose and subject—a large *Christ on the Cross*, tilted forward toward the nave for the laity to view.[56] Significantly, a painted cross atop a choir screen is also included in the *Verification of the Stigmata* (Fig. 76).[57] According to St. Bonaventure, the verification of Francis's most Christ-like miracle took place in the church of Santa Maria Porziuncula in Assisi.[58] In the fresco in the Upper Church of Assisi, the fictive *Christ on the Cross*, is now discernable, since it is painted as if the viewer stands in the nave looking toward the apse. The rood screen displays not only this Crucifix, but also two other images dear to Francis: large gabled panels of the Madonna and Child, and the Archangel Michael. Like the same image seen from the back in the *Christmas Crib at Greccio*, the Crucifix from the *Verification* is tilted forward toward the congregation, and hovers above the body of St. Francis. As Bonaventure describes the event in his *Legenda Maior*, a man named Jerome doubted the reality of the stigmata, and "was *unbelieving like Thomas*" (John 20:24).[59] In the fresco, Jerome kneels beside the recumbent Francis, touching the wound in the saint's side to verify the stigmata.[60] Within its ecclesiastical setting, the image of

---

[56] For a discussion of Sienese crosses, see Diana Norman, *Painting in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena, 1260–1555* (New Haven, 2003), pp. 41–70.

[57] Ewart H. Cousins, ed. and trans., *Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey into God, the Tree of Life, the Life of St. Francis* (New York, 1978). Visiting the town of Greccio, Francis had a crib built for Christmas celebrations there. Participating in the Christmas Mass as deacon and chanter, Francis reached into the crib and took out a sleeping child, where only a wooden image had been placed.

[58] *Ibid*., *Legenda Maior*, IX, 8.

[59] *Ibid*., XV, 4. The inscription on the fresco differs slightly from Bonaventure's text, which calls Jerome a knight, educated and prudent, the inscription and his clothing identify him as a doctor. See Alistair Smart, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto* (Oxford, 1971), p. 286. Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven, 2007), pp. 120–23, discusses the scene depicted in Assisi in the context of "visual testimony," and traces the visual evolution of the narrative from the Assisi image to Ghirlandaio's late fifteenth-century version in the Sassetti Chapel in the Church of Santa Trinita in Florence.

[60] Francis was the only saint accorded the official right to be represented in art with the signs of the cross. See the discussion of the Franciscan claim in Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict. Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel*, (University Park and London, 1988), esp. p. 21, n. 46.

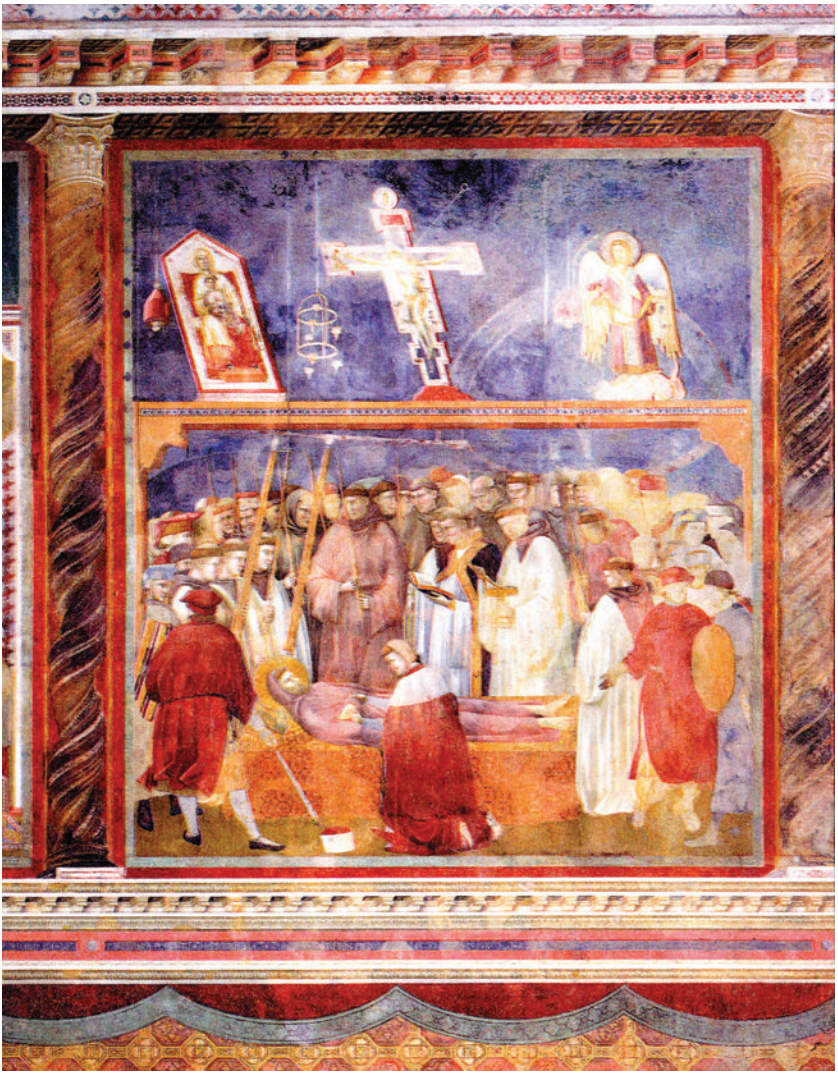


Fig. 76 Master of the St. Francis Cycle, *Verification of the Stigmata*, early 14th century, fresco, Upper Church, San Francesco, Assisi (photo: author).

the choir screen with its Crucifix visually connects the infant Christ in the sarcophagus-crib to the funeral of the saint. St. Francis is likened to the body of Christ, creating multi-layered sacrificial references in an overt funerary context.

Bonaventure's concentration on the Crucifixion reinforces the long-standing identification of the Eucharist with the Passion. All the sacraments, but especially the Eucharist, are memorials for Christ's Passion. In this outlook, the Eucharist becomes a compendium for Christian life and the history of redemption, which all centers on the Cross.[61] The Eucharist can be seen as a continuation of the offering on the cross.[62] The images in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi, correspondingly offer large-scale images of the Passion: the scene of triumphant entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, Deposition, Entombment, and Resurrection. In the south transept, this expansion of eucharistic subject matter is abundantly seen in the Passion narrative executed in the 1320s by Pietro Lorenzetti, a Sienese painter trained in Duccio's workshop. Not only is there a huge *Crucifixion* fresco on the altar wall, but large scenes of the Passion cover all the walls and the vault.[63] In the crucifixion narrative, one thief turns toward Christ while the other rejects him, turning away. The penitence represented by the good thief is relevant to the sacrament of communion, in which confession and penance are integral.[64] Through the agency of Francis's example, Bonaventure's theology and the liturgy of the Mass are made tangible in the mother church of the Franciscans. As Bonaventure had stated in his *Legenda Maior*, Francis received the stigmata "so that his most holy flesh, which *had been crucified along with his passions*, and *transformed into a new creature*, might bear the image of Christ's passion…and prefigure the resurrection."[65] The focus in each of the large scenes on the walls is on the Body of Christ—made

[61] Christopher M. Cullen, *Bonaventure* (New York, 2006), p. 173.
[62] *Ibid*., p. 176.
[63] Janet Robson, "The Pilgrim's Progress: Reinterpreting the Trecento Fresco Programme in the Lower Church at Assisi," in *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. William R. Cook, *The Medieval Franciscans*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 2005), pp. 39–70. Robson's essay seeks to provide a more holistic approach to the interpretation of the Lower Church frescoes, seeing the imagery of the north and south transepts as a unified program in the context of pilgrimages to Assisi.
[64] Robson, "The Pilgrim's Progress," p. 67, notes that the representation of the good thief and the bad thief in Lorenzetti's *Crucifixion* represents an example of penitence appropriate to its pilgrimage setting.
[65] Bonaventure, *Legenda Maior*, pp. 321–22.

physically present for the viewer to contemplate, echoing the priest's words and actions.

In addition to the *Crucifixion*, perhaps the most extraordinary image in the Lower Church of San Francesco is Pietro Lorenzetti's *Deposition of Christ* (Fig. 77). Lowering the broken, angular body, the painting focuses the viewer's attention on not just the wounds or the suffering (though these are abundantly present), but on his physical presence and his death—the humanity of Christ. Each figure taking part in the sad labor of lowering Christ's body from the cross grasps him with loving concentration. The Virgin, with her fingertips, takes her son's head, which hangs down lifelessly, and presses her face to his. She looks into eyes, reminding us poignantly of the many images of tender interaction between Virgin and Child. Joseph of Arimithea, who gave Christ his tomb, wraps his arms around the upper torso and contemplates the wounds of the Cross. The Magdalene, weeping, holds his bleeding feet and presses her face to them in a final kiss; at the same time the nails are pulled out of his feet with large metal pincers—a detail which causes the viewer to wince with compassionate pain. Finally, John the Evangelist holds the lower body and stares fixedly at Christ's genital region, reminding the viewer of Christ's status as a man, a flesh and blood human being, and the proof of his male humanity.[66] In this clear incarnational theology, the focus on Christ's manhood reminds the viewer, too, of the first blood shed by Christ as an infant during his circumcision, a prefiguration of the blood he would shed for the redemption of sin. Corresponding to the theological focus of the thirteenth-century Franciscan theologian, St. Bonaventure, the one divine person, the Son, with the essential cooperation of the Virgin Mary, has truly united human nature to himself.

Isolating the Last Supper

In the narrative sequence of the Passion in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi, another connection with the physical human nature of Christ via the Eucharist can be found in the *Last Supper* from Pietro

[66] See Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1996). Although the title of Steinberg's short book was startling when the first edition was published in 1983, he demonstrates convincingly that Christ's genitalia, was frequently emphasized by artists as a way to express Christ's humanity—his essential human-ness seen in traditional terms of physical manhood.

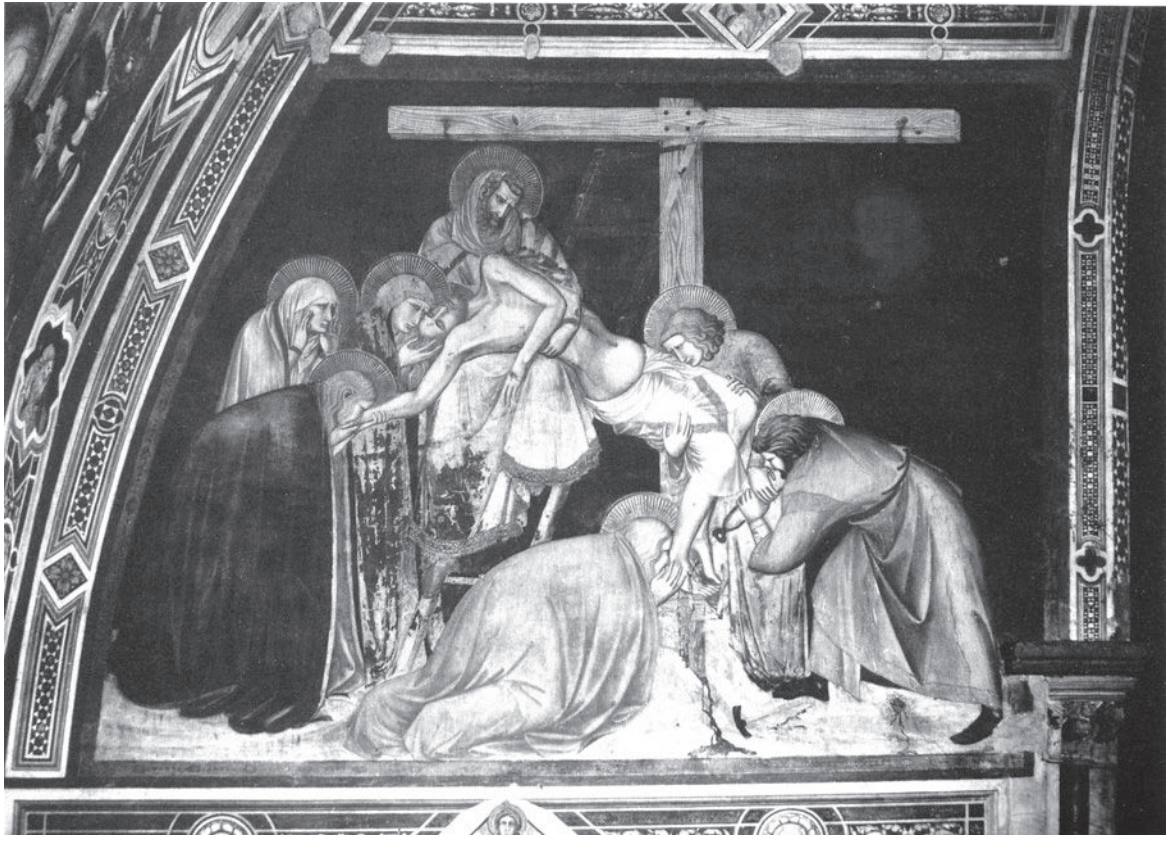


Fig. 77 Pietro Lorenzetti, *Deposition of Christ*, 1320s, fresco, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi (photo: author).

Lorenzetti's workshop, ca. 1320 (Fig. 78). The scene takes place in a hexagonal room, with an antechamber featuring a hearth with a roaring fire. Ostensibly the latter feature represents the kitchen where the supper was prepared, and as such has a vernacular appeal. However, this is the preparation area for the Lord's Supper, in the context of a deeply affective narrative. A deeper reason for the presence of the fireplace can be found in the eucharistic meaning of the Last Supper—the fire of the holocaust, in which the Old Testament typology of sacrifice and burnt offerings is juxtaposed to the view into the chamber where Christ institutes the Eucharist.[67] As Durandus stated:

> Thus if a man has an altar, table, candelabrum, and an ark, he is the temple of God. It is, moreover, necessary for him to have an altar, where he can properly offer and properly share his goods. The altar is our heart, on which we must make our offering, for which reason in Exodus the Lord decreed: *You shall offer a holocaust on an altar* [cf. Ex 20:24], because works kindled by the flame of charity should proceed from the heart.[68]

The impact of these Franciscan images for both liturgical and extra-liturgical purposes was widespread. Franciscan churches had sprung up almost simultaneously in Italy and north of the Alps, bringing with them new ways of envisioning both the Passion and Infancy of Christ that paralleled theological focus on the Eucharist and popular practices among the laity.

Like Nativity scenes from the Infancy cycles and Crucifixions from the Passion, images of the Last Supper came to be isolated for use as the backdrop for the Mass, as well as for the dining halls in monastic settings. In the fifteenth century, especially, new visual forms were developed to serve specific liturgical emphases. Less common in the North than in Italy, the *Last Supper* as the central subject in an altarpiece makes a late appearance. With a stylistic highlight on homely details, Netherlandish painters found expressive possibilities in creating images focusing on Christ as priest at the Last Supper. Dieric Bouts, an artist working in Louvain, re-invented the *Last Supper* in a complex multi-paneled triptych altarpiece, commissioned by the

---

[67] For a discussion of this eucharistic iconography, see Carra Ferguson O'Meara, "In the Hearth of the Virginal Womb: the Iconography of the Holocaust in Late Medieval Art," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), pp. 75–88.

[68] *Rationale* (Bk 1: ch. 2, pt. 6), p. 28. Durandus goes on to explain the meaning of "holocaust" as derived from *holon*, meaning entire, and *cauma*, which means "conflagration," as if to say "totally consumed by flame."

Fig. 78 Pietro Lorenzetti Workshop, *Last Supper*, ca. 1320, fresco, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi (photo: author).

Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament for their chapel in the church of St. Peter in Leuven (Fig. 79).[69] This is one of the rare altarpieces for which documents exist giving unusually detailed requirements. Not only did they specify the precise subject matter, but the commission documents also made a specific provision for the artist to consult with two theological advisers from the university.[70] The 1464 commission of this altarpiece commemorates the establishment of the Feast of Corpus

[69] O'Meara, *ibid*., compares Dieric Bout's *Last Supper* to an image representing the Virgin and Child with a fireplace and fire screen placed directly behind them (often attributed to Robert Campin).

[70] For the translated commission document see Wolfgang Stechow, *Northern Renaissance art, 1400–1600: sources and documents* (Evanston, Ill., 1989), pp. 10–11.

Fig. 79 Dieric Bouts, *Last Supper Altarpiece*, 1464, oil on panel, St. Peter's Church, Leuven (photo: author).

Christi, two hundred years after its inception into the church calendar.[71] Rather than a narrative of the Last Supper based mainly on the Gospel text, Bouts combines the visual traditions of more than a century of eucharistic art with that of the narrative Last Supper, creating a far more explicit statement about the relationship of Christ's role in salvation. In the wings, the four scenes specified in the commission reinforce this Eucharist-centered iconography: *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, the *Gathering of Manna, Passover*, and *Elijah in the Desert*. All of these Old Testament narratives had been used repeatedly in preaching as types for Christ and the Eucharist. The first three were, in fact, specified in relation to the Last Supper in the *Mirror of Human Salvation* (*Speculum humanae salvations*),[72] and the scene of Elijah, who was fed bread and wine by angels, was cited frequently by theologians as prefiguring Christ.[73]

In the central panel, Christ sits at midpoint, surrounded by the apostles and framed by a prominent screened fireplace placed behind him. Unlike Pietro Lorenzetti's *Last Supper* in the Lower Church of Assisi, there is no fire blazing behind the hearth to prefigure the coming sacrifice. Instead Christ, perfectly centered, takes the place of the Old Testament burnt offering. Priest-like, Christ holds a Host above a metal chalice, with its ecclesiastical form clearly juxtaposed to the various glass drinking vessels on the table. With his other hand, a gesture of benediction ensures that the viewer recognizes Christ as the priest of the Mass. The large metal paten/plate holds watered red wine, with Host-like pieces of bread floating on the surface. The confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, thus makes an explicit, highly-developed eucharistic statement in their altarpiece. During the celebration of Mass its members could view the Celebrant, framed by the image of Christ as Priest, intoning the liturgy taken from Christ's own words during this final meal together.

---

[71] Bernhard Ridderbos, Anne van Buren, and Henk van Veen, *Early Netherlandish Paintings. Rediscovery, Reception and Research*, trans. by Andrew McCormick and Anne van Buren (Amsterdam, 2005), pp. 86–88.

[72] Written anonymously, *Speculum humanæ salvationis* clearly lays out Old Testament typology. *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis 1324–1500*, edited by Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, (Berkeley, 1985). Based in part on the *Biblia Pauperum* or *Biblia Picta* manuscripts, the *Mirror of Human Salvation* included both text and illustrations.

[73] *Ibid*., p. 89.

The Eucharist, Art, and the Expanding Boundaries of Popular Devotion

Physical closeness to the object of desire is a fundamentally human quality and, as many scholars have demonstrated, pious Christians found ways to satisfy this need.[74] With the growth in intensity of Host-centered devotion in the late Middle Ages, and the encouragement of impassioned expression of religious feeling, ways of experiencing the eucharistic Christ found new outlets, paralleling popular devotional practices of non-liturgical objects like saints' relics. Moreover, unlike ordinary relics, the Eucharist had a central role in theology and the liturgy. Eucharistic devotion thus took on an oddly schizophrenic character. Artistic production also participated in this devotional schizophrenia, with liturgically-appropriate images placed in conjunction with altars in church settings, along with a variety of other images made for extra-liturgical devotion which would not have met the standards of theological accuracy.

One of the ways in which the liturgical and extra-liturgical merged was in the sticky area of eucharistic-miracle tales. These stories were used didactically to teach the laity a difficult theological concept. It is not surprising that ideas about the Eucharist had to be simplified for the general populace, since learned theologians continued to disagree on the details.[75] For example, in the late thirteenth century, Thomas

---

[74] Saints and their body parts, pieces of the true cross, and purported drops of Christ's blood were all seen as relics that had their place in the very human desire for direct contact with the divine. Works of art were created to accommodate, augment, imitate, or honor these objects of devotion. Some of these, intended for pious interaction, came to include an interactive element: popping in and out of a saint's shrine, stroking a beloved private image of the Virgin, or using a relic and reliquary in a public procession for all to behold.

[75] See the chapter by Stephen Lahey in this volume on the distinctions made, for example, between consubstantiation and transubstantiation. For the development of Eucharistic theology in the 12th and early 13th century, see Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period. A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians c.1080–c.1220* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 73–132. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 12–35, gives an overview of the theological discussion on the nature of the Eucharist, and discusses the development of eucharistic theology up to about 1350. The Aristotelian philosophy of matter touched on by Thomas Aquinas, was dealt with more fully by Duns Scotus. In this view bodies were constituted by two metaphysical principles: matter and form. A body was extended from matter, in a form which governed its particular appearance, in quantity and shape. The substance exists within these two principles, which are nonetheless separate. So the substance of Christ's body in the Eucharist could exist in the appearance of bread, as in the extension

Aquinas spoke of the distinction between the ingestion of temporal sustenance and spiritual sustenance, categorizing the ingestion of the miraculous body of Christ as the Host separately from either a symbolic or a natural act. Regarding the sacramental nature of the Corpus Christi, he wrote: "Whatever is eaten as under its natural form, is broken and chewed as under its natural form. But the body of Christ is not eaten as under its natural form, but under the sacramental species."[76] The philosophical language varied as well, and mystics and ecclesiastics articulated their eucharistic perceptions in very different ways.[77]

In light of this complexity of thought, an increasing number of new Host-miracle stories emerged in the fourteenth century centering on the physical remnants of the miracles. Bynum, speaking of north German blood cults, believes that we find "not a replacement of relic by Eucharist but rather a move from blood relic to miracle host."[78] She emphasizes their materiality, in contrast to the theological emphasis on seeing beyond or seeing through the sacred, a "not seeing." Thus the "move from relic to host miracle to abused host was the replacement of one kind of sacred matter by another."[79]

These Host-miracle relics were then enshrined, becoming the subject of popular devotion and particularly attractive for pilgrimages. With the popularity of the shrines came visual art to explain and enhance the experience for the devout, taught to seek an ever-increasing spiritual and physical union with Christ. These new shrines also corresponded to the popularization of the feast of Corpus Christi. The intensity of

---

of the substance of Christ's body in heaven. Aquinas' theology says that the whole substance was changed, transubstantiated. The claim relies on God's intervention in the miracle. This approach, to which Bonaventura and others subscribed in the second half of the thirteenth century, was rejected by Duns Scotus, who believed God's will was exercised to work a specific change, that of annihilation of the bread at consecration—substitution, rather than change. For an extensive discussion of the position taken by Duns Scotus and other Franciscan theologians, see David Burr, "Scotus and Transubstantiation," *Medieval Studies* 34 (1972), pp. 336–50, and *idem*., *Eucharistic Presence and Conversion in Late Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Thought*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 74, part 3 (Philadelphia, 1984).

[76] *Summa Theologiae*, Trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York, 1947), III, q. 77 a 7, r. 3. ("…illud quod manducatur in propria specie, ipsum et frangitur et masticatur in sua specie. Corpus autem Christi non manducatur in sua specie, sed in specie sacramental.")

[77] For a specific contrast between the mystical and ecclesiastical understandings of the Eucharist see Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, pp. 73–132.

[78] Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 77.

[79] *Ibid*., pp. 76–77.

eucharistic devotion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries resulted in the establishment of the Feast in 1264. Although a special feast day had been promoted most heavily in northern Europe, it was transferred to papal Italy by Jacques Pantalèon, who later became Pope Urban IV.[80] As Nathan Mitchell points out, Urban IV's intent in the bull, *Transiturus*, was clearly to keep the focus on the connection between the feast and the liturgical aspects of the Eucharist, offering indulgences for attendance at liturgical celebrations, not just on the feast day, but also throughout the octave.[81] Still, despite this intention, the more public aspects of eucharistic worship quickly captured popular imagination in the early fourteenth century, especially the exposition during the octave of the feast. Processions were undertaken exposing the Host to the sight of the faithful (and unfaithful),[82] but even when limited to the octave of the Feast, viewing the Host in a monstrance or other elaborate reliquary became an important part of the way the laity experienced the Eucharist. Exposition gained wide acceptance among the laity by the late fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century such practices led to strong admonitions among theologians to limit exposure to prevent the blunting of passionate responses to the Eucharist.[83]

---

[80] The origin of the devotion is most often attributed to the efforts of Juliana of Liège (1193–1258). A nun at the Augustinian convent of Mt. Cornillon, she reported to her confessor a vision in which the Church was in need of a feast to honor the blessed Sacrament. The vision was communicated to the Dominicans and to Bishop of Liège, Robert of Turotte, who in turn reported the idea of a feast to the chancellor of the University of Paris, who did not object to the idea. The bishop issued a pastoral letter, *Inter alia mira*, to establish the feast in his diocese in October of 1246. Jacques Pantalèon (a long-time associate of Robert of Turotte, who was the archdeacon of Campines in the Diocese of Liège from 1243–1248) ascended to the papacy as Pope Urban IV in 1261. For a synopsis of the origins of the feast in France and for bibliography see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 164–85.

[81] Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy*, p. 179.

[82] Charles Kovacs, "Monstrances," *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1975, p. 101) cites a hymn used for the *Corpus Christi* procession. It demonstrates the emphasis on the act of faith in viewing the Host, and the emphasis on the words of consecration:

Word made flesh, the bread of nature/by his word to flesh he turns,/Wine into his blood he changes:

What through sense no change discerns?/Only be the heart in earnest,/Faith her lesson quickly learns.

[83] Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy*, p. 181.

Parallel to this official acknowledgement of popular devotion, eucharistic miracles were reported with increasing frequency.[84] Rather than remaining verbal or written anecdotes for teaching and preaching, these miraculous tales of the transformed Sacrament left corporeal relics behind. Some centered on the eucharistic wine, but the vast majority involved Host wafers mystically infused or spotted with the Blood of Christ.[85] Promoted as an efficacious means to salvation, the popular expression of the mystery of transubstantiation in these graphic miracle tales created a new category of relic.[86] Miraculous Hosts represented an alternative to the relics of saints which had been the primary focus of pilgrimages earlier in the Middle Ages.[87]

The Miraculous Mass of Bolsena and the Chapel of the Corporal in Orvieto

An example of this shift is found in the housing for the relics from the Miraculous Mass of Bolsena, an early manifestation of the latter-day Host miracles that were to become so prevalent. The art produced in the Chapel of the Corporal in Orvieto (Fig. 80), was deeply influenced by Dominican theology and exegetical method.[88] Tradition dates the

[84] Eucharistic miracle stories of both ancient and more recent origin were used as exempla by Parisian theologians from the late 12th to the early 13th century, as one tool in the fight against heresy. By the 1220s and 1230s, the Parisian masters had dropped the stories and, as Gary Macy, "Medieval Theology of the Eucharist and the Chapel of the Miracle Corporal," *Vivens homo*, 18 (2007), pp. 59–77, states, "The use of Eucharistic miracle stories as proofs in theological literature simply vanished, abruptly and, as nearly as I can determine, completely." (p. 68)

[85] For the many examples of Host-wafer miracles and their frequency in contrast to miracles of the wine see Peter Browe, *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1938). See also Lionel Rothkrug, "Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation," *Historical Reflections/Réflextions Historiques* 7 (Spring, 1980), pp. 205–41.

[86] A related type of relic involved drops of Christ's blood from the Crucifixion; among the most famous shrines dedicated to them were those at Bruges and Mantua. For the latter see Marita Hörster, "Mantuae Sanguis Preciosus," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 25 (1963), pp. 151–81. For the failed mid-thirteenth-century Holy Blood shrine in Westminster and the Scholastic debate on the Holy Blood see Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 83–117.

[87] See Snoek, *Medieval Piety*, for a study of the connections between relics and the Eucharist. See also Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 76–77.

[88] For the Dominican presence and influence in the Cathedral of Orvieto, see Sara Nair James, *Signorelli and Fra Angelico at Orvieto: liturgy, poetry and a vision of the end-time* (Aldershot, UK, 2003), pp. 19–20; p. 138.

Fig. 80 Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author).

miracle to 1263 or 1264. Both Urban IV and Aquinas were in Orvieto in these years, but no historical record exists of the miracle during their residency.[89] Moreover, Lucio Riccetti has recently discussed thirteenth century documents which identify a Bolsena miracle much earlier than the traditional dating.[90] However, it is understandable how the date of 1264 came to be connected with the Bolsena miracle, for it conveniently linked several events to Urban IV's addition of the Feast of Corpus Christi to the Church calendar, including papal approval for the miracle and the promotion of Dominican primacy in the Corpus Christi liturgy.

Gregory XI, in a Brief of June 25, 1337, concisely recounts the miracle, which was later codified into a triumph of papal and Dominican concord.[91] The codified story concerns a visiting priest, later identified in written versions as either German or Bohemian, who privately harbored doubts about the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. In answer to that doubt, at the moment of consecration, the Host bled in his hands and onto the corporal. However, the miracle story does not end there; instead the narrative was transformed into an elaborate

[89] Urban IV's bull *Transiturus* does not mention it, nor do any chronicles of the 1260s from Bolsena or Orvieto. The oldest written record of the miracle may have been a *sacra rappresentazione* which has been dated between the late 1290s and 1344, and is known from a manuscript of 1405. For the Orvietan *Corpus Christi* play based on the Miracle of Bolsena, see V. de Bartholomaeis, *Laude drammatiche e rappresentazioni sacre*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1943, repr. 1967), pp. 368–81. The earliest version of the official legend, however, is found on the 1338 reliquary. For the discrepancies between the miracle play and the official legend of the miracle, see Dominique Suhr, *Corpus Christi and the Cappella del Corporale at Orvieto* (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2000), pp. 28–36. For the history of the legend and the chapel devoted to the miracle see Fumi, *Il Santuario del SS. Corporale nel Duomo di Orvieto, Ricordo del XV Congresso Eucaristico di Orvieto* (Rome, 1896), p. 22 and pp. 75–76. For the most recent discussion of the Orvieto frescos see Dominique Rigaux, "Miracle, reliques et images dans la chapelle du corporal à Orvieto (1357–1364)," vol. 1, pp. 201–245 in Nicole Bériou, *et al*., *Pratiques de l'Eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident Antiquité et Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2009).

[90] See Lucio Ricetti, "Dal Concilio al Miracolo: Mistero Eucharistico, concilio Lateranense IV, Miracolo del Corporale," *Vivens homo* 18 (2007), pp. 171–219.

[91] Moreover, when the written tradition emerges, it is inconsistent. See I. Taurisano, "Per la festa di S. Tommaso d'Aquino," *Il Rosario Memorie Domenicane*, 33 (1916), pp. 114–115. One of the most common versions of the story calls the priest, "Peter of Prague." The visiting priest was also identified in an inscription at the later shrine of Santa Christina in Bolsena. As a didactic tale, the Miracle of Bolsena continued in popularity during the following century, and many references to it are found in the mid-fifteenth century sermons of the Dominican preacher Leonardo Mattei of Undine (*In festo Corp. Christi*, XIV, ed. Venice, 1652, p. 59) and St. Antoninus of Florence, (*Chronica*, III, 19, xiii, 1).

story of the authentication and acceptance of the miracle, the translation of the relic to Urban IV in Orvieto and, the final gloss, Aquinas's writing of the office for the Feast of Corpus Christi, as instigated by the eucharistic miracle at Bolsena.[92]

The earliest extant visual narrative of the Mass of Bolsena is found on the 1337–1338 silver and enamel reliquary created by Ugolino di Vieri, a Sienese goldsmith (Fig. 81).[93] Significantly, this reliquary is quite large (140 cm. high) in part because it was designed to hold not only the eucharistic wafer that bled in Bolsena, but also the bloody corporal on which it bled. Indeed, the corporal was the main relic of ostension, and the visual narrative of the miracle on the exterior of the reliquary reflects that focus. Made of silver with colorful cloisonné enamels, in three registers, twelve narrative panels of the *Miraculous Mass of Bolsena* occupy the front. The reverse side is organized with an equal number of scenes depicting the *Passion of Christ*, though it is read from the bottom up. The enameled base is historiated as well, with additional Christological scenes, and the whole reliquary has small silverwork sculptures distributed around the base and the top. The jeweled cross at top completes a coherent iconography, at every stage Christ's suffering and sacrifice are paralleled to the eucharistic contents of the reliquary.

On both sides of the reliquary the enameled panels lift off, and the frame remains to support the bloody corporal for ostension. The linen cloth, suspended in the frame to reveal the spots of blood distributed on each section where the cloth was folded, is large enough to view at a distance. This reliquary, with the narrative panels removed to expose the relic,[94] came to be carried in the *Corpus Domini* procession in Orvieto.

---

[92] See Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 185–89, for a discussion of Aquinas's authorship of the Mass and Office for the Feast and octave of Corpus Christi.

[93] The inscription around the base of the reliquary states: "Per Magistrum Ugolinum et sotios aurifices de Senis factum fuit sub anno Domini MCCCXXXVIII, tempore Domini Benedicti Pape XII." (Made by Master Ugolino and fellow goldsmiths from Siena in the year of the Lord 1338, under sovereign Pope Benedict XII.) For the relic and the monuments dedicated to it see Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, p. 433; Enzo Carli, *Il Reliquiario del Corporale ad Orvieto* (Milan, 1964). For documents as they relate to the Bishop of Orvieto, Tramo Mondaleschi della Cervara, his patronage of the reliquary and the promotion of the miracle relics, see Suhr, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 35–36. For the restoration of the reliquary see, Giuseppe Basile, "Il reliquiario del Corporale di Orvieto: interventi di conservazione e restauro," *Arte medievale* 6/1 (1992), pp. 193–97.

[94] For a discussion of these silk veils see Suhr, *Corpus Christi*, p. 38, n. 61.

Fig. 81 Ugolino di Vieri, Reliquary of the Holy Corporal, 1337–38, silver gilt and enamel, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral, Italy (photo: author).

Pilgrims would not only view the shrine during the octave of the feast, but on the climactic day, the relic was held aloft for the benefit of the faithful throughout the procession, as dramatic, blood-stained evidence of the truth of the real presence.[95]

Veneration of the miracle relics from Bolsena continued to be enhanced in the fourteenth century, and the chapel was created in Orvieto Cathedral in the 1350s to accommodate its growing importance.[96] Sculptors were also commissioned to create a new architectonic free-standing marble tabernacle to hold the silver reliquary, and to anchor the altar (see Figure 80).[97] In the Chapel of the Corporal at Orvieto, painters were given the task of creating narrative frescoes throughout the sanctuary focusing on the Eucharist. More extensive than any other eucharistic program to that date, Ugolino di Prete Ilario, along with the collaboration of other artists, frescoed the surrounding walls and the ceiling.[98] On the left wall one finds a veritable compendium of eucharistic miracles; on the right wall a complete narrative of the Miracle of Bolsena is laid out. Behind the altar, the Gothic gable of the marble tabernacle for the reliquary centers our vision on the image of the crucified Christ in the fresco, a culminating eucharistic vision for the whole chapel.[99] The giant frescoed Crucifixion rises up to mediate and clarify the eucharistic miracles. With its physical evidence contained within, and bolstered by these carefully-selected narratives,

---

[95] With the use of the bloody corporal, rather than the Host wafer which was transformed, no confusion could ensue between the relic-Host and the fresh host wafer. The corporal was treated as a relic and could be carried alongside a fresh Host wafer; see Snoek, *Medieval Piety*, pp. 196–97, nn. 120–128, p. 290, and p. 318.

[96] The Chapel was constructed 1350–1364, and finished while Andrea Orcagna was capomaestro. The cathedral, built on the older church of Santa Maria Prisca, was begun in 1290; its size and magnificence are unusual and can be related to the long-standing papal presence in Orvieto. See David M. Gillerman, "The Evolution of the Design of Orvieto Cathdral, *ca*. 1290–1310," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53, (1994), pp. 300–21.

[97] Fumi, *Il Santuario*, pp. 109–10, shows that the tabernacle was constructed between 1358–1366.

[98] Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, p. 433. Ugolino di Prete Ilario and Fra Giovanni Leonardelli (and their workshop) were also responsible for other frescoes in the Cathedral. Due to heavy damage, the fresco decoration of the chapel underwent a restoration between 1855–1860. See Fumi, *Il Duomo*, p. 347. Suhr, *Corpus Christi*, Appendix II, publishes documents concerning the restoration.

[99] For the impact of the Bolsena Miracle see Kristen Van Ausdall, "Doubt and Authority in the Host Miracle Shrines of Orvieto and Wilsnack," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, S. Blick and R. Tekippe, eds. (Leiden, 2005), pp. 513–38.

a framework was created in which to comprehend, contextualize, and bolster the Bolsena miracle. Like the reliquary narrative, the west and east walls of the chapel are organized into three registers. Appropriately topped in the lunette above by the image of St. Gregory the Great (d. 604), the left wall focuses on a broad collection of eucharistic marvels, recorded and utilized to explain the Real Presence of Christ even prior to the earliest treatise on eucharistic worship.[100] In the uppermost register, the cycle begins with the *Miraculous Mass of St. Gregory the Great* (Fig. 82), the most authoritative, widespread, and enduring of Host miracles. Paul the Deacon's eighth-century *Vita* of Gregory the Great, seems to be the earliest version, and relates the story simply; while Pope Saint Gregory was officiating at Mass in Rome, a Roman woman in attendance doubted the true presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[101] Proof positive is provided to the unbelieving woman, because just as Gregory recited the words of consecration, the Eucharist was transformed into flesh and blood, in the form of a disembodied bleeding finger. In the Orvieto fresco,[102] this sign of the eucharistic flesh and blood, seems to draw from the account of the Mass of St. Gregory's in the late thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine, who states, "St. Gregory saw the holy sacrament in figure of a piece of flesh as great as the little finger of a hand, and shortly after, by the prayers of St. Gregory, the flesh of the sacrament turned into semblance of bread as it had been before."[103]

As we read the scenes in the uppermost register, the next shows a priest, with his back turned to us, elevating the Host at the altar. The

---

[100] The first theological treatise devoted to a doctrinal treatment of the Eucharist was written c. 831–833 by Paschasius Radbertus: *De corpore et sanguine domini*. For a discussion of the Paschasius/Ratramnus debate see Celia Chazelle, "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy," *Traditio* 47 (1992), pp. 1–36.

[101] Paul the Deacon's short *Vita Gregorii Magni* was written between 770 and 780. This account ends with a clear statement on the orthodoxy of transubstantiation, as noted by Browe, *Eucharistischen Wunder*, pp. 113–114, n. 11.

A century later, John the Deacon, at the request of Pope John VIII (872–882), produced his *Vita Gregorii*, which also included a similar account of the miraculous Mass of St. Gregory.

[102] This fresco was heavily damaged, and was repainted in the nineteenth-century restoration of the frescoes, as discussed in Suhr, *Corpus Christi*, esp. pp. 123–26. However, the original fourteenth-century inscription indicates that the subject was indeed the *Mass of St. Gregory*.

[103] *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York, 1941, repr. 1969), vol. 3, pp. 27–31.

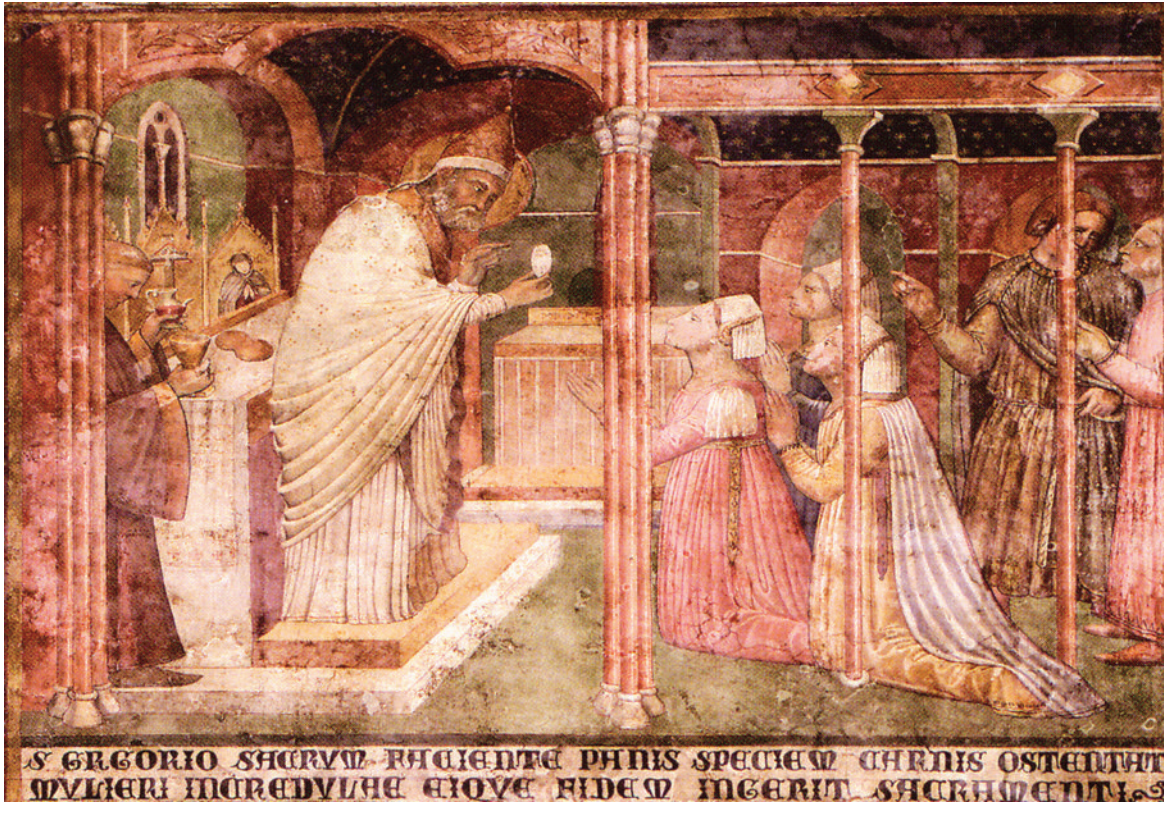


Fig. 82 Ugolino di Prete di Ilario, *Miraculous Mass of St. Gregory the Great*, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author).

wafer has transformed into a child, which the priest holds aloft. Many similar tales were repeated during the late Middle Ages to convince and convert the heretical onlookers, and the meaning of transubstantiation is again made explicit by this apparition. What marks these frescoes as particularly significant is their assimilation of so many long-standing eucharistic tales, recounting consecrated versus unconsecrated Hosts, worthy reception, and the power of the miracle of transubstantiation to convert enemies of Christianity.[104]

One such scene illustrates a eucharistic miracle concerning a last communion (the sacrament of Extreme Unction). Hugh of St. Victor is seen on his deathbed, too ill to swallow; the monks attending him, fearful that the Sacrament would be regurgitated or in some way lost, bring him an unconsecrated Host wafer. The saint is shown rejecting the unconsecrated Host, since he intuitively recognizes the absence of the true presence.[105] Another scene tells a tale of a Jewish boy who receives communion, one of the most common anti-Semitic Host miracles told in the late Middle Ages.[106] His father, having been told of the boy's reception of the Eucharist, throws him into the open furnace. The final image shows the boy's mother, along with neighbors, finding the child unharmed in the fiery furnace.[107] Dominique Rigaux mentions this scene in light of the surge of anti-Semitism after the

[104] For the evolving use of eucharistic miracle tales, especially those used as *exempla* by preachers, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 110–111.

[105] In the final scene of this narrative, mystically descending saints bring him a consecrated Host, which then mysteriously levitates out of the priest's hands, and two angels hovering above the roof of the bedchamber hold out their hands to receive the consecrated Host. According to Gary Macy, "Medieval Theology of the Eucharist and the Chapel of the Miracle Corporal," p. 64, n. 20, this tale of the miraculous discernment of an unconsecrated host was originally told about Maurice de Sully (d. 1196), by Gerald of Wales.

[106] Rubin, *Gentile Tales: the Narrative Assault on late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 7–39, discusses the evolution of this fascinating story, which had many versions. Originally it was a Marian miracle that transposes into a bleeding Host tale, and as Rubin states "…early medieval tales reflected the official Christian position on the historic role of Jews. One of the cultural frames within which stories about the conversion of Jews were elaborated was the powerful world of the Marian tale." This is a tale of witness and conversion, but also one of punishment and violence. As Rubin shows, in nearly all the versions of the story, the boy recounts his ordeal and says that he sees a Lady holding an infant, who protects him. Greek in origin, the tale spread west where it attracted the attention of Gregory of Tours (d. 595), winning a place in his *De gloria martyrum*. Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, pp. 7–8.

[107] The story generally concludes with the conversion of the mother and the execution of the unbelieving father. See Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, p. 9.

devastation of the plague in the mid fourteenth century, and its recurrence in 1362, in which Orvieto, especially, was hard hit.[108]

In another register, at almost eye-level, a continuous narrative presents Christians and Saracens (Muslims) battling (Fig. 83).[109] The Christians are shown dramatically defeated and kneeling at the left before the Saracen victors, who lean menacingly toward them with bows and arrows drawn. The King of the Saracens, however, promises the Christians freedom if they can show him a miracle. Apropos to the Orvieto cycle, the miracle chosen is a proof of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Visually paralleling the central scene in the top register, the bottom register also depicts a priest stands at the altar celebrating Mass at the moment of elevation, but instead of the Host wafer, we see a tiny Child in its place, arms akimbo, and holding a small cross in his right hand. Saracen soldiers are stunned and crane their necks to look at it, while the Christians on the other side kneel in prayer. In the final episode of this story, the tiny Child stands on the altar, holding a cross, while the priest consecrates the wine. A drop of blood falls from the side of the Child (still clearly the transubstantiated Host) into the chalice. The Saracens now kneel, struck with wonder, acknowledging this irrefutable proof that both species, body and blood, are present in the Host. The artist emphasizes the miraculous power of the Eucharist to convert those, like the Jews, who had been specifically demonized.[110]

All of these various visual assertions are meant to answer any doubt about the true presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Moreover, they

---

[108] Rigaux, "Miracle, reliques, et images," p. 240.

[109] See Rigaux, *ibid.*, pp. 238–42, for a more discussion of the conversion of heretics in the Orvieto frescoes.

[110] In a Franciscan tale of heretic repulsion, the painted shutters of an unusual reliquary tabernacle (attributed to the Duecento painter, Guido da Siena), show St. Clare repelling the Saracens with the power of the Host, which is contained in a tower-shaped pyx or monstrance. The reliquary tabernacle was made to hold the container used by St. Clare for the miraculous event, and can thus be considered one of the first of its kind. The Host, however, did not transform into any other form. For the images on the reliquary shutters see James Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena* (Princeton, 1964). This power of the Host to impress even the most hardened unbelievers, however, directly contrasts with fourteenth-century reality: Franciscans and Dominicans, by very different means, put considerable energy into converting Muslims to Christianity, without much success. For a fascinating view of the perception of Muslims as an enemy and their ideological defeat of Christianity, especially in terms of Franciscan and Dominican conversion attempts, see John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), pp. 214–55.

Fig. 83 Ugolino di Prete di Ilario, Host Miracle, Conversion of the Saracens, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author).

quell misgivings about the authority of eucharistic miracles, providing different aspects of doubt and proof of transubstantiation. However, none of the miracles compete with the Bolsena miracle, since none of the miracles chosen resulted in a Host relic.[111]

At first the Host-miracle story of Bolsena follows a simple and familiar pattern: a priest who doubts the true presence of Christ in the Eucharist celebrates Mass at the altar of Santa Christina in Bolsena. As he holds the Host, the bread miraculously transforms and bleeds freely on the linen cloth on the altar (Fig. 84). The tale is unusual, however, in that it became integrated into papal tradition, and has had continued papal support from the fourteenth century to present day. Its authority stems from several interlocking claims: the presence of Urban IV and Thomas Aquinas in Orvieto at the time of its occurrence, its central role in the establishment of the Feast of Corpus Christi, and in the writing of the Office for its Feast. The powerful role of the Dominicans in fighting heresy is emphasized throughout the Bolsena cycle, as is the painstaking assertion of orthodoxy in all the miracle scenes of the chapel.[112] Pope Urban IV is shown on the papal throne in the palace in Orvieto, and the artist depicts the same papal setting when Urban IV tells the Bishop of Orvieto to retrieve the corporal from Bolsena and to bring it to him. One of the most important scenes (doubled in size) represents a procession, which flows from the city gate of Orvieto to the bridge on the Chiaro River, where they are met by the Bishop with the blood-stained corporal (Fig. 85). Significantly, the linen cloth is displayed to the Bishop of Orvieto, rather than the transformed Host wafer. The Pope kneels before the blood relic, and is followed by his retinue: papal court, civic dignitaries, and then the townspeople, flock out of the Orvietan city gate.

In the next scene, Urban IV displays the corporal from the loggia of the papal palace, with the populace demonstrating their awe and

---

[111] Although Aquinas (*Summa Theologica*, III, Q. 75) had addressed the question of why the Host, when consecrated, did not take the physical form of flesh in the eyes of the faithful, images were too powerful a means to reject. Aquinas' three-fold answer echoes earlier theologians in its consideration of physicality: because of the revulsion ordinary people would feel if they actually were compelled to eat the species in its appearance as human flesh, so that the Sacrament could not be derided by the faithless, and because the faith required to believe in transubstantiation was meritorious in itself.

[112] Carol Lansing, *Power and Purity. Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 160–66, discusses the papal presence in Orvieto during this period.

Fig. 84 Ugolino di Prete di Ilario and workshop, *Miraculous Mass of Bolsena*, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: Jessica L. Smith).

Fig. 85 Ugolino di Prete di Ilario, *Miracle of Bolsena: Meeting at the Bridge on the River Chiaro*, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author).

devotion, again in a processional arrangement. This emphasis on procession cannot be coincidental; the feast day of Corpus Domini had been marked with a procession since 1338, and thus Orvietans and pilgrims alike would have found this imagery familiar by the 1350s, creating a reciprocal reinforcement between the miracle and the established Corpus Christi processional tradition. The linen relic is emphasized rather than the Host wafer that instigated the miracle, providing an object of devotion not as prone to change, in keeping with Dominican wariness of wonders and miraculous manifestations.

The ascendancy of Dominicans in eucharistic theology and practice, as established by papal authority, is asserted strongly in the final scene of the Orvieto frescoes (Fig. 86). With a regal gesture, an enthroned Pope Urban IV orders Thomas Aquinas, surrounded by Cardinals, to compose the Office of the Sacrament. Aquinas kneels before the Pope and presents the liturgy. The emphasis on papal authority is clear: Urban IV is placed in the center of the composition, and he is much larger than the other figures. Only Orvieto could claim direct papal authority for their Host-miracle relic, which differentiates it from the hundreds of other miracle-Host tales that sprang up throughout Western Europe. Promoted in this visual representation as the activating force in establishing the Feast of Corpus Christi, the Bolsena legend, as represented in Orvieto, also claimed the preeminence of Dominicans in eucharistic theology and liturgy, long before this became reality.[113]

Later Dominican Eucharistic Imagery

Dominican churches in the following century reflect these emphases as well; more moderately affective than the imagery used in Franciscan churches, Dominican sense of order and organization often took

[113] By the mid-14th century, the bishopric of Orvieto provided a strong institutional link to the papacy, anda Dominican, Ponzio Perotti (1348–61) was Bishop of Orvieto and papal governor of the city. See David Foote, "In Search of the Quiet City: Civic Identity and Papal Building in Fourteenth-Century Italy," in Paula Findlen, Michelle M. Fontaine, and Duane J. Osheim, eds., *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy* (Palo Alto, 2003), pp. 190–204. On the range of eucharistic thought in the late Middle Ages, see Gary Macy, "Reception of the Eucharist According to the Theologians: A Case of Diversity in the 13th and 14th Centuries," in *Treasures from the Storeroom*, pp. 36–58, and Pierre-Marie Gy, "La Relation au Christ dans l'Eucharistie selon S. Bonaventure et S. Thomas d'Aquin," *Sacrements de Jésus Christ*, J. Dores and Louis-Marie Chauvet, eds. (Paris, 1983), pp. 70–106.

Fig. 86 Ugolino di Prete di Ilario, *Miracle of Bolsena: Pope Urban IV and Thomas Aquinas*, 1350s, fresco, Chapel of the Corporal, Orvieto Cathedral (photo: author).

precedence. Although the specificity of eucharistic imagery was maintained, theological complexity and greater restraint prevailed. For example, in the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, Masaccio's *Trinity* fresco of ca. 1426–28 demonstrates the interrelationship between Eucharist and the triune God (Fig. 87). Paschasius had established the theological link regarding the Eucharist and the Trinity, saying that Christ, as "God born man" had mingled his human flesh with his Divine nature and thus under the Sacrament, "we are all one in God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" because "the Father is in Christ and Christ is in us" through communion, and "On this account it is that we are made one body naturally with Christ."[114] By the fifteenth century, Santa Maria Novella was the most important center for Corpus Domini worship in Florence, superseding the earlier focal point of Sant'Ambrogio, even given its relic of a miraculous Host.[115] The fresco was the largest display of the Corpus Christi of the period and used the newly-minted classicizing architecture, found only in Florence at this time, to frame the body of Christ.[116] One of the most notable visual factors in Masaccio's *Trinity* is its perspectival recession, coinciding with the body of Christ displayed in the center. It has been shown that this image was created as part of a funerary monument, and its perspective illusion makes it appear as a chapel to be entered from the nave, opening to the viewer through the means of a triumphal arch. The figures of the donors are represented as if kneeling on a

[114] Macy, *Theologies*, p. 27. See also Gary Macy's discussion of Paschasius in this volume.

[115] Eve Borsook, "Cults and Imagery in Sant'Ambrogio, Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institues in Florenz*, 25 (1981), 147–202. The bibliography on Masaccio's fresco is extensive, and the study of its iconography has a long history, including studies by Paul Schubring, *Die italienische plastik des quattrocento* (Berlin, 1915), esp. p. 120, Charles de Tolnay, "Renaissance d'une fresque," *L'Oeil: Revue d'art* 37 (January, 1958), pp. 36–41, Ursula Schlegel, "Observations on Masaccio's *Trinity* Fresco," *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963), pp. 19–33; and Jack Freiberg, *The Tabernaculum Dei: Masaccio and the "Perspective" Sacrament Tabernacle*, Thesis (M.A.), New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1974. For a collection of essays dealing with different aspects of Masaccio's fresco see Rona Goffen, ed., *Masaccio's Trinity* (Cambridge, 1998).

[116] For the sacramental imagery of the painting see especially Rona Goffen, "Masaccio's *Trinity* and the Letter to Hebrews," *Memorie Domenicane* 11 (1980), pp. 489–504. Goffen states, "Thus Masaccio's imagery of the *Trinity* has a twofold meaning. Just as Christ is both sacrifice and priest, enacting the heavenly Mass in the presence of Mary, John, and the donor-communicants, the Trinity is also the recipient of the Eucharistic sacrament offered by the mortal priest of an earthly Mass in the presence of living communicants."

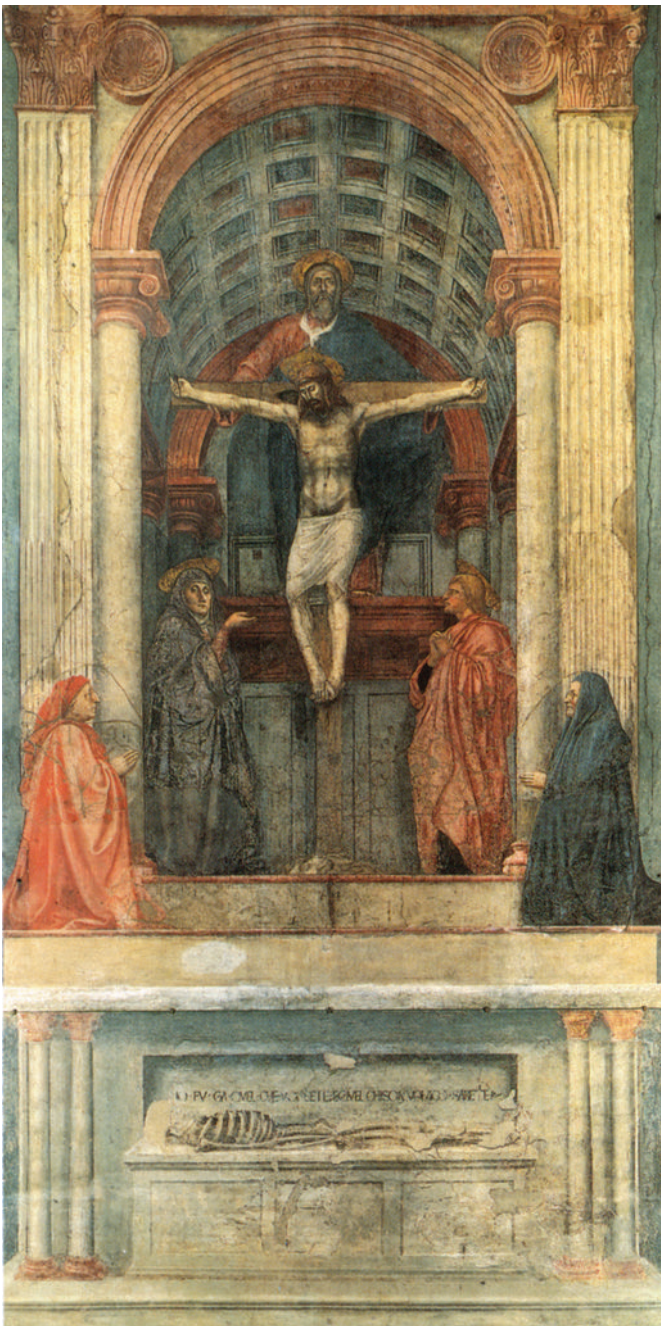


Fig. 87 Masaccio, *Trinity*, ca. 1426–28, fresco, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (photo: Scala, Firenze/Fondo Edifici di Culto—Ministero dell'Interno).

step just "outside" the fictive chapel, with John the Evangelist and the Virgin "inside" flanking the central image of the Trinity.

In Masaccio's fresco the image of God the Father supporting the crucified Christ is equivalent to the northern "Gnadenstuhl" or Throne of Grace.[117] This specifically-eucharistic image developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and focused on the equation of the Sacrament with the Crucifixion and the complete acceptance of both by God the Father. As Rona Goffen has shown, the *Trinity* fresco can be associated with Paul's letter to the Hebrews, especially in terms of the spatial organization of the sanctuary. Moreover, among the offertory prayers of the fifteenth century is one that specifically invokes the Trinity.[118] Timothy Verdon effectively traces the relationship of Masaccio's *Trinity* fresco to the larger program of images in the church which exalt the Order. In Dominican exegesis, the Trinity is compared to an ideal family or community in which God's love is transcendent, and which the faithful will join after their earthly existence comes to an end.[119] Viewing the fictive architecture encasing the sacrificial gift presented mercifully by God in this Dominican church, Aquinas' thoughts on the Trinity resonate:

> Of the Holy Ghost it is also said, "Know you not that your members are the temple of the Holy Ghost?" (*1 Cor. 6:19*). Now, to have a temple is God's prerogative. Others take this procession to mean the cause proceeding to the effect, as moving it, or impressing its own likeness on it; in which sense it was understood by Sabellius, who said that God the Father is called Son in assuming flesh from the Virgin, and that the Father also is called Holy Ghost in sanctifying the rational creature, and moving it to life.[120]

---

[117] See also the *Gnadenstuhl* in the early fourteenth-century Netherlandish *Vierge Ouvrant* discussed earlier in this chapter in relation to the Eucharist and the Virgin. Trecento Italian images of the Throne of Grace include those by a follower of Nardo di Cione and Luca di Tommè.

[118] Goffen, "Masaccio's Trinity," pp. 490–93.

[119] Timothy Verdon, "Masaccio's Trinity: Theological, Social, and Civic Meanings," in Diane Cole Ahl, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Masaccio* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 158–76.

[120] *Summa Theologica* I, Q. 27, a. 1. "Et de spiritu sancto dicitur, I Cor. VI, *nescitis quia membra vestra templum sunt spiritus sancti?* Templum autem habere solius Dei est. Alii vero hanc processionem acceperunt secundum quod causa dicitur procedere in effectum, inquantum vel movet ipsum, vel similitudinem suam ipsi imprimit. Et sic accepit Sabellius, dicens ipsum Deum patrem filium dici, secundum quod carnem assumpsit ex virgine. Et eundem dicit spiritum sanctum, secundum quod creaturam rationalem sanctificat, et ad vitam movet."

In Thomistic theology, the doctrine of the Trinity is not separated from that of salvation and Eucharist. Instead, Aquinas' Trinitarian doctrine is ordered toward contemplative union with God, and the whole Mystical Body of Christ (i.e., the community of the faithful) share in Christ's sacrifice, and its fulfillment of Mosaic law.[121] As the perfect temple, the members of this Body manifest God's name by worshiping the Trinity.[122] The Eucharist is a foretaste of that union,[123] and Masaccio's imagery clearly manifests these Dominican principles in its focus on the temple, the Trinity, and the Corpus Christi presented in an ordered architectural structure. The architectural structure forms a portal through which the faithful can enter visually; the Virgin, who flanks the entry into the fictive chapel, looks out pointedly and gestures to the body of Christ. Unlike the Franciscan's affective emphasis, it is the restraint of this eucharistic image that draws us into a world beyond the temporal. In fact, a reminder of seeing beyond the transitory concerns of the material world is presented below the main image, clarifying the funerary context of this fresco. The image of a recumbent skeleton, a *momento mori*, speaks to the viewer of the brevity of life and by implication, the need to attend to eternity through the salvific qualities of the eucharistic Christ seen in the aedicula.[124]

The Humanity of Christ and Cult Images Devoted to the Eucharist

In order to satisfy the growing focus on the eucharistic Christ, divine and human, supplementary images were required that could explicate and summarize the miracle of transubstantiation. The proliferation of *imago pietatis* in the later Trecento, commonly included in tomb imagery as well as some altarpieces, is related to the desire to view the Host.[125] This devotional focus can be seen in an exquisitely affecting painting,

---

[121] Matthew Webb Levering, *Sacrifice and Community: Jewish Offering and Christian Eucharist* (Oxford, 2005), p. 180.

[122] Levering, *Scripture and Metaphysics: Aquinas and the Renewal of Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 8–9.

[123] Levering, *Sacrifice and Community*, p. 180, n. 43.

[124] The inscription floats above the skeleton: IO FU GA QUEL CHE VOI SETE / E QUEL CHI SON VOI ACO SERETE. (*What you are, I once was; what I am, you will become.*)

[125] For a classic essay on the Man of Sorrows see Erwin Panofsky, "'Imago Pietatis,' Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmann' und der 'Maria Mediatrix,'" in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zun 60. Geburtstage* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 261–308.

signed and dated 1365, by Giovanni da Milano (Fig. 88). Establishing its eucharistic character,[126] Christ is held upright and displayed up close to the picture plane by the Virgin and Mary Magdalene; John the Evangelist is visible behind them, anguished. Related to a contemplative narrative of the Crucifixion, these three mourners are prominently brought to the fore. The flesh of the Christ figure appears tender and soft, easily damaged; this kind of vulnerability was ideal for extra-liturgical contemplation of the Body of Christ. The Virgin delicately places her fingers in the wound in his side and presses her cheek to his, making her sorrow more potent by reminding the viewer of how she had held and caressed her infant son.[127] Images of devotional pity must also be seen, however, as implicitly incorporating the whole cycle—Christ's death is proof of both his humanity and divinity in light of the Resurrection. Contemporary with Giovanni da Milano's image, Northern artists sculpted violently angular representations of the Pietà (or Vesperbild; see Fig. 67), with the adult son laying across his mother's lap, for graphic contemplation of the suffering of both Christ and Mary.[128]

A simpler but related image can be found sculpted on the tombs of the Trecento, and subsumed into Sacrament tabernacles. These half-length figures symbolizing the miracle of the death and resurrection of Christ, quickly mutated into a number of images that expressed subtle variations on the theme. One of the most prominent cult images to arise in relation to the eucharistic Man of Sorrows, is a fifteenth-century type of Miraculous Mass of St. Gregory, which came to be tied

---

[126] For the eucharistic character of the Man of Sorrows in art, see Romuauld Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu, Das Schmerzensmann-Bild und sein einfluss auf die Mittleaterliche Frömmigkeit* (Munich, 1931); Colin Eisler, "The Golden Christ of Cortona and the Man of Sorrows in Italy," *Art Bulletin* 51 (1969), pp. 107–18, 233–46.

[127] See the discussion of the Byzantine *Glykophilousa* (sweet-kissing) image in note 24 of this chapter.

[128] See especially, Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, Trans. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer (New Rochelle, NY, 1990), pp. 32–33. Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 176–78, discusses the differences in the way the blood of Christ is depicted, asserting that in paintings or sculptures displaying droplets, pellets, or clusters, the emphasis is on the separateness of this issue of blood from the body. Bynum draws a distinction between blood devotion and eucharistic piety, emphasizing "the fact that the disconnected drops continue, as Julian of Norwich said, alive and red. Blood was the only part or bit of the ever-living Christ that was, according to Scriptural accounts and patristic theology, separated from him." (p. 178).

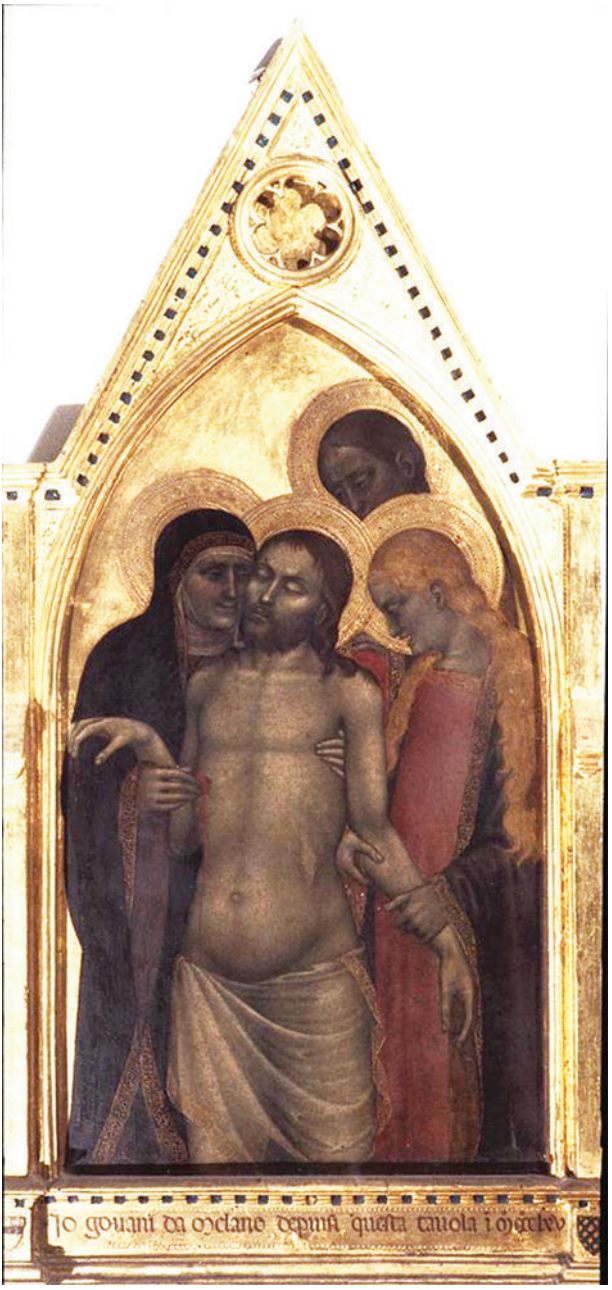


Fig. 88 Giovanni da Milano, *Pietà*, 1365, Galleria degli Accademia, Florence (photo: author).

intimately to indulgences.[129] Although the early versions of the Mass of St. Gregory, and its imaging, say only that a piece of bloody flesh appeared before the saint, a new conflated image developed, merging the standing, full-length, bleeding Man of Sorrows with the miraculous Mass of St. Gregory (see Fig. 53). One such image can be seen on the outer wing of a polyptych for the Altar of the Corpus Christi Fraternity in Lübeck.[130] The celebrant stands before the altar, raising the Host, which is framed by the representation of a painted altarpiece with the standing Man of Sorrows surrounded by the *arma Christi*.[131] The large, white Host wafer is directly paralleled to the suffering body of Christ—indeed it overlaps the body, clarifying the real presence and the redemptive offering of the Eucharist.[132]

---

[129] Flora Lewis, "Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images," in *The Church and the Arts*, *Studies in Church History* 28 (Oxford, 1992), p. 186. This type makes its first appearance in the late fourteenth century, and is popularized around the beginning of the fifteenth century. None of the versions, early or late, specify in which Roman church Gregory's miraculous Mass was celebrated. Lewis (pp. 183–84, nn. 15–16), relates the connection of the Man of Sorrows with the St. Gregory legend to a fictive history of the indulgence dating to around 1400, which can be "found in its fullest form in a group of English manuscripts." The manuscripts focus on the alternate version of the Mass of St. Gregory in which the image of Christ appears on the altar as the Pope celebrates Mass. The images accompanying the manuscripts show Christ as the Man of Sorrows.

[130] Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 11–12, compares the Lübeck image with one on the outer wing of the Altar of St. Anne and the Holy Kinship, from the church of St. Maria zur Wiese in Soest, ca. 1473. In the Soest *Mass of St. Gregory*, a plaque representing the indulgence hangs prominently on the wall to the left of the altar at which the celebrant-saint stands. A full-length image of the Schmerzenmann stands bleeding on the altar. Distinguishing between eucharistic imagery and blood imagery, Bynum finds the version in Soest, and others like it, to be largely concerned with the blood issuing from the standing figure of Christ, rather than on the salvific qualities of the Host. Conversely, the Lübeck image is more focused on the Eucharist, with the faithful rising to glory through its agency.

[131] Carlo Bertelli, "The 'Image of Pity' in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London, 1967), p. 50, cites the example of Nicholas Muffel who, on a 1452 visit to Rome, went to the church of S. Gregorio al Celio and saw an image of the *Mass of St. Gregory* in which Christ appears on the altar as the Man of Sorrows, accompanied by the *arma Christi*.

[132] Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 11–12, makes a distinction between eucharistic imagery and blood imagery, and extends this to the image of the Mass of St. Gregory. She compares these two images, and finds the version in Soest to be more focused on the blood issuing from the standing figure of Christ, than on the salvific qualities of the Host. Conversely, she sees the Lübeck image as focused on the Eucharist, with the faithful rising to glory.

Eucharistic-Miracle Shrines and Reservation of the Consecrated Host

Host miracles and the development of rich shrines associated with them became common in the late fourteenth century. Doubt and proof had been the focus of the miracles used for teaching. However, the stories of miracles engendered by doubt became less frequent by the late fourteenth century and, in their place, miraculous Host survivals and desecration miracles, often with an anti-Jewish emphasis, came to the fore.[133] Correspondingly, new imagery developed. A number of sumptuous shrines dedicated to eucharistic miracles were established in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, attracting large numbers of pilgrims to their cults.[134]

Theologians reacted in various ways to accounts of Host miracles, but the unprecedented proliferation of shrines and miracles by the beginning of the fifteenth century, clearly stimulated stronger and more specific reactions. Despite or because of their popularity, the simplified, physically-tangible view of the Eucharist encouraged by the imagery of the transubstantiated Host often came under attack. Whether the Host bled, was stabbed, survived fire, or transformed itself into the vision of the infant Christ or the bleeding man of sorrows, these images could be taken quite literally by those unversed in the subtleties of eucharistic theology. Although the usefulness of miracle stories had been fundamental in teaching about the real presence, and images had given visual expression to an intangible idea, concern was now frequently voiced about inappropriate and blatantly erroneous interpretations of orthodox theology. In particular, the authenticity of Host relics came under scrutiny, and shrines were sometimes censored. Nonetheless, controlling the cultic expressions of differing

---

[133] As a number of scholars have recently emphasized, eucharistic worship, as well as the devotion to Mary, had strong interlocking ties to anti-Jewish tales. See especially Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, and Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley, 1999).

[134] In addition, scholars have found that anti-Jewish host miracles were sometimes used to control violent impulses against real people by channeling anger and violence into these representations. See Mitchell Merback, "Fount of Mercy, City of Blood: Cultic Anti-Judaism and the Pulkau Passion Altarpiece, *Art Bulletin* 87 (2005), pp. 589–642. Dana E. Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 2008), discusses the dichotomy between the relative tolerance of Jews in Italy before the Reformation, and the violence of the imagery. She asserts that the imagery is a kind of deflection or stand-in for the violence perpetrated elsewhere.

sites was not simple.[135] Shrines dedicated to miracle Hosts proliferated, especially in Germany, and attracted hoards of pilgrims. Many of these had richly decorated shrines, including elaborate reliquaries and larger cupboards to highlight their value.

In the wake of increasing eucharistic devotion, especially in light of the attention paid to elaborate shrines of Host relics, by the mid-fourteenth century reservation of the consecrated Host in Italy often lagged behind other prominent liturgical furnishings.[136] The Fourth Lateran council of 1215 had, of course, called for clean and secure storage, but did not specify the type of vessel or place of reservation.[137] Boxes placed

---

[135] Despite the papal authority lent to the eucharistic shrine at Orvieto in the Trecento, and papal indulgences applied to other shrines, in the fifteenth century concerns about Host miracles led to theological tracts which disparaged some of the pilgrimage sites dedicated to them. Charles Zika, "Hosts, Processions and Pilgrimages: Controlling the Sacred in Fifteenth-Century Germany," *Past and Present* 118 (1988), pp. 25–64, esp. pp. 48–59, discusses an indulgence for visiting the Wilsnack shrine which was granted by Pope Urban VI in 1384. Zika (p. 50) states that the indulgence was meant to support the rebuilding of the parish church. However, doubts about authenticity plagued the shrine, and based on the scholastic argument of *latria*, or idolatry, the Archbishop of Prague (along with several other German diocese) banned pilgrimages to the site. Jan Hus's *De Sanguine Christi*, written c. 1405, focused on the Wilsnack relic. *De sanguine Christi. Opera Omnia*, ed. W. Flajshans, 1:3 (Prague, 1904), pp. 33–36. A number of theological attacks followed; those of Nicholas of Cusa and Heinrich Tocke of the mid-fifteenth century, were particularly important. For an art historical study of the Wilsnack site, see Folkhard Cremer, *Die St. Nikolaus- und Heiligblut-Kirche zu Wilsnack (1383–1552)*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1996). Cremer (p. 181) states that images of Christ's body and blood were pervasive in the church in the form of sculpture, painting, and stained glass, part of which is extant: a bleeding Man of Sorrows sculpted in wood, a large Crucifix, a figure of Christ resting, the head of a stone *Schmerzensman*, stained-glass windows, and the paintings on the doors of the shrine. On Wilsnack see also Van Ausdall, "Doubt and Authority," pp. 531–38 and Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 25–45 and passim. See also Gerhard Lutz's chapter in this volume for a discussion of the architecture of the pilgrimage church at Wilsnack.

[136] The earliest reference to reservation is in the Apostolic Constitution of Hippolytus (c. 215 CE): "Omnis autem festinet ut non infidelis gustet de eucharistia, aut ne sorix aut animal aliud, aut ne quid cadeat et pereat deo eo." See Bernard Botte, ed., *Sources chretiennes* 11 (2nd ed., Paris, 1968), p. 120. On the reservation of the species in the Middle Ages see especially Lawrence Koster, *De custodia sanctissimae eucharistiae* (Rome, 1940), pp. 3–96, and Daniel Cahill, *The Custody of the Holy Eucharist* (Washington, DC, 1950), pp. 3–18. The containers that made direct contact with the Host generally took the form of small boxes or "pyxes" and, by the fourteenth century, so-called "ciboria," footed pyxes that resemble lidded chalices.

[137] The decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council are reproduced in H.J. Schroeder, ed. and trans., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* (St. Louis, 1937), pp. 236–96. Canon 19 demands cleanliness in the church and for all liturgical vessels, vestments, palls, and corporals, stating that "There are also others who not only neglect to keep the churches clean but also leave the vessels, vestments, palls, and corporals so unclean that sometimes they are a source of

on or near the altar, pyxes in the shape of doves to hang over the altar, a niche in the altar, a cupboard set into the wall, could all serve to hold the consecrated Host. From the late twelfth and early thirteenth century it is clear that the accepted mode of reservation was in lockable vessels, both before and after consecration.[138] The thirteenth-century canonical interest in vessels for the wafers left after communion, and for viaticum to be taken to the sick and dying, was intended not for uniformity in type, but for uniformity of reverence. The decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 regarding reservation probably echo what had become an accepted idea: the Host should be kept safe, clean, and reflecting the honor it deserved. Extant pyxes clearly demonstrate that they were meant to be closed and locked.

However, documents mention a number of forms for the containers of the Eucharist, sub-types of the pyx. In fact, even the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century said little about uniform practices for the placement of Sacrament tabernacles, though its declarations and affirmations about the importance of the Eucharist paved the way for greater consistency in placing the tabernacle on the altar or making it part of an altar-tabernacle complex.[139] These include the very early references to a *capsa*, a box used to transport the Host to the altar, as well as reservation in a *turris* or tower. Manuscript illuminations often display the tower variety, which looks like a tall cylinder. The shape of this type of pyx was particularly connected to the form of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and, in addition, was identified with the Virgin, the "tower of Ivory."[140]

---

aversion." Canon 20 focuses on the safekeeping of the Eucharist and chrism: "We decree that in all churches the chrism and the Eucharist be kept in properly protected places provided with locks and keys, that they may not be reached by rash and indiscreet persons and used for impious and blasphemous purposes. But if he to whom such guardianship pertains should leave them unprotected, let him be suspended from office for a period of three months. And if through his negligence an execrable deed should result, let him be punished more severely."

[138] S.J.P. van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Myth of the Aumbry: Notes on Medieval Reservation Practice and Eucharistic Devotion* (London, 1958), pp. 23–24.

[139] Saint Charles Borromeo, Bishop of Milan, in his 1577 treatise on ecclesiastical architecture was more explicit about the locating the tabernacle on or near the high altar. This placement became a part of the Church's requirements in 1614. See Evelyn Carole Voelker, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae, 1577: a Translation with Commentary and Analysis*, Thesis (Ph.D.), Syracuse University, 1977, pp. 160–68.

[140] Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (Milwaukee, 1959), pp. 148–149. Van Dijk and Walker, *Myth of the Aumbry*, 27–31, discuss the *turris* as one of the earliest

Almost at the same time as the wide-spread popularization of the Feast of the Corpus Christi, a new type of Host reservation arises. In what has been termed "micro-architectural" structures, Sacrament houses take their place in the magnificent Gothic churches of Northern Europe.[141] They appear to have developed across a broad area of Northern Europe, much earlier than monumental forms of reservation in Italy. Achim Timmermann has shown that a number of patrons and artists tended to "stage" the Eucharist in a new way, beginning in the late thirteenth century and the first decades of the fourteenth century.[142] The Sacrament house was unique in its architectural structure, projecting out into the space of the choir or nave, depending on its placement, as seen in the one by Peter Parler in the choir of St. Bartholomew, Kolín nad Labem of 1360–78.[143] Along with centralized plans—square or polygonal—they generally feature a three-part elevation. Timmermann points out the advantages of such a Host repository, with its visibility and safety.[144] The early types are elaborate in comparison to other forms of reservation, but do not come close to the size and magnificence of the following century, as in the intricate version in Heilsbronn Münster of ca. 1515 (Fig. 89). Like the smaller pyxides, the tower-like forms of Sacrament houses create a close association, formally and conceptually, with the Holy Sepulcher, as well as the spires of Gothic churches.

A parallel development can be found in Italy beginning in the late Trecento. Although Italian Sacrament containers occasionally took

---

types, used generally from the sixth century onwards; they were often made of metal or ivory. The symbolic link to the Holy Sepulcher derives from the *Explanation of the Gallican Mass*, which states, "The Body of the Lord is carried in towers because the tomb of the Lord was cut out of the rock in the shape of a tower." (The reference is actually to the chapel built over the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, but the shape was common knowledge in the Middle Ages.)

[141] Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, vol. 2, (Munich, 1924), pp. 588, notes that in Italy there was an interest in Sacrament houses from the fourteenth century and cites an example from Santa Maria di Ara near Chieti. However, this seems to have been a rare manifestation.

[142] Achim Timmermann, "Staging the Eucharist: Late Gothic Sacrament Houses in Swabia and the Upper Rhine," Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1996.

[143] Timmermann, "Two Parlerian Sacrament Houses and their Microarchitectural Context," 1999, *Umení*, 47 (1999), pp. 400–12.

[144] At least two of these early sacrament houses held the sculpted image of Christ at the apex. One, still extant, depicts Christ on the Cross, the other was topped by a Man of Sorrows. Timmermann, "Designing a House for the Body of Christ: The Beginnings of Eucharistic Architecture in Western and Northern Europe, ca. 1300," *Arte Medievale* 4 (2005), pp. 119–29.

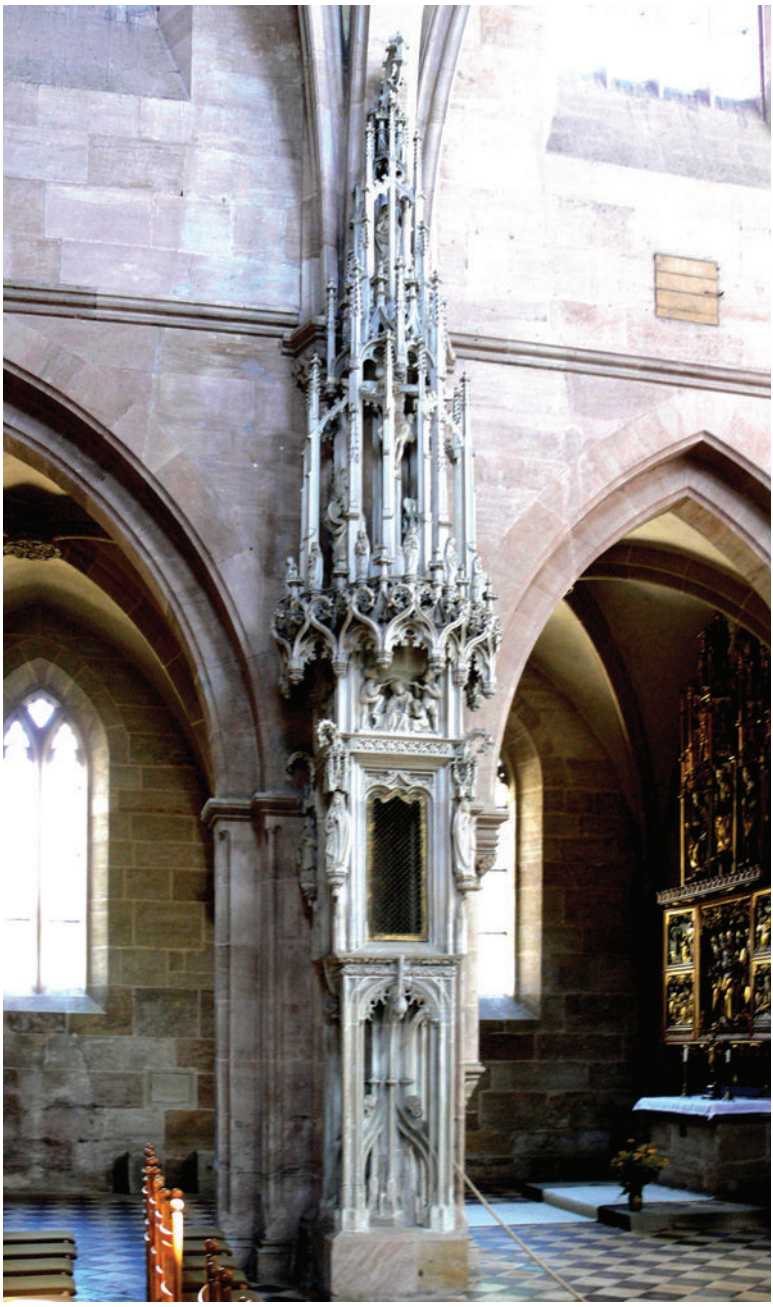


Fig. 89 Sacrament House, Heilsbronn Münster (Landkreis Ansbach), ca. 1515 (photo: Courtesy of A.M. Brown).

the central-plan, free-standing form, most elaborated on the cupboard prototype, and were often referred to as a *tabernaculum* in documents. As we have seen, Durandus provided an early guide to the symbolism of liturgical furnishings in the first book of his *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. In the late Middle Ages, the word tabernacle comes to be widely used to refer to large-scale vessels for the consecrated Host, though Durandus only occasionally used the term tabernacle in direct reference to reservation. However, in his second chapter on the altar, Durandus specifically relates the vessels for the reservation of the Host to the Ark of the Covenant: "On top of the Ark a propitiation was offered.… In imitation of this practice, in some churches they place on the altar an ark or tabernacle in which the Body of the Lord or the relics Saints are deposited."[145] The metaphor of the ark was also used by Durandus in connection with the Virgin as a receptacle, and palpably represented in the hinged Virgin and Child sculptures of the fourteenth century.

In the use of the word tabernacle or *tabernaculum* as a term for eucharistic receptacles, many scholars cite the allegorical discussion in the first book of the *Rationale*, yet Durandus first uses the word mainly in the context of the larger architecture of the church and its parts, and some of what he says can be applied to the monumental-scale Host receptacles that were to become common in the fifteenth century. This certainly applies to the iconography of later vessels in light of the emphasis on reservation of the Eucharist in the late thirteenth century, but his treatise predates the widespread use of monumental tabernacles for reservation. Relating the different names for a church, and the reasons for those names, Durandus states, "sometimes it is called tabernacle as if to say it is 'God's inn' [taberna Dei]."[146] Further, Durandus likens the tabernacle both to the temporary shelters made by the wanderings of the Israelites seeking a permanent home, and to soldiers in tents. While heaven is Christ's permanent resting place, the container for the Eucharist serves as his place on earth:

> Therefore God in the Tabernacle is God in this world. Just as the Temple was reddened with the blood of Christ, the Tabernacle clearly serves as figure of the Church militant, which does not have a permanent earthly

[145] *Rationale* (Bk 1, ch. 2, pt. 4), p. 27.
[146] Durandus, *Rationale* (Bk. 1, ch. 1, pt. 4), p. 12.

> city but seeks a future one; therefore it is called a "tent [tabernaculum]," for tabernacles or tents are the dwelling of soldiers. God in his Tabernacle is God is among the faithful collected together in his Name."[147]

Two types of wall cupboards were common: open recesses in church walls used to display the consecrated Host in a pyx, and those with doors that could be locked with the pyx inside.[148] More than anything, the most decorative of the early types resembled the façades of the churches in which they resided.[149]

Toward the end of the Trecento, decorative elaboration in Host tabernacles became increasingly common. In the sacristy of the Cathedral of Siena for example, one finds a wall tabernacle enhanced by its resemblance to a church portal; its iconography is enriched by the inclusion of saints Peter and Paul to either side of the *sportello* (the door or grille).[150] Its Gothic architectural features are characteristic of the era and can be found in a number of examples.[151] While the Virgin's womb was associated with the idea of Host tabernacles, graphically presented in Northern art, some late-Trecento Sienese tabernacles also explicitly refer to the womb of the Virgin. These wall receptacles depict the Annunciation on either side of the *sportello*.[152] The figures

---

[147] *Ibid.*, (Bk. 1, ch. 1, pt. 6), p. 13. Part of Durandus' explanation is based on Hebrews 13:14.

[148] Van Dijk and Walker, *Myth of the Aumbry*, 40 and Raible, *Das Tabernakel*, 172ff. See also Barbara Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York, 1984), p. 32 and n. 59 and 60.

[149] In Italy, Cosmatesque forms are found in some early Roman wall tabernacles, and in Northern European wooden aumbries included Gothic tracery. See Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, II, pp. 192 and 589–590, for a list of thirteenth-century wall tabernacles.

[150] The *sportello* of this tabernacle has been removed and it is used now as a Holy Oil receptacle, as were so many tabernacles after the edicts of the sixteenth-century councils. For a brief discussion of the changes made by the Councils, see Hans Caspary, *Das Sakramentstabernakel in Italien bis zum Konzil von Trient. Gestalt, Ikonographie und Symbolik, kultische Funktion* (Munich, 1965), p. 10. No documents exist referring to the tabernacle, nor can it be dated with any precision. Anne Markham Schulz, *The Sculpture of Bernardo Rossellino and His Workshop* (Princeton, 1977), p. 53, dates this tabernacle to shortly after 1400.

[151] See Schulz, *ibid.*, p. 53, n. 7, who mentions early wall tabernacles in Feltre, Florence, Vicenza, Castiglione d'Olona, Treviso, Rome, and Fiesole.

[152] For the most recent discussion of one of these Annunication tabernacles in the Badia di Ombone, Castelnuovo Berarenga, Siena, see Timothy Verdon, *Mary in Western Art* (New York, 2006), p. 56. See also Yrjö Hirn, *Sacred Shrine* (London, 1912) p. 162, for a discussion of the graphic Northern iconography of the womb of the Virgin. In addition, two Sienese casts of marble tabernacles from the late Trecento in the church of S. Eugenio, Villa di Monastero, Siena, are discussed by Schulz, *Bernardo*

stand under cusped arches, the Archangel in semi-profile facing the Virgin, who we see clasping her mantle and clutching her book. The tabernacles also include a half-length Man of Sorrows in low relief. This expanded iconography had a number of newly-visualized associations; one of the most potent of these concerned the motherhood of the Virgin Mary. According to Durandus, "Christ put on His robes of humanity" within the body of the Virgin. The priest, who robes himself in the sacristy and then emerges to public view, is compared with Christ who came forth from the womb of the Virgin and emerged into the world in fleshly form.[153]

In addition to the vital concepts regarding the portal and the Madonna, certain features found on these early examples were to become standard in the development of fifteenth-century wall tabernacles. In particular, the half-length representation of the Man of Sorrows prominently featured over the doorway became a feature on most Quattrocento tabernacles. Tabernacles for the Sacrament in fifteenth-century Italy are indebted, in part, to reliquaries for their visual formula. Just as early monstrances were derived from reliquaries, it seems likely that the enlarged tabernacles of the Sacrament came to be linked to large reliquary altars. In particular, the miracles of the Eucharist, used so frequently for didactic purposes, were encased in rich containers. In Orvieto, especially, the corporal from the miraculous Mass of Bolsena had a long history of preservation in a large stone reliquary. While the Sienese receptacles, conceived with a Gothic-style architectonic structure, were an early effort to make Host reservation more visually significant, tabernacles were soon completely transformed in Italy. The use of more specific eucharistic imagery was combined with the innovative use of classical forms to enhance the iconography of the Host. Moreover, beginning in the 1430s, the size of the new classical tabernacles transcends previous Italian receptacles for the Host. Inaugurated during an extraordinary period in the history of art and the history of eucharistic worship, this new, enlarged type proliferated in central Italy. Luca della Robbia, for instance, was commissioned to create a tabernacle for the Florentine church of Sant'Egidio in 1441–42,

---

Rossellino, p. 53, n. 7. One of these has a later inscription designating it as a container for Holy Oil, a common way to reuse eucharistic vessels after the late 16th century, when the Borromeo's Instructions stated that the Eucharist must be kept exclusively on the High Altar in parish churches.

[153] Durandus, *Rationale*, Ch. 1, Articles 37–38.

and now in Santa Maria in Peretola (Fig. 90).[154] It stands about 8 ½ ft. high by 4 ft. wide, and is enhanced with a classical frame. Its iconography concentrates on motifs that explicitly identify the contents as the central miracle of the Christian faith, and like earlier tabernacles, Luca's version could be identified with the structure of the church edifice.[155] Indeed, most late Trecento and early Quattrocento Sacrament tabernacles had been formed to resemble church portals, but the Sant'Egidio structure moves into the realm of fully-developed relief sculpture.

The vertical axis of the tabernacle emphasizes the Trinity, with God the Father in the gable above, the eucharistic Christ in the lunette, and the dove of the Holy Spirit descending toward the door to the Host. In the center of the tabernacle, large, full-length, standing angels flank the door to the Host. The half-length Man of Sorrows in the lunette is flanked by two figures, the Virgin Mary to the left and John the Evangelist to the right, and an angel holds the Body aloft. The Virgin points to her son, emphasizing the meaning of his suffering, and John the Evangelist, in profile, contemplates the Body. The devout, viewing this unprecedented richness of imagery, would find much to contemplate: the mystical association of the Trinity with the Eucharist, the Body of Christ offered to the viewer and presented by the Virgin, and the adoration of the angels flanking the doorway to the Host.

Combining the ideas of reservation and ostension, Italian Sacrament tabernacles came to include an imagery that could exhibit the meaning of the Sacrament at the same time it protected and highlighted

---

[154] This tabernacle was created for the Cappella Maggiore of the church of Sant'Egidio. The documents for payment to Luca della Robbia published by Allan Marquand, *Luca della Robbia* (Princeton, 1914), p. 65, show that the tabernacle was placed in the chapel of St. Luke, the choir of the church of Sant'Egidio. The payments were for "Parte d'un tabernacolo di marmo per tenere il chorpo di Christo nella cappella di Santolucha." (Archivio del R. Arcispedale di S. Maria Nuova in Firenze.) Bernardo's and Luca's tabernacles have been frequently confused, especially because both were made for the hospital complex of Santa Maria Nuova and Bernardo's monument was eventually moved to Sant'Egidio. There are no documents regarding the transfer of Luca's tabernacle to Peretola, but some scholars believe it was moved there in the eighteenth century (see Schulz, *Bernardo Rossellino*, p. 53). The genesis of the vivid polychromy of the enameled terracotta ornament has been connected by Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia*, pp. 33–35 and 134, to Domenico Veneziano's 1439 fresco commission for the same chapel. Andrew Butterfield, *The Sculptures of Andrea Verrocchio* (New Haven, 1997), p. 221, attributes the bronze door to Verrocchio in the later 15th century, and asserts that the dove is also a replacement by Verrocchio.

[155] The frames of Trecento and Quattrocento polyptychs carry a similar symbolism, as elucidated by Rona Goffen, "Icon and Vision: The Madonna Paintings of Giovanni Bellini," *Art Bulletin* 57 (1975), pp. 487–518.

Fig. 90 Luca della Robbia, Sacrament Tabernacle, 1442, from Sant'Egidio, Florence, now in S. Maria in Peretola (photo: author).

the consecrated wafers. The Florentine classicizing tabernacle took this idea to its ultimate extension; although maintaining the portal resemblance, artists also attempted to consolidate and synthesize the imagery of the Church and its contents into a unified, easily-read image of salvation. The liveliness of presentation and the enormous beauty of the carving of some of these monuments, aimed to convince the viewer of the tangibility and efficacy of the Host as the agent of salvation.[156] Cupboard, monstrance, and sculpture united to form a new category of monument. Both their air of convincing reality and their classicism set the Quattrocento Italian monuments apart from other tabernacles.

Rather than a miniature reproduction of the exterior of a church, without reference to specific theological ideas about the sacramental contents, the new tabernacles established a special link between eschatological and eucharistic imagery. With the addition of more elaborate and specific sacred images, coupled with the use of antique funerary symbols, tabernacles could effectively communicate the idea of the *corpus verum* and its meaning to the faithful. In addition, the new tabernacles, both in Northern Europe and in Italy, rivaled the shrines of Host miracles and focused attention on the central miracle available in the form of the real presence found in every church. The Italian tabernacles are essential to understanding the larger scheme of the *ars sacra* of the fifteenth century and, like their northern cousin the Sakramentshaus, they led the way to post-Tridentine Host reservation.

Conclusion

From the thirteenth through the fifteenth century, a wide variety of visual images were used in which narrative and devotional imagery responded to Eucharist-centered theology and spiritual practice. Christ on the Cross and the Virgin and Child were transformed to serve the needs of new eras, and were molded to serve specific purposes in particular places. Celebrants of the Mass shifted direction, moving from

[156] It should also be noted that the perspective tabernacle in the later 15th century came to dominate—they retained the classical architecture and motifs, but focused attention on the center with a perspective recession resembling that of Masaccio's *Trinity* fresco. In addition, a parallel to the Northern Sakramentshaus also developed. For example, Vecchietta created a ciborium of this type in the 1460s, which is now part of the high altar complex of Siena Cathedral.

behind the altar to face east with the congregation, thus paving the way for paintings and sculpture to create a backdrop for the Mass ritual. These changes also applied to Passion and Infancy cycles, in which specific scenes were isolated as focal points for altarpieces. In addition, the new preaching orders of Franciscans and Dominicans not only came to affect artistic production, but brought their own emphases to eucharistic imagery. Eucharist-centered worship, and the need to explicate its theology, had stimulated tales of miraculous manifestations of the body and blood of Christ. These miracles resulted in relics and, in turn, Host-miracle shrines and pilgrimage sites helped create completely new categories of artistic production in the late Middle Ages, and an almost endless array of inventive variations on the theme. By the thirteenth century, the reserved, consecrated wafers engendered legislation for its safe-keeping, and from the relative simplicity of these containers, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries found new means of visual expression. The fantastical Gothic Sacrament houses of the north, soaring ever higher, and the more austere classical tabernacles of Italy with their highly-developed images of the eucharistic Christ, focused attention on the *Corpus Christi*. On the eve of the Reformation, visual images were intricately bound with responses to popular devotion, contemporary theological arguments regarding the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, and the status of eucharistic relics.

Suggestions for Further Readings

Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: a History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, Chicago, 1994.

Burr, David. *Eucharistic Presence and Conversion in Late Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Thought*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 74/3, Philadelphia, 1984.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, Philadelphia, 2007.

Cook, William R. ed., *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*. *The Medieval Franciscans*, 1, Leiden, 2005.

Derbes, Anne. *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant*, Cambridge, U.K., 1996.

Macy, Gary. "Medieval Theology of the Eucharist and the Chapel of the Miracle Corporal," *Vivens homo*, 18 (2007), 59–77.

Mitchell, Nathan. *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass* Collegeville, Minn., 1990.

Norman, Diana. *Siena, Florence and Padua. Art, Society and Religion 1280–1400*, 2 vols., New Haven, 1995.

Panofsky, Erwin. "'Imago Pietatis,' Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmanns' und der 'Maria Mediatrix,'" in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstage*, Leipzig, 1927.

Ricetti, Lucio. "Dal Concilio al Miracolo: Mistero Eucharistico, concilio Lateranense IV, Miracolo del Corporale," *Vivens homo*, 18 (2007), pp. 171–219.

Rigaux, Dominique. "Miracle, reliques et images dans la chapelle du corporal à Orvieto (1357–1364)," in Nicole Bériou, *et al*., *Pratiques de l'Eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, vol. 1, pp. 201–245, Paris, 2009.

Rubin, Miri. *Gentile Tales: the Narrative Assault on late Medieval Jews*, New Haven, 1999.

Snoek, Godefridus J.C. *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist. A Process of Mutual Interaction. Studies in the History of Christian Thought* 63, Leiden, 1995.

Timmermann, Achim. "Staging the Eucharist: Late Gothic Sacrament Houses in Swabia and the Upper Rhine," Ph.D. dissertation, Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1996.

Van Ausdall, Kristen. "Doubt and Authority in the Host-Miracle Shrines of Orvieto and Wilsnack," in *Art and Architecture of late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed., Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, pp. 513–538. Leiden, 2005.

LATE MEDIEVAL EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY: A HELPFUL GLOSSARY

Accident: A property, or characteristic, of a thing. As distinct from the category of substance, an accident requires the existence of another being for its own existence, as 'this white' requires for its existence 'this bread.' The nine Aristotelian accidents include: Quantity, Quality, Relation, Place, Time, Position, State, Action, Passion. Most basically, these would be the "sense data" of an object, that is, anything outwardly perceptible about a thing.

Accidental being: A manner of existence requiring the existence of a substance. In medieval eucharistic theology it pertains to all the properties or characteristics of the elements—color, dimensions, weight, smell, appearance—that remain unchanged at consecration.

Accidental form: The structure, or organization, according to which the accidents of a thing are arranged. For example, the accidental form of the quantity of a thing is that by which the thing weighs a given amount, how the weight is distributed, and how the thing is able to be divided into pieces.

Accidents, Extrinsic: Where, when, state, action, passion, position which, according to Giles of Rome, are united to substance through the mediation of the intrinsic accidents. Relation is an Intermediate Accident, by which the extrinsic accidents are related to the intrinsic accidents.

Accidents, Intrinsic: Quantity and Quality. These accidents are united to a substance directly in Giles of Rome's account of how quantity can serve as proxy for substance during Eucharistic change. Richard of Richard of Middleton calls these Absolute Accidents, for which existence without a subject does not entail a contradiction. He contrasts them with Respective Accidents, which have the status of a relation of some kind, such as place, action, and relation. They are also contrasted with Mixed Accidents, which are combinations of Absolute and Respective accidents. Neither of the latter can exist without inherence in some subject.

Annihilation: The absolute destruction of a thing, by which it goes from having being to lacking being. Nothing can be said of an annihilated being, precisely because it does not exist. In the case of the Eucharist this means that the substance of the bread is reduced to nothing as it is succeeded by the substance of Christ's body. Annihilation was recognized as one of three possible explanations for eucharistic change, along with Remanence and Transubstantiation.

Azyma: Unleavened Bread. The Roman Catholic Church used unleavened bread in the Eucharist, whereas the Eastern Orthodox used leavened bread. This was a matter of some controversy between the Churches. Although Thomas Aquinas believed that the use of unleavened bread is more reasonable, he maintained that Christ's body can be confected from both.

Concomitance: The body and blood of Christ are fully present in each of the consecrated elements, meaning that a communicant receiving only the wafer nevertheless receives both body and blood at once. Because the body and blood of Christ cannot be separated, they are both present even though the bread is transubstantiated only into the body of Christ and the wine only into the blood of Christ.

Consubstantiation: The doctrine that, following consecration, the substance of Christ's body exists along with the substance of the bread. This doctrine, together with the annihilation and conversion theories, was considered orthodox deep into the thirteenth century, but was generally rejected in later centuries.

Diaphaneity: That which experiences the change when fire is generated from the air, which Peter Auriol gives as an example of the being of a 'symbolic form.' The term is synonymous with transparency, and Auriol holds that the whole of the air's transparency is transmuted to the fire, without the substance of the air remaining. This is opposed to the kind of change that involves the continued being of a subject, as with the condensation of a gas into a liquid, where the being of the subject remains. The symbolic form is what holds constant in the change of transubstantiation, moving from the substance of the bread to the body of Christ. It is a logical symbol, arising from the presence of accidents in a substance extended in time and space, such that there can be a 'this perceptible something' that experiences the eucharistic change.

Elements: The bread and wine on the altar prior to the act of consecration. Both of the elements are composed of matter and form, and are substantial beings in their own right.

Ex naturali concomitantia: By natural concomitance. According to Thomas Aquinas, the accidents of Christ's body, such as its quantity, naturally accompany it wherever it is present. But their presence is not the result of the conversion process itself (*ex vi conversionis*) inasmuch as that process pertains to the conversion of one substance into another.

Ex vi sacramenti: By the power of the sacrament. Thomistic conception explaining how the power of the Eucharistic change is contained within the sacrament itself.

Extension: To be in three spatial dimensions, as a physical body. The question for the scholastic theologians was how Christ's body—this very same body which was crucified and resurrected—could be present precisely as a real body in so many consecrated hosts. Hence the intense discussions of quantity (which governs extension) as it is applied to Christ's presence in the Eucharist.

Form: The structure of a thing assigning it to a genus and species. It is the arrangement of the matter of a substance allowing it to be a recognizable 'this something.' Form gives being to matter that, on its own, enjoys only possible existence.

Form, Corporeal: The arrangement or structure of the body as such. It is the basis for a body being organized matter, considered apart from the notion of substantial form, which confers genus and species to a thing.

Form, Substantial: The arrangement or structure of the substance as such, as distinct from the forms of the accidents, which require the being of the substantial form for their own being. In transubstantiation, the substantial forms of the elements are replaced by the substantial form of Christ, the matter of the elements is replaced by the matter of Christ, and the accidental forms of the elements remain. Aquinas uses the concept to avoid the alternatives of Remanence and Annihilation in his description of Eucharistic change.

Form, Unity of: In the human soul, the intellective, appetitive, and rational souls are held to be one simple form. Although Aquinas supported this position, the doctrine was condemned in 1277.

Forms, Plurality of: The doctrine that many substantial forms are able to be present in one substance. In the case of eucharistic theology, this permits distinction between substantial and corporeal form.

Fraction: The point in the eucharistic liturgy when the consecrated bread is broken, symbolizing Christ's redemptive sacrifice on the cross.

'Hoc est corpus meum' (This is my body): Words belonging to the formula of consecration used by the priest during the canon of the Mass. By the end of the twelfth century, this was considered the point in the Eucharistic liturgy at which, upon their utterance by the celebrant, the change in the elements occurs. These are the words of Jesus spoken over the bread as recorded in the account of the Last Supper [Matt. 26:12; Lk. 22:19].

Hylomorphism: The Aristotelian teaching that all substantial beings are composed of Form and Matter.

Impanation: The doctrine that the eucharistic change is akin to the Incarnation. Just as the Son assumes a human nature, so the body of Christ assumes the nature of the bread. John of Paris suggested this, believing it to be as good an explanation as transubstantiation. It was rejected as remanentism at best, and a travesty of incarnational theology at worst.

Matter: That of which a thing is made up. It cannot exist without a form, and without form is understood only as a 'possible' something.

Paneitas: Term used to refer to the substantial form of bread; literally, 'bread-ness.'

Positio: Position. A concept used to explain how the body of Christ is contained within the consecrated host. Duns Scotus understood position (*positio*) in two ways. The first refers to parts as they are ordered to the whole, while the second refers to parts as they are ordered to a

place (*locus*). Scotus maintained that every quantified thing (*quantum*), in this case Christ's body, must have *positio* of the first sort, but not necessarily of the second. A *quantum* can retain its own internal order of parts without those same parts being commensurate with the parts of the place which it occupies. Hence in the Eucharist, Christ's body retains the first sense of *positio*, since each part is properly ordered within his own body, but that same body does not have *positio* in the second sense, inasmuch as its parts are not commensurate with any given host.

Power, Absolute: God's power considered in the abstract, capable of anything short of what would be logically contradictory. The distinction between this [*potentia Dei absoluta*] and ordained power [*potentia Dei ordinata*] arose out of early thirteenth century analysis of divine power as such; the terms are first used by William of Auxerre c. 1220.

Power, Ordained: God's power as self-restricted to act within creation, and as is revealed to man in the divinely constructed order of things.

Presence, Circumscriptive: Precise correspondence between the located body and the place in which it is located as far as the body's figure. In this way each one of a body's parts is present to each part of the space it occupies.

Presence, Definitive: Correspondence between the quantity of a body and the place in which the body is located. The whole of Christ's body is not only present to the whole space of the consecrated host, but his whole body is also present to each part of the host. Thus when the consecrated host is fractured by the priest, the whole body of Christ is still present in its entirety to each piece of that host.

Presence, Eucharistic: In general it is the belief held by most Christians that the risen Christ is present during the celebration of the Eucharist. This belief does not necessarily imply that any further explanation of that presence is necessary. The explanation of the Eucharistic presence became an extremely important issue, however, in medieval theology. The fact that Christ's body and blood could exist underneath the accidental properties of bread and wine gave rise to a set of problems described generally as Eucharistic Presence. These include how one

body can be in many places at once; when the change from bread to body might occur; and whether the body of Christ is present with the consecrated host in whole or in part.

Quality: The second of the nine accidents, it comes immediately after quantity. In the case of the Eucharist, the quality of whiteness, for example, is one of the accidents of the bread which remains following consecration.

Quantity: The first of the nine accidents, it is the measure of substance. It permits a body to be capable of dimension. William of Ockham only accepted the reality of substance and quality, thereby rejecting quantity as a distinct thing in itself. Because, for Ockham, quantity is only a term which can be predicated accidentally of substance or quality when they have extended parts, it does not apply where there is no extension.

Quantity, Continuous: Defined by Adam Wodeham as a plurality of parts in a thing insofar as they make up a continuous arrangement.

Quantity, Discrete: Defined by Adam Wodeham as a plurality of parts of a thing insofar as they are discontinuous.

Quantum: A basic indicator of quantity, literally a 'how much.' Most medieval theologians regarded the possibility of real, indivisible quanta as a fiction, but regularly used the term as a hypothetical to account for something's being somehow quantifiable.

Relation: A relation is an accident. It refers to how one thing stands in regards to another thing. A relation was generally not understood by medieval theologians to be an independent something apart from the two things involved that describe it.

Remanence, Remanentism: The principle that some part of the substantial being of the bread remains after the act of consecration. This theory was considered acceptable through much of the thirteenth century just so long as the substance of Christ's body was also held to be present along with the bread following consecration—hence the doctrine of consubstantiation. Yet two other positions, Annihilation

and Transubstantiation, were more common. Both Scotus and Ockham felt that remanence was a more logically coherent doctrine, but nevertheless advocated transubstantiation—understood as substantial conversion—because they believed this to be more in keeping with canon law, most notably the canons *Firmiter* and *Cum Marthae* found within the *Decretales*, or *Liber extra*, issued by Pope Gregory IX in 1234.

Sacramentum: Sacrament. At its most basic level, a sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace. More specifically, however, the seven sacraments of the Church will confer the grace they signify.

Sacramentum tantum: Sacrament alone. This refers to the visible form of bread and wine insofar as they function as signs of Christ's body and blood.

Sacramentum et res: Sacrament and reality. Christ's body, present in the Eucharist beneath the species of the bread, is at once the reality signified by the consecrated elements and a sign of yet another reality, which is the believer's union with Christ and the Church.

Res et non sacramentum: Reality and not a sacrament. This the ultimate reality to which the Eucharist points, namely the union of the faithful with Christ through charity. It is not a sacrament since it does not signify any greater reality beyond itself.

Spiritual communion: A notion that gained currency among twelfth-century theologians whereby the *res sacramenti* of the Eucharist could be received by the devout apart from actual reception of the *sacramentum*.

In sacramento tanto: On the sacramental level alone. Specifically, this refers to the fact that the fracture and division of the consecrated host occurs only on the outward level of the sacrament and thus does not affect the body of Christ, which remains intact beneath the species. This point was emphasized in order to dispel errors that might arise from a misreading of the 1059 *Ego Berengarius* confession.

Substance: A being able to exist on its own, not requiring the being of another for its own being. For instance, 'this bread' does not require

the existence of 'this white' for it to be this bread; it could be another color and still be 'this bread'. Substance pertains to the inner, essential reality of a thing as opposed to its outward, and often changeable, manifestations. Hence Substance is apprehended by the mind, rather than by the senses which apprehend accidents. This is important, for when it comes to the substantial change that takes place in the Eucharist, that reality which the mind apprehends undergoes a change, whereas what the senses perceive remains the same. Therefore Thomas Aquinas can refer to a substantial change as 'intellectual' or even 'spiritual'.

Suppositum: The subject regarded as the basis for the predication of properties or accidents. Generally, when the term is used in this discourse, the subject refers either to the substantial being of the bread, or to the substantial being of Christ, or both.

Symbolic form: See Diaphaneity.

Transubstantiation: The scholastic theory describing Eucharistic change as the conversion of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood. The term was probably first used by the English theologian Robert Pullen in the mid-twelfth century.

Transubstantiation, Adductive: A term used by Duns Scotus. Christ acquires a new presence without losing the presence he already has. Scotus uses this distinction to address the question of how the body of Christ, which exists before consecration, and is not changed thereby, can nonetheless acquire a new presence where once there was bread.

Transubstantiation, Productive: Duns Scotus's term to describe the production of a pre-existing being i.e., Christ into another something that had not yet any being, such that the pre-existing being changes presence from one place to another.

Utraquism: The principle that all communicants, laity as well as priests, ought receive "both kinds" [*utraque*], that is, both the consecrated bread and wine. This position was first formulated by Jacob of Mies in Prague in 1414, and was henceforth advocated by the Bohemian

Hussites: In 1415 the Council of Constance decreed that the laity would not receive the chalice, but only bread, thereby formally codifying what had until that time been the custom of the late medieval Church.

Words of institution: See *Hoc est*…; the liturgical formula through which the celebrant, standing in for Christ, recites Christ's own words which effect the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.

INDEX

Aachen, 166–173
Abel, 125, 288–289
Abraham, 108, 125, 126, 292
Abraham and Sarah (mosaic), 128
Abraham at Mamre (mosaic), 128
absolute power, 531, 623
accidental being, 619
accidental form, 619
accident(s), 375, 376, 377, 383, 388, 500, 524–532, 619
ad completa (complendum), 42
adductive transubstantiation, 521–522, 626
Ado of Vienne, 20
adoptionism, 191, 254
Adoratio crucis, 270, 272
Adoration of the Magi (La Charité-sur-Loire), 296
Adoration of the Magi (Vézelay), 308
Adoration of the Magi, Annunciation, and Visitation (St Pierre), 298
Adoro te devote, 553
Aelfwine prayer book, 278
Aelred of Rievaulx, 318
Agnes Dei (SS. Cosmas and Damian), 148
Agnus Dei, 147, 303, 316
Agnus Dei, 15n9, 50n150, 57n183
Alberic of Monte Casino, 371
Albert the Great, 376, 382, 385–387, 390
  Commentarii in Sententiarum, 386
  De Sacramentis, 385
Alcuin of York, 18n17, 168, 191, 229
Alexander of Hales, 377, 380–382, 390, 395
  Quaestiones disputatae, 381
  Sentences of Peter Lombard, 368
Alger of Liège, 280n101, 419
altar, 401, 405
altar, heavenly, 123–124
Amalarius of Metz, 47, 257, 264, 283, 314
  Liber officialis, 228
Ambrose, 56n173, 56n174, 64, 67–69, 124, 125, 237, 243
  De sacramentis, 30–31, 52, 67
Ambrosian Rite, 31–32, 330, 331, 357
analogy, 327–329
Angela of Foligno, 460–461
Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, 164, 182–190
Aniane, 190–194
annihilation, 516, 521–522, 533–534, 620
annointing the sick, sacrament of, 14
Annunciation (Vézelay), 308
Annunciation of the Shepherds (St Pierre), 313
Anselm of Canterbury (Bec, Aosta), 318
  Cur Deus Homo, 279n99, 289–290
Anselm of Lucca
  Collectio Canonum, 408–410
Anthony, St., 156
Anthony de Butrio, 444
Anthony of Padua, 394
Antiphonale, 47
antiphonaries, 47–48
Antiphonary of Corbie, 48
Antiphonary of Rheinau, 48
Apostle's Creed, 31n70
Apostolic Church Order, 37
Apostolic Constitutions, 37
Apostolic Tradition, 23–24, 37
Aquinas. *See* Thomas Aquinas
Arabic language, 21n29
archaeological evidence of liturgy
  in British Isles, 35–36
  of early church in Rome, 24–25
  in Gaul, 28
  in North Africa, 29–30
  in North Italy, 31–32
  in Spain, 33
architecure and liturgy
  about, 163–164, 202–203
  Angilbert and St. Riquier, 182–190
  Benedict and Aniane, 190–194
  in Carolingian period, 164–166
  Charlemagne and Aachen, 166–173
  Constance Cathedral, 471–475
  Louis the Pious and St. Gall, 194–202
  Theodulph and Germigny-des-Prés, 174–181
Arenberg Gospels, 278
Aristotle, 378
Arius/Arian, 64–65, 110, 114
Ark of the Covenant, 96n14, 181
Arma Christi, 478

art, early Christian, 94–110
art, Eucharistic
  from 600–800, 137–139
  from 900–1050, 272–279
  from 1100, 279–282
  about, 541–542, 615–616
  after Constantine, 110–123
  Bolsena miracle Mass, 582–596
  Christ's human and divine natures, 139–147
  the cross, 111, 151–159
  crucifixion imagery, 258–272
  Eucharistic-miracle shrines, 605–615
  expansion of subjects, 566–573
  of Gregorian reform, 282–289
  heresies and, 320–323
  of host held in hand, 303–313
  and host-miracle stories, 579–582
  humanity of Christ, 601–604
  iconoclasm and, 147–151
  Last Supper in, 573–578
  later Dominican, 596–601
  liturgical uses of, 542–547
  and love of Christ, 318–320
  and mendicant orders, 566–573
  penitence and Eucharistic prefiguration, 294–303
  penitential-Eucharistic focus, 289–294
  in Psalters, 265–270
  research problems, 478–480
  sacrificial typology, 314–317
  text and image in early Christianity, 94–110
  theological framework in early Middle Ages, 123–137
  typological imagery, 95–100, 125, 129, 254–257
Ashburnham Pentateuch, 126, 315
Assumption, 350
Augustine, 28–29, 64, 73–80, 88, 105, 119, 246, 265, 303–304, 370, 391, 402
  Commentary on John, 74, 77, 305
Augustine of Canterbury, 34
Auriol, Peter, 503, 509–510, 522, 528
authority, 59–64
Avitus, 26
azyma, 620

Bad Doberan (Mecklenburg), 492–495
Bad Wilsnack (Wilsnack), 480–491
Bakker, J.M.M., 501
Bamberg Bible, 270
Bamberg Sacramentary, 273
baptism, 96n14, 224, 247, 327–328, 414
Bartholemeus Brixiensis, 432
Basil of Caeserea, 96n14
Bede, 20, 34, 47, 109, 127n99, 144, 218n53, 227–228, 300n154
  Historia ecclesiastica, 34n89
Benedict of Aniane, 18n17, 43, 164, 165–166
  architecure and liturgy, 190–194
Benedict of Nursia, 165, 190
Beowulf, 230–231
Berengar of Tours, 61, 208, 280–281, 323, 370–373
Bernard, St., 184, 319
Bernard of Clairvaux, 319–320
Bernard of Parma, 418
  Glossa ordinaria, 442–443
Bernard of Pavia, 418
Biel, Gabriel, 520, 530–532
Bishop, Edmund, 40
Bobbio Missal, 26, 41, 52, 55n168, 56n169, 216n43
Boethius, 516
Bohemia, 536
Bolsena, Miraculous Mass of, 582–596, 612
Bonaventure, 382–386, 555, 570–573
Book of Vices and Virtues, The, 464
Bouts, Dieric, 575–576, 577
Bragan Rite, 330, 357
bread and wine, Eucharistic, 212, 213–214, 259n31, 406, 414, 430–431, 434–437, 452–453, 460–462, 544n4. *See also* presence of Christ in Eucharist; transubstantiation
  host exposition in art, 547–551
  host-miracle at Bolsena, 582–596
  reservation of, 605–615
British Isles
  crucifixion art, 278–279
  Latin liturgical development, 33–36
Burchard of Worms, 214n32, 410, 422
  Decretorum Libri XX, 402–408
Buridan, John, 528–529
Burley, Walter, 533
Burns, Patout, 78
Bynum, Caroline Walker, 553–555, 580

Caedmon, 224n78
Caesarius, 27
Cain, 288–289
Cana wedding, 99, 115, 301–302, 316
Candidus, 196
canon law, Eucharistic
  about, 399–400

Anselm of Lucca, 408–410
Burchard of Worms, 402–408
decretals, 426–431, 440–444
Glossa ordinaria, 431–440
Gratian of Bologna, 412–418
Huguccio of Pisa, 422–426
Ivo of Chartres, 410–412
Rufinus of Bologna, 418–419
Stephen of Tournai, 420–422
Canons of Hippolytus, 37
Cantatorium of Monza, 48
Canterbury Missal, 44
Capitulare de imaginibus, 175–177, 181, 195
capitularia, 45
Capitulary of Würzburg, 46
Carolingian art
about, 251–254
typological imagery, 254–257
Carolingian Eucharist controversy, 240–249, 258–272
penitence and Eucharistic prefiguration, 294–303
penitential-Eucharistic focus, 289–294
Carruthers, Mary, 95–96
Cassian, John, 80–82, 87–88
Conferences, 80
Institutes, 80
catacomb art, 101–105, 101n23, 101n24
celebrant of the Eucharist, 76–77, 87, 280, 283–284, 366–370
Celestine, 55n160
Céli Dé, 221
celibacy, 284
Celtic spirituality, 35n92
chalice, 406
change, Eucharistic, 374–378, 381, 389, 420–426, 434, 437, 500, 503, 504, 506–510, 516–532, 626
Chapel of the Corporal (Orvieto), 582–596
charity, 76
Charlemagne, 42, 43, 51
and Aachen, 166–173
General Admonition, 220, 222
Charles the Bald, 205–206, 207, 241
Chartres, 301
Chatton, William, 503, 513–514, 532
Chazelle, Celia, 259
choir screens, 548–549
Christ. *See also* crucifixion imagery; presence of Christ in Eucharist
blood and water, 118
doctrine of Incarnation, 111–114
humanity of, 272, 601–604
in judgment, 290–292
as the Lamb, 144–147
love of, and Euchristic art, 318–320
others as types of, 96n14
perfection of humility, 243, 276
representing human and divine natures, 139–147
temptations of, 294–296
typologies, 96–100
wounds of, 118–119
Christ Acclaimed by Two Animals, 158
Christ and The Doubting Thomas, 309
Christ as Judge (Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne), 292
Christ as Judge (Ste. Foy), 291
Christ Enthroned (Santa Pudenziana), 113
Christ Surrounded by Saints (SS. Cosma e Damiano), 122
Christ the Judge and Last Supper (St-Julien-de Jonzy), 293
Christ with Saints Peter and Mary Magdalene (Dordogne), 311
Christianity, art in early, 94–110
Christmas, 350, 407
Chrodegang of Metz
Regula Canonicorum, 342
Chromatius of Aquileia, 31
Chrysologus (Peter) of Ravenna, 31
Chrysostom, John, 69–73, 78, 114, 149, 297
church orders, 37–38
circumspective position, 509, 510
Clare, St., 591n110
Clement of Alexandria, 105
Cloister's Cross, 316
Clovis, 26
Cluny, 279
co-existence, 375–376
Collectio Anselmo dedicata, 402, 405
Collectio Hibernensis, 402
Columbanus, 35
Comes of Alcuin, 47
Comes of Murbach, 55n165
communion, 7, 15, 22, 34, 37, 42, 47, 54, 57, 66, 71, 81, 84, 85, 87, 91, 120, 124, 133, 146, 156, 157, 188, 212, 215, 216, 219, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228, 230, 232, 233, 234, 265, 267, 280, 286, 289, 290, 293, 302, 304, 318, 321, 334, 335, 336, 360, 365, 367, 368, 379–80, 391–93, 395, 397, 405, 407–8, 412, 414–16, 421, 427, 439, 447, 448–49,

450, 459–60, 461, 462, 537, 538, 544, 545, 551, 556, 563, 572, 590, 598, 607, 625
concomitance, 505, 517, 620
confession, xii, 283–84, 289, 297, 346, 407, 411, 418, 423, 424, 435, 448, 449, 543, 551, 572, 643
Congar, Yves, 366, 391
congregations, 347–349
Constance Cathedral, 471–475
Constantine, 24–25
Constantine V, 150–151
consubstantiation, 432, 579, 620, 625
continuous quantity, 514, 624
Corbie (monastery), 205–206
Cornelimünster, 166
corporal, 401, 405
corporeal form, 518, 621
Corpus Christi, 542, 548
Corpus Christi (feast), 473–474, 608
Corpus Christi fraternities, 467
Council of Arles, 34
Council of Basel, 537
Council of Benevento, 367
Council of Chalcedon, 111, 139–140
Council of Constantinople, 111
Council of Ephesus, 111
Council of Nicea, 149n140
Council of Nicea, Second, 175
Council of Rimini, 34
Council of Rome, 371–372
Council of Trent, 327, 332, 607
Council of Trullo, 145–146
Crathorn, William, 532
creation, 19, 90–91
the cross, 111, 115, 151–159, 321–322
Cross of San Damiano, 550
crucifixion, 109–110, 115–118, 142–145
Crucifixion, 143
Crucifixion (ivory), 269
Crucifixion (Santa Sabina), 117
Crucifixion (St-Gilles), 322
Crucifixion, Te igitur (initial), 256
Crucifixion and Suicide of Judas, 116
crucifixion imagery, 258–272, 283, 547–551
customaries, monastic, 16n10
Cyprian, 109
Cyril of Alexander, 78

Dacheriana, 400
Dagobert, 348
D'Ailly, Pierre, 515, 519, 523
Daniel, 99n14, 108, 294n144
deathbed rites, 224
Decentius of Gubbio, 52, 57n182
Decius, 34
decretals, 426–431, 440–444
definitive presence, 511, 623
Déols, 288
Deposition of Christ, 574
Deprecatio Gelasii, 55n166
diaphaneity, 522, 620
Didache, 37, 48
Didascalia, 37, 48
Dionysio-Hadriana, 400, 402
discrete quantity, 514, 624
divinization, 84
Dominican order, 566–573, 596–601
Dominican Rite, 332
Donatists, 76–77, 78–79
Drogo Sacramentary, 255–257, 263–264, 270
Duns Scotus, 376, 508–509, 520, 526–528, 579n75, 580n75
Dura-Europa synagogue, 100n19, 100n20
Durand of Fécamp, 371
Durandus, William, 543–544, 549n16
Rationale, 575, 610
Durandus of St. Pourçain, 511–513
Durham Gospel *Crucifixion*, 142

Easter, 350, 392, 407
Ecclesia, personificatio of, 263–265, 268, 273
Edict of Milan, 110
Effros, Bonnie, 230
Ego Berengarius, 418
Einhard, 223
elements, 500, 621
Elevation of the Host, 454
Emmaus meal, 271–272, 305–307, 324
Epitome, 37
eschatological promise, 96, 101–103, 107
ethnogenesis, 17–18, 20
Eucharist
and analogy, 327–329
Carolingian controversy, 240–249
in creative religious language, 458–462
eucharistic cults, 478
forms of, 329–340, 357, 359
Mass development in early Middle Ages, 211–225
styles of, 349–357, 359–360
teachings about, to laity, 225–235
types of, 340–348, 359

eucharistein, 93n1
Eucharistic art. *See* art, Eucharistic
Eucharistic presence, 506, 623–624
eulogia, 392
Eusebius, 127
Eve, 555
ex naturali concomitantia, 505, 621
ex vi sacramenti, 505, 621
Excarpsus Cummeani, 406
Expositio Antiquae Liturgiae Gallicanae, 50–51
extension, 514, 621
extrinsic accidents, 507, 525, 619

Feast of the Cross, 41
feasts, rankings, 349–352
Felicianism, 262
Felix III, 55n166
Firmiter, 426–427, 443–444
FitzRalph, Richard, 499
Floreffe Bible, 316
Florus of Lyons, 228
form, 516, 517, 519–520, 621–622
"four feasts of the Blessed Virgin", 41
fraction, 505, 622
Francesca, Piero della, 560–563
Francis of Assisi, 570
Franciscan order, 566–573
fratres instructiores, 29n59
Frauenlob, 463
Fulbert of Chartres, 410
funerary art, 101–105

Gallican Rite, 330, 333, 336
Gaudentius of Brescia, 31
Gaul
  feasts in early medieval communities, 230–231
  Latin liturgical development, 25–28
  lectionary development in, 46
  Merovingian liturgy in seventh century, 53–54
  sacramentary development in, 40–42
Gelasius, 40, 55n166
Gellone Sacramentary, 257n25, 261–263
Genesis images, 283–284
Gennadius, 402
Gerhoh of Reichersberg, 369
Germanos I of Constantinople, 150
Germanus of Paris
  Expositio Antiquae Liturgiae Gallicanae, 50–51
Germigny-des-Prés, 174–181, 253
Gero Crucifix, 274, 275
Gezo of Tortona, 272n75
Giffredus d'Anagni, 389
Gilbert de la Porrée, 422
Giles Bridport, 461
Giles of Rome, 507–508, 519–520, 524–525
Gilson, Etienne, 501
Giovanni da Milano, 602–604
Glossa ordinaria, 431–440
Gnadenstuhl, 545
Good Friday mass, 223, 272
Good Shepherd, 105–106, 145
Good Shepherd, 97
Good Shepherd, story of Jonah, an Orant, and Baptism, 98, 102
Göttingen Sacramentary, 273
Gottschalk of Orbais, 207, 232, 240, 241, 245–247, 249, 255
grace, 76
Gratian of Bologna
  Decretum, 412–418, 426
Greek language, 21n29
Gregorian reform, 282–289, 366
Gregorian sacramentary, 42–44
Gregory II, 41, 151
Gregory III, 151
Gregory IX, 584
Gregory of Bergamo, 372
Gregory of Rimini, 520
Gregory of Tours, 26
Gregory the Great, 25, 34, 41, 42n122, 47–48, 55n161, 85–88, 95, 99n14, 137, 218, 297n152, 402, 544, 549n16
  Dialogus, 227
Gregory VII, 280, 282–289, 320–321, 366, 369, 372, 408
Gregory VIII, 422
Guilbert of Nogent, 280n101
Guitmund of Aversa, 312, 372, 373–374, 419
Gundold Gospels, 274

Habakkuk, 294n144
Hadewijch, 460
Hadrian, 43, 175, 226
Hadrianum sacramentary, 43
Hadrianum supplementary, 18n17, 48
Haimo of Auxerre, 228, 410
Ham, 99n14
Heliand, The, 212–213, 227
Hen, Yitzhak, 51, 52
Henry II
  Book of Pericopes, 268, 323
Henry of Ghent, 520, 521

Henry of Harclay, 532
Henry of Lausanne, 321n204
Henry of Segusia, 440–442
heretics, 383, 388–389
Heriger of Lobbes, 272n75
Hilary of Poitiers, 27, 64–66, 67, 125, 140, 258, 419
  Commentary on Matthew, 66
  De trinitate, 65
Hildegard of Bingen, 463
Hincmar of Reims, 207, 240, 241–243, 245, 248–249, 255, 303, 410
  De cavendis vitiis et vertutibus exercendis, 241, 270
Hippolytus, 106n38, 123n80
Hispania, 400
"Hispano-Mozarabic Rite", 50
'*hoc est corpus meum*', 503, 518, 622
Hodegetria, 552
Holcot, Robert, 531
Holy Blood Church (Wilsnack), 480–491
Holy Blood cult, 474–475
Holy Sepulchre at Constance, 471–475
Honorius Augustodunensis, 301, 304, 369
Honorius I, 42n122
Honorius III, 430, 462
host. *See* bread and wine, Eucharistic
host-miracle stories, 582–596
Hostiensis, 440–442
Hrabanus Maurus, 282
Hugh of Langres, 371
Hugh of St. Cher, 395
Hugh of St.-Victor, 280n101, 302, 367, 380, 590
  De sacramentis Christianae fidei, 374
Hugo van der Goes, 564–566
Huguccio of Pisa, 418, 422–426
  Summa decretorum, 431
humility, 243, 276, 415
Hus, Jan, 504, 536–538
  De Sanguine Christi, 606n135
Hussites, 538
hylomorphism, 622

iconoclasm and Eucharistic art, 147–151, 253–254, 479, 552n22
impanation, 518–519, 622
imperial iconography, 120–123
in sacremento tanto, 625
incarnation, 555
Incarnation, doctrine of, 111–114
Incipit liber sacramentorum ramanae aecclesiae ordinis anni circuli, 40
infidels, 388–389
infula, 355
Ingleheim, 171–173, 181
Innocent I, 52, 57n182
Innocent III, 426, 427–430, 438, 440
Institutio canonicorum, 342
intention, 290, 384, 389
intrinsic accidents, 507, 525, 619
Ireland, 34–35, 152
Irenaeus, 25, 28n54, 124
Isaac, 108–109, 125
Isaiah, purification of lips, 285–288
Isidore of Seville, 47n139, 217–218, 227, 228–229, 402
  De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, 50–51
Italy
  Latin liturgical development, 30–32
  lectionary development in, 46
  Merovingian liturgy in seventh century, 53–54
Ivo of Chartres, 290, 295, 314–315, 410–412
  Decretum, 410–411
  Panormia, 410–412

Jacques de Vitry, 369, 395
James of Viterbo, 520
Jerome, 31n70
Jerome of Prague, 536
Job, 99n14
Johannes Andreae, 443–444
Johannes Zemecke (Teutonicus), 418, 431–440
John, 264–265
John, Bishop of Syracuse, 55n161, 218
John Audelay, 455
John Beleth, 333, 368, 462
John Duns Scotus, 376, 508–509, 520, 526–528, 579n75, 580n75
John of Damascus, 88–91, 286
  De fide, 89
  Fountain of Knowledge, 88
John of Paris, 376, 518–519
John Scottus Eriugena, 207, 241, 243–245, 270, 371
  on *Celestial Hierarchy*, 244
John VII, 154
Joinville, Jean de, 456
Jonah, 96n14, 108
Joseph II, 327
Judaism, art in, 100–101
Judas, 66, 70, 71, 284–285
judgment, 279n100
Juliana of Cornillon, 459–460
Juliana of Liège, 473

Junius Bassus sarcophagus, 110–111, 114–115
Justin Martyr, 28n54, 37
Dialogue with Trypho, 22n30
First Apology, 22
Justinian, 129

Kabuz, Johannes, 480
Khudlov Psalter, 266n54
Kieckhefer, Richard
Theology in Stone, 164
Killing of Abel, 289
Kilwardby, Robert, 517
Klauser, Theodor, 44
Knapwell, Richard, 518

La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre), 295, 300, 323
Lacnunga, 225n82
Lamb, Christ as, 144–147
Lanfranc of Bec, 371, 373, 379, 410
Laon, cathedral school of, 379–380
Last Supper, 66, 90, 93, 100–101, 115, 292, 304–305, 316, 573–578
Last Supper (altar), 306
Last Supper (altarpiece), 493, 576–578
Last Supper (Assisi), 576
Last Supper (choir capital), 286
Last Supper (mosaic), 134
Lateran Basilica, 24
Lateran Council, Fourth, 281n106, 370, 375, 389, 426, 450–451, 606
Lateran Council of 649, 140
Latin liturgical development
antiphonaries, 47–48
in British Isles, 33–36
context for, 16–22
in Gaul, 25–28
lectionaries, 44–47
literary resources for reconstructing, 36–38
Merovingian liturgy in seventh century, 53–54
in North Africa, 28–30
in North Italy, 30–32
ordines, 48–52
Roman liturgy in seventh century, 55–57
in Rome, 22–25
sacramentaries, 38–44
settings for, 22–36
in Spain, 32–33
Laurentius Hispanus
Glossa palatina, 431
laus perennis, 26
Lay Folk's Mass Book, 453–455
lay piety, 279n98
Lazarus, 106n39, 279n100, 283–284, 297n152
"leaden coin" argument, 502–503
lectionaries, 44–47
Lectionary of Luxeuil, 46
Lectionary of Murbach, 46–47, 55n165
Leidrad of Lyons, 174
Leo III, 149, 151, 195
Leo IX, 371
Leo the Great, 111, 119
Tome, 140
libelli missarum, 23, 29, 38
liber commicus, 45
Liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum, 32, 45
Liber ordinuum, 32
Liber Pontificalis, 40
Libri Carolini, 175–177, 181, 195, 253
liturgical history
contemporary scholarship, 14
multiple influences in, 15–16
liturgy. *See also* architecure and liturgy
Eucharistic art and, 542–547
in late fourth century, 13
Latin-speaking tradition, 15–16
music in, 352–353
primary turning points of, 13
scarcity of surviving texts, 219
social "mainstreaming" of, 14–15
Lollardy, 535–536
Lord's Prayer, 218, 368–369
Lorenzetti, Pietro, 560, 561, 572, 573–575
Lothar, 206
Lothar processional cross, 276
Louis the German, 206
Louis the Pious, 194–202, 205, 342
Luca della Robbia, 612–613, 614
Ludecus, Mattaeus, 480
Lyon, 25–28

Macy, Gary, 6, 8, 63n8, 64n9, 205n1, 213n29, 214n32, 218n53, 220n57, 220n61, 228n98, 258n27, 259n32, 272n75, 281n105, 281n106, 281n107, 282, 282n109, 312n182, 367n2, 367n3, 367n5, 368n7, 369n11, 369n13, 372n20, 379n38, 380n39, 380n41, 390n65, 392n69, 393n70, 395n74, 405n30, 407n45, 418n102, 426n130, 449n5, 499, 545n5, 547n8, 556n32,

579n75, 580n77, 582n84, 590n105, 596n113, 598n114
Madonna and Child. *See* Virgin and Child imagery
Madonna del'latte (Lorenzetti), 554
Magi, 72, 295–300
magic, 224–225
Mamertus, 26
Man of Sorrows, 476, 478, 604
Man of Sorrows (Nuremberg), 477
Manipulus curatorum, 453
manna, 68, 99
Marcellinus, St., 223
Marcus Aurelius, 25
Maria lactans, 557
Marriage at Cana (Loire), 317
Marrow, James, 557
Marsilius of Inghen, 503–504, 529–530
Mary (mother of God), 263, 544–545
Mary Magdalene, 310–312
Masaccio, 598–601
Mass
development in early Middle Ages, 211–225
development in Middle Ages, 449–458
Mass of St. Gregory, 450–451, 483, 604
"Masses for the Thursdays of Lent", 41
as a priestly sacrifice, 139
roles of women, 232–233, 235
sacramental instruction during, 215
scholastic interpretations of, 13
teachings about, to laity, 225–235
Mass of St. Gregory, 451
Master of St. Francis cycle, 567–573
Matěj of Janov, 538
material soul, 520
maternal imagery in Eucharist, 72–73
matter, 516, 519–520, 579n75, 622
Matthews, Thomas, 123
Maximianus, 129
Maximus of Turin, 31
Maximus the Confessor
Mystagogy, 149
Meeting of Saints Paul the Hermit and Anthony, 156
Melchizadek, 68, 123, 125, 126, 129, 237, 255–256, 305, 316
Mendicant orders, 566–573
Merovingian liturgy in seventh century, 53–54
Milan Cathedral ivory diptych, 133, 136
Milíč, Jan, 538
miracles/miracle stories, 107n41, 393, 394–396, 545–547, 579–582, 582–596
Miraculous Mass of Bolsena, 582–596, 612
missa, 221n64
Missal Romanum editio princeps, 332
Missale Francorum, 41
Missale gallicanum vetus, 41
Missale Gothicum, 41
Missale Romanum, 47
Moissac, 312
monasticism, 16
Carolingian, 165–166
in Ireland, 35n94
ministerial structures, 344–347
spiritual life in, 209
Montefeltro Altarpiece, 560–563
Morris, Colin, 202
Mosaic Law, 96
Moses, 68, 99
Mozarabic rite, 32, 330, 331
Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes (mosaic), 120, 121
Musaeus, 26–27
music, liturgical, 352–353

narrative of institution, 217–218
Nestorius, 140n113
Neuilly-en-Donjon (Allier), 299
Nicene Creed, 15n9
Nicholas, St., 488–490
Nicholas of Cusa, 606n135
Nicodemus, 264, 265
Noah, 96n14, 105n35
Noble, Thomas, 252
nocturnal emission, 80–82, 88
North Africa
Eucharistic theology in, 78–79
Latin liturgical development, 17, 28–30
Notre Dame Cathedral, 328–360
nourishment, and Eucharist, 96, 99

oblation, 212, 213n31
Ó'Carrágain, Éamonn, 152
Ockham, William, 501–503, 511, 514, 520, 522–523, 528
Odo of Cambrai, 304
Odo of Cluny, 272n75
Olbert of Gembloux, 400
Old Gelasian Sacramentary, 55n167, 56n169
Olivi, Pierre Jean, 506, 525–526
oratio, 42

ordained power, 623
ordination, 14, 315, 366–370, 556n32
ordines, 48–52
ordines romani, 49–50
Origen, 96n12, 292
Otto I, 15n9

Palatine Chapel (Aachen), 167, 173
Palec, Stephan, 536, 537
paneitas, 622
Pantalèon, Jacques, 581n80
Paris liturgical rites, 333–335, 357
Pascasius Radburtus, 241, 267, 270, 370–371, 449, 598
  De corpore et sanguine Domini, 205–211, 235–240, 258
Passion, and Eucharist, 79, 80, 114–115, 315
Paul I, 254
Paul the Hermit, St., 156
Pecham, John, 506, 518
penance
  and Eucharistic prefiguration, 294–303
  penitential-Eucharistic focus, 289–294
  sacrament of, 14
Pentecost, 350, 407
Pepin, 41–42
Pepin the Short, 47
Peter, St., 223, 310
Peter Browe
  Die Eucharistichen Wunder des Mittelalters, 394
Peter Comestor, 422
Peter Damian, 289
Peter de Bruys, 321–322
Peter Lombard, 367–368, 418, 420–421, 422, 516, 524
  Sentences, 60, 281, 374–375, 379, 500
Peter of Capuathe, 375
Peter of Poitiers, 369
Peter Olivi, 378
Peter the Chanter, 376, 395, 422
Peter the Venerable, 316, 317, 321n204
Pian Breviary, 330
Pian Missal, 330
Pietá (Giovanni da Milano), 602–604
Pius V, 332
Plecgils, 238–239
plurality of forms, 518, 520
Pont-l'abbé-d'Arnoult (Charente-Maritime), 312–313
Portinari Altarpiece, 564–566
positio, 622–623
position, 507, 509
power, absolute, 623
power, ordained, 623
predestination, 247, 254, 259
Prepositinus of Cremona, 395
presence, 623–624
presence of Christ in Eucharist. *See also* reception of the Eucharist
  in art, 124–125, 138
  and belief, 450, 548
  in canon law, 412, 415–416, 420–444
  in *decretals*, 426–431
  early church theology, 67–68, 74, 90–91
  early Middle Ages theology, 206–207, 212, 227, 236–239, 280–282
  in *Glossa ordinaria*, 431–440
  high Middle Ages theology, 370–378, 381, 382, 391
  late Middle Ages theology, 504–515
Presentation, Nativity and Virgin and Child Enthroned (Chartres), 302
Presentation in the Temple (La Charité-sur-Loire), 296
priests
  canon law regarding, 403–405, 416–417
  as celebrant of the Eucharist, 76–77, 87, 280, 283–284, 366–370
  instruction and liturgy, 448
  manuals for, 453
  Notre Dame clerical structure, 341–344
  ordination, 14, 315, 366–370, 556n32
  St.-Denis clerical structure, 344–347
Procession with Emperor Justinian and Bishop Maximianus (San Vitale), 132
productive transubstantiation, 521, 626
Prosper of Aquitaine, 105
Psalters, art in, 265–270
Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, 82–85, 149n141, 244
Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, 83
Pseudo-Isidore, 402
Purification of Isaiah's lips (Dordogne), 287

quality, 525, 624
quantity, 377, 507, 508–509, 510, 525–526, 624
quantum, 624
Quinisext Council, 145–146

Rabanus, 228–229, 240
Rabanus Maurus, 410

Rabbula Gospels, 253
Rabbula Gospels *Crucifixion*, 142–144
Ramihrdrus, 369
Ranulph de la Houblonnière, 463
Raoul Ardens, 395
Rathbod of Trier, 400
Rather of Verona, 272n75
rational soul, 518
Ratramnus, 206, 207, 241, 245, 247–248, 255, 371, 449
  De corpore et sanguine Domini, 247, 259
Raymond Peñafort, 426
reception of the Eucharist. *See also* presence of Christ in Eucharist
  Albert the Great on, 382, 385–387
  Alexander of Hales on, 377, 380–382
  Aquinas on, 387–390
  Augustine on, 75–76, 379
  Bonaventure on, 382–386
  in canon law, 407–408, 409–410, 414–417, 419
  Cassian on, 80–82
  Chrysostom on, 71
  frequency, 407, 415
  Gregory the Great on, 87–88
  in liturgy, 15
  popular attitudes to, 449–458
  theology of, 378–396
  William of Militona on, 382
redemption, 242
Regino of Prüm, 20, 212
  Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis, 400–402, 405
relation, 500–501, 624
remanence/remanentism, 516, 537, 624–625
res, 74–75, 77–78, 380–381
res et non sacramentum, 625
res sacramenti, 380, 391
rex pacificus, 26
Richard Fishacre, 377
Richard of Middleton, 370, 526
Richer of Reims, 232
rites of Eucharist, 329–335. *See also specific rites*
Robert Courson, 395
Robert Kilwardby, 378
Robert of Turotte, 581n80
rock of Horeb, 99
Rogation Day processions, 26, 41
Rokycana, John, 538
Roland of Cremona, 376–377, 395
Roman liturgy in seventh century, 55–57
Roman Rite, 330, 331
Romano-Germanic Pontifical, 15n9
Rome
  Latin liturgical development in, 22–25
  lectionary development in, 46–47
  sacramentary development in, 42–44
Rood Screen (Wales), 466
Rotulus, 31
Rubin, Miri, 7, 279n97, 393n71, 448n3, 448n4, 450n7, 453n14, 458n24, 463n35, 465n46, 467n49, 468n50, 473n9, 474n14, 579n75, 581n80, 585n92, 590n104, 590n106, 605n133
Rufinus of Bologna, 31n70
  Summa Decretorum, 418–419
Rule of St. Benedict, 221, 344
Rupert of Deutz, 318
Russell, William, 453, 462
Ruthwell Cross, 152–159, 253

sacrament houses, 608–610
sacramental confession, 407
sacramental reception, 379, 391, 392
sacramentaries
  and Latin liturgical development, 38–44
Sacramentary of Noyon, 43–44
sacraments, 448, 501–503
sacramentum, 390, 391, 625
sacramentum et res, 380, 625
sacred doctrine, 59–60
sacred spaces, 414
sacrifice, as Eucharist, 4, 31n70, 69, 70–1, 73, 74, 79–80, 86, 93, 94, 105–9, 114, 118, 123–6, 127, 129, 133, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 144–6, 163, 189n71, 196, 212, 223, 226, 227–8, 230, 231, 234, 237, 239, 242, 243, 244, 246, 249, 251, 257, 258n30, 259, 262, 267, 270, 272, 273, 278, 283, 288–9, 290, 292, 293, 295, 296, 300, 313, 314–16, 319–20, 321, 322, 369, 409, 414, 415, 417, 426, 438, 532, 555–6, 557, 560, 563, 569, 575, 578, 585, 598n116, 601, 622
sacrifice, Eucharist and, 79–80, 96, 107–109, 124–125, 138–139, 234
Sacrifice of Abel and Melchizedek (mosaic), 130
Sacrifice of Isaac (mosaic), 128
sacrificial imagery, 254–257, 314–317
Saint-Riquier, 186
Sainte-Radegunde (Poitiers), 313

salvation, 137–138, 280, 566
Salvator Church (Passau), 492, 494
San Damiano (Assisi), 549
San Francesco (Assisi), 567–573
San Vitale mosaics, 126–133, 140–141
Sanctus, 261
Sandionyisian Rite, 357
Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, 25
Santa Maria Novella (Florence), 598–601
Sant'Ambrogio (Milan), 251–252
Sant'Apololinare Nuovo mosaics (Ravenna), 120, 129, 133
Sant'Egidio, 613
Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, 112
Saxony, 209
Scotland, 152
Secundinus, 549n16
Septimus Severus, 34
Serenus, 549n16
Sergius I, 15n9, 41, 146
Seven Sacraments Alterpiece (van der Weyden), 543
shape-shifting, 236
Sidonius Apollinaris, 25–26
sign, 74–75, 77–78, 462–468
Simeon, 301
Simon Magus with two devils (Toulouse), 285
simoniacal priests, 280n102, 284
sinfulness, 80–82, 87–88
Song of Songs, 68–69
sop, 284–285
Spain
  Latin liturgical development, 32–33
  Merovingian liturgy in seventh century, 53–54
spiritual communion, 379, 392, 407, 625
spiritual reception, 380, 387, 391
spiritualization of Bible, 96n12
St. Alban, 33
St.-Denis abbey, 328–360
St. Erasmus and Mary Magdalen (Wilsnack), 480
St. Gall, 194–202
St.-Gilles-du-Gard, 294, 321–322
St.-Lazare at Autun, 284
St. Peter accompanied by angels (Toulouse), 285
St. Peter's Basilica, 24–25
St.-Pons-de Thomières (Hérault), 294, 322
St. Riquier, 182–190, 203
St. Salvator (Wilsnack), 480
St.-Savin-sur-Gartempe, 316
St. Sebald (Nuremberg), 475–476
St. Victor (Paris), 379
Stanislav of Znojmo, 536
Statuta ecclesiae antiqua, 215, 341–342
Stephen Langton, 394, 395
Stephen of Tournai
  Summa Decretorum, 420–422
Stephen V, 195
Stowe Missal, 41, 217, 222
Stuttgart Psalter, 266n54
substance, 374–375, 579n75, 625–626
substantial form, 621
substitution, 375, 376
Suger, Abbot, 338
Summa sententiarum, 380
super oblata, 42
suppositum, 626
symbolic form, 522, 626
symbolic reception, 387
symbols, 462–468
synaxis, 37
Synod of Aachen, 342
Synod of Agde, 407
Synod of Arles, 452
Synod of Bézier, 452
Synod of Carthage, 29
Synod of Elvira, 32n74
Synod of Hieria, 150
Synod of Hippo, 29
Synod of Nîmes, 452

Tabernacles, 301–302
Tempier, Etienne, 517
Temple, Cleansing of the, 288
Tertullian, 17n11, 105n35
  De baptismo, 28
  De exhortatione castitatis, 28
Testamentum Domini, 37
Teutonicus, 431–440
Theodora, 129, 133
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 109–110, 149
Theodulph of Orléans, 164, 174–181, 226, 253
  Libri Carolini, 175–177, 181, 195, 253
Theology in Stone (Kieckhefer), 164
Thierry of Chartres, 368
Thierry of Freiburg, 525
Thomas Aquinas, 376, 377, 387–390, 395
  Adoro te devote, 553
  Commentary on the Sentences, 389
  on matter, 579n75
  on presence, 501–502, 504–506
  Summa theologiae, 59–60, 328, 516
  Tertia Pars, 60

on transubstantiation, 516–517, 580n75
Thomas of Strasbourg, 520–521
Tocke, Heinrich, 487, 606n135
Transfiguration (La Charité-sur-Loire), 296
transmutation, 375
transubstantiation, 626
accounting for, 516–524
adductive transubstantiation, 521–522, 626
became dogma, 473
in canon law, 420–444
Eucharistic accidents, 524–532
productive transubstantiation, 521, 626
theological debate over, 374–378, 381, 389, 500, 504, 506–510
theological departure from, 532–538
Trinitarian theology, 65
Trinity (Masaccio), 598–601
Triumphant Christ (initial), 260
True Cross, 549n17
typological imagery, 95–100, 125, 129, 254–257

Udine Sacramentary, 273
Ugolino di Prete Ilario, 582–596, 587
Ugolino di Vieri, 585
Ulrich of Augsburg, 473
unity of form, 520
Urban II, 342
Urban IV, 430–431, 584
Urban VI, 606n135
Uta Codex, 276–277
Utraquism, 537–538, 626–627
Utrecht Psalter, 266–267

Valdes of Lyons, 368–369
Valerian, 34
Van der Mensbrugghe, A., 50–51
Vatican II, 332
vernacular languages, 13–14, 455
"Verona Collection" *(Veronensis)*, 23, 38, 55n167
Vesperbild (Pieta), 546
vessels, liturgical, 355–357
vesture, liturgical, 353–355
Vézelay narthex, 307
viaticum, 392, 408
viaticum, 224
Vienne, 26
Vierge Ouvrant (Cologne), 557, 558, 559
Virgin and Child imagery, 544–545, 551–566
Virgin and Child with St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, 561
Virgin Enthroned (Neuilly-en-Donjon), 299
Vitricius, 35
Vogel, Cyril, 38, 44, 48–49
Volto Santo crucifix, 276, 277
von Kirchberg, Ernst
Reimchronik, 494

Walafrid Strabo, 214, 222–223
Waldensians, 368–369
Walter of Speyer, 400
Warin, 208–211
Weilandt, Gerhard, 475–476
William de la Mare, 518, 521–522
William of Auvergne, 375–376, 395
William of Auxerre, 391, 395
William of Blois, 453
William of Chartres, 368
William of Militona, 377, 382, 383, 390
William of St.-Thierry, 308, 319
Wilsnack churches, 480–491
Wodeham, Adam, 514–515, 528, 532
Wolfenbüttel Palimpsest, 46
women
experience of Eucharist, 459–461
roles in Masses, 232–233, 235, 367n2
Wöpelitz, Bishop of Havelberg, 488
Word, Christ the, 64–66, 125n87, 295
words of institution, 627
Wright, Craig, 343
Wyclif, John, 532–536

Zeno of Verona, 31